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THE
MODERN PART
OF THE
UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL WRITERS;

BY THE

AUTHORS of the *ANTIEN*T.

Which will perfect the WORK, and render it

A Complete Body of HISTORY,

FROM THE

EARLIEST ACCOUNT of Time, to the PRESENT.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ κατανόει, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ εὐρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆζαν
ἐγκόπως.
Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

V O L. XIII.



L O N D O N :

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M.DCC.LXIII.

MODERN HISTORY:

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

The HISTORY of RUSSIA.

CHAP. I.

General Description of RUSSIA.

THE empire of *Russia* extends in length from west to east, from the fortieth to the two hundred and fourth degree of longitude; and from north to south it is fifteen, twenty, and in some places twenty-five degrees in breadth; so that it is at least five thousand miles long, and from eight to sixteen hundred wide (A). It is bounded on the north by the Frozen or Northern Ocean; on the east, by *Great or Chinese Tartary*, and part of the Eastern Ocean which divides *Asia* from *America*; on the south, by *Calmuk* and *Cuban Tartary*, *Persia*, *Georgia*, the *Caspian Sea*, the mountains of *Circassia*, the *Euxine Sea*, and part of *Turky*; and on the west, by *Poland* and *Sweden* (B).

Situation and extent of Russia.

(A) This is, pretty nearly the computation given by the accurate M. *Busching*, in his excellent *System of Geography* (1). But M. *de Voltaire* (2) makes the greatest length of the *Russian* empire, reckoning from the isle of *Dago* on the west of *Liivonia*, to its most eastern boundaries, upwards of two thousand *French* leagues, that is to say, above five thousand five hundred of our statute miles; and its greatest breadth from south to north, eight hundred and fifty *French* leagues, or near two thousand three hundred and fifty of our miles. He adds, and the observation is not only curious, but may be just enough, that the *Russian* empire contains upwards of eleven hundred thousand square *French* leagues; whereas the *Roman* empire, and that of *Alexander*, contained each of them only about five hundred and fifty thousand: and that no kingdom in *Europe* is the twelfth part so large as the *Roman* empire was.

(B) The limits of *Russia* towards the west and south, are settled with the several powers bordering upon it on those sides; namely, with *Sweden*, by the treaty of *Nysadt* in the year 1721, and that of *Abo* in 1743; with the *Poles*, by certain conventions agreed on in 1667, 1672, and 1717, though these were not rati-

fied as to every article. With the *Turks*, the boundaries of *Russia* were agreed on by the treaty of *Carls-witz*, concluded in the year 1701; but some alterations were afterwards made at the treaty of the *Pruth*, and ratified in the year 1714: and further changes also took place with regard to the limits between *Russia* and *Turky*, at the treaty of *Belgrade* in 1739. Pursuant to the late treaty of peace concluded with *Persia* in 1732, the river *Kur*, which runs into the *Caspian* sea, was made the boundary between the *Russian* and *Persian* dominions; but the *Russians* having, soon after, relinquished the provinces they had taken from the *Persians*, the river *Terk* is looked upon as the present limits. The wandering tribes of *Tartars* who live further south, such as the *Caracalpackians*, *Kasatshia Horda*, *Calmucks*, and others, are confined by lines thrown up on the frontiers. The last treaty of peace with *China* and the *Mungalians* was concluded in the year 1727, on the banks of the river *Bura*; and in 1728 the several ratifications of it were exchanged at the river *Kiakta*. By virtue of that treaty, barriers have been set up on the south side of the mountains of *Sayan*, and farther towards the east, quite to the river *Argun* (3).

(1) Vol i. p. 379.

(2) *Hist. de l'Emp. de Russie, sous Pierre le Grand*, tom. i. p. 3.

(3) *Busching*,

and *Strahlenberg's Account of Siberia*, p. 188.

Its general division.

THIS vast empire, larger, says a celebrated modern writer^a, than all the rest of Europe put together, and far more extensive than ever was the Roman empire, or that of Darius conquered by Alexander, lies partly in Europe, and partly in Asia; reaching from Poland to the Frozen Sea, and from Sweden to China. The general division of its European part, is into Great, Little, and White Russia (C), which properly constitute ancient Russia; and to which has been added, in this century, the duchies of Livonia and Esthonia, with the provinces of Ingria and Carelia, conquered from the Swedes. The Asiatic provinces of the Russian empire make a considerable part of Great Tartary.

THE Russian empire is divided into governments, each of which consists of certain provinces or circles, some of them immense. The number of these governments has varied at different times, but they are now the following sixteen, viz. 1. Great Novogrod; 2. Archangelgorod (D); 3. Moscow; 4. Nichneigorod, or Nichmi Novogrod; 5. Smolensko; 6. Kiew; 7. Bielogorod; 8. Woronetz and Asov: these are situated in what is generally called Russia Proper. 9. Riga; 10. Reval; 11. Petersburg; and, 12. Wiburg, have been formed out of the conquered provinces of Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, and Carelia. The four other governments, viz. 13. Astracan; 14. Orenburg; 15. Casan; and, 16. Siberia; are in Asia. We shall begin our account of these several districts with Russia in Europe.

S E C T. I.

R U S S I A in E U R O P E.

Its boundaries.

THE eastern boundaries of this part of the Russian empire are the same with the limits between Europe and Asia; but these are not easily ascertained. All that can be said with any certainty, is, that the river Don has always been considered as the southern boundary; that the kingdoms of Astracan and Kasan are deemed a part of Asia; and that the Wercoturian mountains have been generally allowed to divide Russia from Siberia.

Rivers.

THE chief rivers that water European Russia, are the Wolga, the Don, the Dwina, and the Dnieper or Danapris.

The Wolga.

THE Wolga, in Latin Volga, was formerly known by the name of Rha, and is at present termed by the Tartars, Atel Edel, or Idel, which signifies the Great River. It rises in the forest of Wolconski, and is one of the largest rivers in the world; for it runs near two thousand miles, before it falls into the Caspian sea. The country bordering upon it is in general fertile, and though not sufficiently cultivated, by reason of the frequent incursions of the Tartars, yet the soil spontaneously produces esculent herbs of all sorts, particularly asparagus of an extraordinary size and goodness. Most of the Russian oaks grow in the parts watered by this river, which is navigable, even for large vessels, quite up to Twer, a town little more than eight miles from its source. In the months of May, and June this river is so swelled by the melting of the snow and ice, as to occasion great inundations. The masters of ships bound for Astracan, through the river Wolga, take care to avail themselves of this season; as it affords them an opportunity not only of sailing safely over the shallows, but likewise over several flat islands, which then lie at a considerable depth under water. The trees upon its banks are often rooted up by the rapidity of the current, and the anchors of vessels are so often entangled with them, that it is necessary to cut away the cables. The beluga, a fish about eight or ten feet long, and preferable to the sturgeon, is found in great plenty in this river. The Occa, Canna, and several other rivers of note, run into it, and it discharges itself into the Caspian sea, through several channels, which form a great many islands.

^a VOLTAIRE, Hist. de Russie sous Pierre le Grand, tom. i. p. 4.

(C) White Russia, in this empire, must not be confounded with the country of the same name in Lithuania. As for Red Russia, it belongs to Poland. In order to understand the origin of these names, it may be proper to observe, that it is a custom among the eastern people to distinguish countries by the epithets White and Black; and that they give the former to the most extensive and fertile, and the latter to the least and poorest territories (4). In this sense all the Tartars, Calmucks, and Chinese, call the Russian monarch Tzagan Zaar, that is, the White Czar; and, as Marcus Paulus observes (5), White was formerly the cham of Tartary's favourite colour, as it still is that of the Chi-

nese emperor, when he appears in state as cham of Tartary; for as emperor of China he wears pale yellow. The Tartars commonly call all residences White cities; and in Russia itself they call the crown-lands, and those of the nobility that are free from taxes and contributions, White Lands: and on the contrary, they call all farms and grounds in cities that pay taxes, Black Grounds. They also call the peasants and lower sort of people, Czorni Ludi, black or mean people; because black is a colour not esteemed in Russia.

(D) Gorod, in the Russian language, signifies a city or town.

(4) Busching's Geography.

(5) Lib. i. cap. 66.

- a THE *Don*, in *Latin Tanais*, and by the *Tartars* called *Tuna* or *Duna*, was ranked by the ancients among the most famous rivers, and looked upon as the boundary between *Europe* and *Asia*. Its source is near *Tula*, in the *Iwano Osero*, or *St. John's Lake*. Its course is at first from north to south, and after its junction with the *Sofna*, near *Nowa Bawlowaskaia*, in the *Woronese* government, from west to east: and in several large windings it runs again from north to south. It divides at last into three channels, which separate from each other below *Czarkaskoi*, and fall into the *Palus Maotis*, near *Lutik* and *Afow*. Its waters are not very wholesome, being thick and chalky. This river is very shallow in the summer, and full of sand-banks: but it affords plenty of fish. The *Don*, in its course, approaches so near to the *Wolga*, that in one part, the distance between them is but one hundred and forty wersts, or about eighty *English* miles: and if the *Lawla* and *Camishinka*, the former of which runs into the *Don*, and the latter into the *Wolga*, were rendered navigable, the distance between the two rivers would be then scarcely four wersts; and they might easily be united by opening a canal from one to the other. It seems, however, that *Peter the Great* did not think this project practicable.

The Don.

- b THE *Dwina*, in *Latin Duina*, is a very large river. The name implies double, it being formed by the conflux of the rivers *Sukona* and *Yug*, at *Ustiaga*. The two branches into which the river divides itself near *Archangel* fall into the *White Sea*. It is the opinion of some, that an ancient temple stood upon its bank, in which was an idol called *Solotaia Baba*, or the *Golden Matron*. This deity was worshipped under the name of *Yumala*, not only by the inhabitants of the country, but also by the *Greek* and *Scythian* merchants, who resided near the *Dnieper* and *Black Sea*, and used to travel thither to pay their adorations to the idol. Others place that temple on the *Patshora*, and others again on the river *Oby*: this last indeed seems the most likely; but the whole is very uncertain. Care must be taken not to confound this river with the *Duina* or *Duna*, a river of *Poland*, which rises likewise in *Russia*.

The Dwina.

- c THE *Dnieper* or *Danapris*, in *Latin Borysthenes*, rises from a morass in the forest of *Wolconsk*, about ninety miles above *Smolensk*. After many windings through *Lithuania*, *Little Russia*, the country of the *Zaporo Cossacks*, and a tract inhabited by the *Nagaian Tartars* of *Crimea*, it forms a *Liman*, or marshy lake, of sixty wersts in length, from two to ten in breadth; and then loses itself in the *Black Sea*, between *Oczacow* and *Kimburn*. The banks on each side are generally high, and the soil exceeding rich: but in summer the water is unwholesome. Notwithstanding the *Dnieper* has thirteen water-falls, within the space of sixty wersts; yet in spring, during the land-floods, empty vessels may be hauled over them. This river is so full of islands, till it arrives at the *Liman* near its mouth, that all the intervals do not amount to thirty *English* miles. It abounds with sturgeon, sterled, carp, pyke, karaush, and several other sorts of fish. The only bridge over the *Dnieper* is a float-bridge at *Kiew*, one thousand six hundred and thirty eight paces long. Towards the end of *September*, this bridge is taken down, in order to make a free passage for the cakes of ice; and in the spring it is put up again. Upon this river are numbers of mills erected in boats, every one being allowed the liberty of building such.

The Dnieper.

THE principal lakes in this part of *Russia*, are the *Peipus*, *Ladoga*, and *Onega*.

Lakes.

THE *Peipus* lake in *Livonia*, called by the *Russians* *Tshudsko Osero*, is between forty and fifty miles in length, and about thirty in breadth. It abounds with fish, and runs into the gulf of *Finland* by the river *Narva*. This lake has a communication with that of *Pleskow*, which is called in the *Russian* tongue *Pfowskoe Osero* (E).

The Peipus lake.

THE famous lake of *Ladoga*, between the gulph of *Finland* and the lake *Onega*, is near an hundred miles in length; and seventy in breadth. It is thought to be the largest in *Europe*, and is supposed to surpass any other for plenty of fish, among which are likewise seals or sea-dogs.

The lake Ladoga, and its famous canal.]

- f LADOGA is full of quick-sands, which being moved from one place to another by frequent storms, cause several shelves along its coasts, that often prove destructive to the flat-bottom vessels of the *Russians*. This induced *Peter the Great* to cause a canal of one hundred and four wersts in length (near seventy *English* miles) seventy feet in breadth, and ten or eleven feet deep, to be dug, at a vast expence, from the south-west extremity of this lake in *Ingria* and *Novogrod*, and carried, with the necessary windings; from *Schlusselfburg*, at the mouth of the river *Neva*, which is the outlet of the lake of *Ladoga*, to *New Ladoga* on the river *Wolcow*. This work was begun in the year 1718, and though prosecuted with vigor, was not accomplished till 1732, in the reign of the empress *Anne*.

- g THIS canal at first reached no farther than the village of *Cabona*, upon a river of the same name, at the distance of forty-four wersts from *Schlusselfburg*, and where the vessels

(E) *Osero*, in the *Russian* language, signifies a lake.

failed into the lake; for which purpose the sluice is still kept up there. The canal has twenty-five sluices: the rivers *Lipka*, *Nassia*, *Izетка*, *Lawa*, and *Cabona*, run into it, and likewise two smaller streams, whose names we know not, and upon which stand two villages. At the distance of every werst (F) along this canal, is a pillar, shewing the number of wersts, &c. A regiment of soldiers is constantly employed to keep the canal in repair, and to this end they are quartered at several places along its banks. It is covered, during the summer, with vessels and floats passing from the *Wolcow* to the *Neva*, which last issues from the lake *Ladoga*. These ships pay toll in proportion to their cargo; but several, to avoid the expence as well as the fatigue of drawing their vessels or floats along the canal, chuse rather to venture upon the lake. The islands *Sarcow*, *Selency*, *Kirwet*, and *Tinow*, which lie in the lake, and are inhabited by fishermen, are seen from this canal.

The lake
Onega.

THE lake *Onega*, betwixt the lake *Ladoga* and the *White Sea*, has a communication with the former, by means of the river *Swir*. It extends about one hundred and eighty wersts in length, and eighty in breadth. Seals are frequently seen in it, though it is a fresh-water lake. A plan was laid before *Peter the Great*, for opening a passage from the lake *Onega* to *Belosero*, or the *White Lake*, by uniting the rivers *Wytigra* and *Rousha*. But the death of the czar prevented the execution of this design.

WE shall now describe the eight governments, of which the several districts are looked upon as parts of *Russia Proper*, and then proceed to those acquired from the crown of *Sweden*.

I. The Government of NOVOGROD

The govern-
ment of Novo-
grad.
Its lakes and
rivers.
Canal be-
tween the
Twerza and
Msta.

INCLUDES the duchy of *Novogrod*, or island of *Great Novogrod*, which the *Russians* conquered in the year 1478. In this country lies the *Osero Ilmen*, or *Ilmen* lake, out of which runs the river *Wolcow*; and in this province are the sources of the great rivers *Volga*, *Dnieper*, and the *Polish Duina*. *Peter the Great* caused a canal to be cut between the rivers *Twerza* and *Msta*, near the town of *Wischin Wolotsbok*; by which means there is a communication between the *Caspian* sea (through the rivers *Volga*, *Twerza*, and *Msta*) and the *Ilmen* lake; from thence is a passage for ships, through the river *Wolcow*, into the lake of *Ladoga*, and from the latter down the *Neva* into the *Baltic*.

Divisions,

THE government of *Novogrod* is divided into five circles or districts, viz the circle of *Novogrod*, called by the *Russians* *Novogrodskoi Uiez* (G); the province of *Pleskow*; the province of *Welikoluk*, called by the *Russians* *Welikoluzskaia Provinciä*; the province of *Twer*; and the province of *Belosero*, in the *Russian* language *Beloserskaia Provinciä*.

The most remarkable places in the circle of NOVOGROD are

and principal
places.

NOVOGROD *Weliki* (H), or *Great Novogrod*, a very antient, large, and formerly famous city, situate upon the *Wolcow*, where that river runs out of the *Ilmen* lake. It is the capital of the government of *Novogrod*, the seat of the governor, an archbishopric, and a place of some trade. It was first built by the *Slavonians*, in the ninth century, and improved by the *Waregerian* prince *Rurik*, for his place of residence. *Novogrod* was a celebrated staple of the *Hanse Towns* till 1494, and grew so powerful as to give rise to this phrase, *Can any one withstand God and Novogrod?* But by falling frequently into the hands of enemies, being plundered of its riches by the czar *Iwan Basilowitz*, and having undergone many dreadful conflagrations, it is now so greatly reduced, that it scarce retains the least vestige of its former grandeur. The churches and convents are the only objects in it that merit attention, the rest of the town consisting solely of small wooden houses. Its fortifications are old walls and deep moats. The old *Russian* writers call this city *Holmgarde*.

ST. *Antony's* convent, on the river *Wolcow*, about two wersts from *Novogrod*, is the principal monastery in the country. St. *Antony*, its founder, died and was buried there, in the year 1147. Besides his monument, his pious votaries devoutly shew a mill-stone, upon which, they gravely say, he failed from *Rome* to this place.

NOWAIA *Ladoga*, or *New Ladoga*, between the lake and the canal of that name, which last here joins the river *Wolcow*. This small town is the residence of a waiwode, and was for the most part peopled from *Old Ladoga*, which is now entirely ruined.

(F) A *werst* is equal to 3500 *English* feet; and 104½ *pogost*, which are subdivisions of a *uiez*.

wersts are equal to a degree of the equator.

(G) A *uiez* is a circle or district, less than a province, and more extensive than a *stan*, a *wolost*, or a

(H) *Welikoi*, *welikaia*, *welikoie*, in the *Russian* language, signifies great.

The history of Russia.

- a *WISNEI Welitsbok*, a considerable village upon the *Twerza*, which is here united to the *Msta* by a canal. It was consumed by fire in 1748 and 1753; but has since been rebuilt, and is now inhabited by sea-faring people.

STOLBOWA, a village near the *Tikfina*, remarkable for the peace concluded there between *Russia* and *Sweden* in 1617.

In the province of *PLESKOW* are,

- PSKOW*, or *Pleskow*, a strong provincial town on the river *Welika*, which, besides its being an episcopal see, is a place of considerable trade, and consequently populous. It held out a siege against the *Poles* in 1581.
- b *PETSHERSKOI*, a convent, famous for having been besieged by the knights of *Livonia*. It derives its name from certain subterraneous passages in its neighbourhood, which are commonly reported to have a communication with those of *Kiew*.

THE provincial town of *Welikie Luki*, in the province of *WELIKOLUK*, gives title to the archbishop of *Novogrod*.

IN the province of *TWER*, from which the emperors of *Russia* take one of their titles, stands the city of *Twer*, an archiepiscopal see, a place of considerable trade for corn, and formerly the residence of several great dukes and princes. It lies on both sides the *Wolga*, at the influx of the river *Twerza*.

- c *CHOLM*, once the residence of the sovereign of the country, who was descended from the royal family of *Twer*, is now a very inconsiderable place.

The province of *BELOSERO*

HAD formerly its own princes, being an appenage of the great ducal family.

THE only place of note in it, is *Belosero*, the provincial town, now situated on the west, but said to have stood formerly on the north side of the lake of the same name, when, in 862, *Sincus*, a *Waregarian* prince, resided there.

d II. The Government of ARCHANGEL

Is divided into the circles of *Kola*, *Dwina*, *Kewrol*, *Mesen*, *Pustofersk*, *Tarensk*, *Solwytsbegotsk*, *Ustjug*, *Washok*, *Totma*, *Wologda*, and *Galitsk*.

IN the circle of *Kola*, and near a town of the same name, stands the famous convent of *Peshenskoi*, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

USTIUG WELIKI is an archbishop's see, in the circle of *Ustjug*, and a place of considerable trade, for which it lies very convenient, having a communication by water with *Archangel* and *Wologda*.

- e THE city of *Wologda*, in the circle, and upon a river of the same name, is an archiepiscopal see, and was once a place of great trade, which has been ruined by the rise of *Archangel*.

ARCHANGEL, the capital of this government, and an episcopal see, lies in 64 deg. 34 min. north latitude, on the river *Dwina*, about 75 wersts from the *White Sea*. Its buildings are all of wood, after the *Russian* manner, except the *Gostinnoi Dwor*, or merchants exchange, which is of stone. This city, before the great increase of *Petersburg*, was a place of very considerable trade, the foundation of which was laid by the *English*, so early as the reign of *Iwan Basilowitz* (I).

THE other circles in this province contain no place worthy noticing here.

- f THE western part of this government, bordering upon the *Icy Sea*, includes about a third part of *Lapland*; the other two-thirds of which belong to *Sweden* and *Denmark*. This country is very large; occupying near eight degrees of longitude, and extending from the *Polar Circle* to the *North Cape*. Its inhabitants were confusedly known to the ancients; under the name of *Troglodytes*, and northern pigmies; appellations well suited to

The govern-
ment of Arch-
angel.
Its divisions,
and principal
places.

Russian Lap-
land.

(I) Captain *Chancellor*, being in search of the north-east passage, in 1533, discovered the port of *Archangel* (so called from a small convent and chapel, dedicated to St. *Michael* the archangel, the only buildings then on that desert spot) and sailed up the *Dwina*, till he came to *Wologda*, from whence he went over land to *Moscow*, where he delivered a letter from *Edward VI.* to the czar, who received it favourably, and granted the *English* licence to trade, upon their paying very easy duties: a method it were, perhaps, to be wished all nations would follow. The advantage they reaped from this commerce soon prompted other nations, and

particularly the *Dutch*, to put in for a share of it. However the *English* still preserved their superiority, and their privileges were renewed by *Peter the Great*, with the limitation of their sending their goods only to *Moscow*. Though the port of *Archangel* is frozen up during seven months of the year, the *Russians*, after their acquaintance with the *English*, found their account better in sending their goods thither than to *Great Novogrod*, which used before to be their principal mart; and the trade of *Archangel* continued to flourish, till *Peter I.* opened a new channel to his subjects, by means of the *Baltic* sea.

their

their stature, which seldom exceeds, or even equals, four feet, and to their living in a caves. They are, as they then were, swarthy; though the other northern nations are fair; almost all little, whilst their neighbours, and the inhabitants of *Iceland*, under the *Polar Circle*, are tall: they are nimble and robust; covered with a hard thick skin, which enables them the better to resist the cold; have remarkably small hands and feet, as if intended for clambering over their rocky country, which they are so passionately fond of as not to be able to live elsewhere, and which none but themselves would inhabit. *Olaus*, and others who have copied him, tell us, that these people were originally *Finns*, who retired into *Lapland*, where their stature degenerated. But why, as *M. de Voltaire* observes^b, when they were moving, did they not chuse a less northern land, where life would have been more comfortable to them? Why are their features, make, complexion, B entirely different from their ancestors? It would, perhaps, be just as right to say, that the grass which grows in *Lapland* comes from the grass of *Denmark*, and that the fish peculiar to their lakes come from the fish of *Sweden*. It is highly probable that the *Laplanders* are original natives of the land they now dwell in, as their animals are also a production of that country, and that nature has made them for each other.

THOSE of them who live towards *Finland* have adopted some expressions of their neighbours, which happens to all people. But when two nations give absolute different names to things which they constantly use, to objects which they always see; a strong presumption lies, that neither of those people is a colony of the other. The *Finns* call a bear *karu*, and the *Laplanders* call it *muriet*. The sun, in the *Finlandish* tongue, is called C *auringa*, and the *Laplanders* name it *beve*. The inhabitants of *Finland* and of *Swedish Lapland* worshipped formerly an idol, to which they gave the appellation of *Jumulac*; and since the time of *Gustavus Adolphus*, to whom they owe the name of *Lutherans*, they call JESUS CHRIST the son of *Jumulac*. The *Russian Laplanders* are now deemed members of the *Greek church*: but those of them that lie straggling towards the farther mountains of the *North Cape*, content themselves with worshipping a god under rude and uncouth representations.

THESE *Laplanders*, whose number is but small, have but very few ideas, and are happy in not having more, for then they would have new wants which they would not be able to satisfy. They are long-lived, little subjected to illness, and drink scarce any thing P but water in the coldest of climates. The custom which has been imputed to them, of desiring strangers to honour their wives and daughters with their embraces, proceeds probably from their opinion of the superior merit of those strangers, whom they think qualified to correct the defects of their breed. The virtuous *Lacedemonians* did the same. Jealousy and the laws hinder other men from lending their wives; but the *Laplanders* were almost without laws, and probably were not jealous.

Samoyedes.

IN this country are also great numbers of *Samoyedes*, whose nation, indeed, extends very far along the coast of the *Frozen Ocean* and *Ice Sea*. But those that live in the government of *Archangel* are quite separated from the rest of their tribe, and in a manner, excluded from any intercourse with them. They have also a different dialect, though they E agree perfectly in their religion and customs. They are all very poor, simple, and undesigning; but their tawny complexion, longish eyes, and puffed cheeks, make them appear very disagreeable to strangers. In size and make they resemble the *Laplanders*; but they are not of the same race. Like them, they use rein-deer to draw their sledges; they know not what bread is, and they live in huts and caverns: but, in other respects, nature has distinguished this species of men very visibly from that of the *Laplanders*. The upper jaw of the *Samoyedes* is more prominent, advancing as far as their nose; and their ears are higher. Neither men nor women, among them, have any hair but upon the head, and their nipples are as black as jet. The *Laplanders* are not particularised by any of these signs. There are many more species of men than is generally thought^c. Those F of the *Samoyedes* and that of the *Hottentots* seem to be the two extremes of the continent; and if we attend to the black breasts of the *Samoyede* women, and the apron which nature has given to the *Hottentots*, and which reaches half way down their thighs, we shall have some idea of the varieties of the human race; varieties unknown in our cities, where people are scarcely acquainted with any thing, but just what is about them.

THE *Samoyedes* have very little knowledge of a supreme being, but pay their adoration to mis-shapen wooden images of men, beasts, fishes birds, &c. They also worship the heads of beasts of prey, particularly those of bears, which they put up in the woods, and fervently pray to; that being an animal of which they are extremely afraid. They G acknowledge a good and a bad principle; and indeed the horrid climate in which they

^b Hist. de l'Emp. de Russie, tom. i. p. 16.

^c Id. ibid. p. 38.

a live seems, in some measure, to excuse that belief, so antient among so many people, and so natural to the ignorant and unfortunate. Their priests, whom they call *shamanns* or *kodesniks*, are chosen from among such as are most advanced in years; and they imagine that these men can reveal to them the will of their gods, foretel future events, and perform all kinds of magical operations. Neither theft nor murder is ever heard of among them: being almost without passions, they are without injustice. They have not even in their language any term to express vice and virtue. Their extreme simplicity has not yet allowed them to form abstruse notions. Instinct alone directs them: and this is, perhaps, an incontestable proof that men love justice by instinct, when their fatal passions do not overpower them.

b THEIR marriages are attended with no other ceremony than merely an agreement between the parties. Most of them have one wife; though polygamy is not prohibited among them. Like the *Ostiaks*, they call their new-born children by the name of the first animal they meet; or if they first happen to meet a relation, he generally names the child.

c THE *Samoyedes*, male and female are cloathed alike; and as they are equally disagreeable in their features, and the men, as we observe before, have no beards, it is somewhat difficult to distinguish one sex from the other. Their winter-dress is made of rein-deer skin, with the hairy side outwards; and generally the cap, coat, gloves, breeches, and stockings are sewed together, so that the whole suit makes but one piece. In summer they dress themselves with fish-skins; and instead of thread, they use the nerves of wild beasts cut into long filaments.

d THEY all subsist by hunting and fishing; the flesh of rein-deer, bears, seals or sea-dogs, fowls, dried fish, and turneps, being their usual food. They sometimes boil their flesh-meats, but more commonly eat them raw; which has made some, unjustly, call them *Man-eaters*, and accuse them of devouring their deceased friends, and prisoners taken in war. They eat even the raw entrails of any beast, according to *Xfbrant Ides* and *Le Brun*. Their hunting-weapons are bows and arrows, and javelins pointed with bone; though they have also some darts bearded with iron. When they find it difficult to subsist in one place, they immediately remove to another. Their summer-huts are made of nothing but the bark of birch-trees; but in winter they are covered with skins of rein-deer. Their whole substance consists in tents, cloaths, and rein-deer.

e TILL the reign of the czar *Iwan Basilowitz*, the only magistrate among them was the oldest man in the family or village, to whom the rest were subject. But in the reign of that prince, in the year 1563, one *Anika Stroganow*, a man of substance and of some consequence in his country, which was near *Archangel*, observing these people came yearly down a river which falls into the *Dwina*, with exceeding fine furs, ordered his son and some of his servants to follow them to their homes, and bring him word whom they were, and where they lived. They did so; and on their return *Anika* reported to the government what he had discovered. Some of these savages were afterwards carried to *Moscow*, where every thing filled them with admiration. They looked upon the czar as their god, and readily agreed that all their countrymen should pay a yearly tribute of two fables apiece. Colonies were soon established, and forts erected, beyond the *Oby* and the *Irtis*: and in 1595, a *Cosak* was sent, and a party of soldiers and a few cannon, who conquered their country, as *Cortez* subdued *Mexico*. By degrees the habitable places were occupied by *Russians* governors, troops, and traders, and the *Russians* laws were introduced. The *Samoyedes* made two attempts to shake off the yoke, but were soon reduced. Their furs, which they dispose of to the *Russians* for trifles, are the finest in the whole empire.

f

III. The Government of Moscow,

THE most populous and best-cultivated part of the whole empire, in the center of which it lies, is divided into eleven circles, viz. *Kostroma*, *Yaroslavl* (formerly a principality), *Uglitsb*, *Pereflow-Salesk* (or the duchy of *Rostrow*), *Yuriw*, *Susdal*, *Wolodimer* (which is a duchy), *Pereflow-Rinasanskoi*, *Kaluga*, *Tula*, and *Moscow*.

The government of Moscow.
Its divisions,

and principal places.

g THE principal places in this government are, In the circle of *Yaroslavl*, a town of the same name famous for having been the residence of the unfortunate *Ernest John* duke of *Courland*. It is also remarkable for its manufactures of linen, flowered woollen stuffs, and *yuchte*, or *Russian* leather.

In the circle of *Pereflow-Salesk*, the city of *Rostow*, an archiepiscopal see.

In the circle of *Susdal*, the city of *Susdal*, a bishop's see, and the place where *Peter I.* confined his first wife *Eudoxia Feodorowna*, in the convent of *St. Basil*, after he had divorced her.

IN the circle of *Wolodimer*, from which the czar takes one of his titles, the provincial town of *Wolodimer*, formerly one of the seats of the great dukes : and

IN the circle of *Moscow*, the city of *Moscow*, or as the *Russians* write it, *Moskwa*, the antient capital of the *Russian* empire, and residence of the czars. It derives its name from the river *Moskwa*, which runs on the south-side of it; and was founded in the year 1156; or at least it appears to have been a city in 1175^d (K). It lies in a fine fertile plain, in a round situation, formed by the winding of the river, and is about twenty-four *English* miles in circuit. The *Russians* say it was formerly twice as large. Some of its houses are well-built, but in general they are very mean. The streets are wide, and well laid out, but dirty, some of them not being paved. The number of churches in this city is computed at sixteen hundred, eleven of which are cathedrals, and two hundred and seventy-one parish churches. The rest belong to convents. This city is divided into four circles, which lie one within another.

The interior circle is the *Kremlin*, which is both a palace and a fortress, built no longer ago than the fourteenth century^e, so little ancient are the cities in *Russia*, by *Italian* architects, in the *Gothic* taste, which was then in fashion. There are nine cathedrals in this part of the city; in one of which, *St. Michael's* church, the remains of the *Russian* sovereigns, and of their male descendants, are interred: those of their consorts, and the princesses, are deposited in the convent of *Tshudow*. The whole of this circle is surrounded with deep moats and ramparts, and with very high and thick walls, flanked with six towers, and planted with cannon.

IN the second circle, called *Kitaigorod*, or the *Chinese Town*, is, among many spacious buildings, the famous chief dispensary, from which the whole empire is served with medicines, and where all the gallipots and other vessels are of fine porcelaine, decorated with the imperial arms. Before the time of *Peter the Great* there was not a physician in the whole *Russian* empire, except the czar's, and not one apothecary. One side of this circle lies towards the *Kremlin*; another is surrounded by the river *Moskwa*; a third by the *Neglina*; and the fourth is inclosed by a wall which runs from the *Neglina* to the *Moskwa*.

IN the third circle, which surrounds the former, and is called, *Belgorod*, that is, the *White Town*, from a white wall with which it is encompassed, is, among several other markets, one in which are sold new wooden houses, which may be taken to pieces, and put together where the purchaser pleases.

IN the fourth circle, which is called *Simlanoigorod*, that is, a town surrounded with ramparts of earth, and which incloses the three preceding parts, is an university, founded by *M. Showalow*, chamberlain to the present empress, in the year 1755, a mathematical school, and an observatory; a cloth-manufactory, a magazine for provisions and forage, a mint, and an artillery-arsenal.

THESE four circles are surrounded with vast suburbs, called *Slabodas*, near the western of which is the old castle of *Preobrazhenskoi*, from whence the first regiment of guards derives its name.

THE whole number of the inhabitants of this city is thought to be near five hundred thousand.

ABOUT sixty wersts from *Moscow* lies the famous convent of *Troitz*, or the *Trinity*, a quadrangular *Gothic* building, surrounded with walls, ramparts, and moats, and always garrisoned by a company of soldiers. This convent, the richest of any in all *Russia*, having no less than one hundred and twenty thousand peasants, who are its vassals, was the place where *Peter I.* took shelter after narrowly escaping the hands of the *Strelitzes*, who had been spirited up against him by his half-sister *Sophia*. It has been an ancient custom for the sovereign of the *Russian* empire to go a pilgrimage to this place.

IV. The Government of NISCHNEI NOVOGROD,

WHICH includes the circles of *Nischnei Novogrod*, *Balaca*, *Arsimas*, and *Kasimow*. IN the circle of *Nischnei Novogrod* lies the city of *Nischnei Novogrod*, an archbishop's see, a place of great trade, and very rich; but extremely damaged by fire in 1715, in which some thousands of its inhabitants perished. It was built by the great-duke *Jurü* or *George Wselowoditsh*, in the year 1222, and was the appenage and place of residence of several of the petty *Russian* princes.

THIS government is chiefly inhabited by the following tribes. THE *Mordunians*, *Morduans*, or *Morduats*, whose language resembles the *Finlandish* dialect.

^d BUSCHING. ^e VOLTAIRE.
(K) M. de Voltaire does not allow it to have consisted, huts, peopled by unhappy fugitives from the oppression of the race of *Gengis Kan*.
even in the thirteenth century, of any thing more than

a THE *Tsheremissians*, distinguished into the *Logowoi*, who inhabit the plain on the left side of the *Volga*, and the *Nagornoi*, who live among the mountains on the right side of that river. The former belong to this government, but the latter chiefly to that of *Kasan*. They seem to have no religion but that of nature. Their chief sacrificing priest they call *Yugtush*, and under him is another stiled *Musban*. Their language is neither that of the *Tartars* nor that of the *Russians*. Many of these people have been baptized.

Tsheremissians,

b THE *Tshuwashians*, dispersed through this and the government of *Kasan*. In the district of *Tshebaxar* they exceed eighteen thousand souls; in that of *Husmademianski* they are above ten thousand; in the territory of *Sirilsgorod* they amount at least to twelve thousand; and in that of *Swyask* to sixty thousand; but in the district of *Kokshaisk* they do not exceed four hundred. They worship, as they say, one God; whom they call *Tora*; they also consider the sun as a kind of divinity, and pay their adoration to that luminary. They have several other subordinate deities, which they say hold the same rank with the saints of the *Russians*. Every village has its own idol, which is erected in a square place, consecrated and inclosed with pallisades. Their devotions are performed near a fire, where they offer a sheep to the idol, and hang up the skin as a trophy in honour of it. The person who performs this sacrifice, and to whom they have recourse in every difficulty, is stiled *Yumasse*; and both sexes are capable of this religious office. Great numbers of these pagans have been baptised, and in all the *Russian* towns in the districts where they live, schools have been erected for the instruction of their youth in the principles of the Christian religion, in order to qualify them to be missionaries among their own tribe.

and Tshuwashians.

Their worship.

V. The Government of SMOLENSK,

CONTAINING *White Russia*, properly so called, was ceded by *Poland* to *Russia*, as a duchy, by the treaty of *Andrussow*, concluded in 1667, and confirmed in 1686.

The government of Smolensk.

THE most remarkable places in this government are, *SMOLENSK*, its capital, a large town, well defended with fortifications, on the river *Dnieper*. It is the governor's residence, a bishop's see, a place of considerable trade, and is recorded in history as the subject of many disputes between the *Poles* and *Russians*; during which it was frequently besieged, and taken by both parties.

ANDRUSSOW, a village between the towns of *Smolensk* and *Mstislaw*, close by the river *Harodna*, is famous for the treaty of peace concluded there betwixt *Russia* and *Poland*, in 1667.

VI. The Government of KIEW.

THIS government is a part of *Little Russia*, and is inhabited by the *Cosaks*, which word implies irregular troops of horse.

The government of Kiew, inhabited by the Cosaks.

THE *Cosaks* are divided into *European* and *Asiatic*.

The European Cosaks consist of,

e 1. THE *Zaporog Cosaks*, who dwell below the cataract of the *Dnieper*, some on the side next to *Russia*, and others on the opposite side of that river. The latter are subdivided into *Sietshian* or *Lower Cosaks*, and *Upper Cosaks*. Most of these are subject to the *Russians*.

Their various names.

2. THE *Bielorogod Cosaks*: and,

3. A PART of the *Don Cosaks*. Both these are under the *Russian* government.

The Asiatic Cosaks are,

1. THE rest of the *Don Cosaks*.

2. THE *Grebin Cosaks*.

3. THE *Taik Cosaks*.

f 4. THE *Western Calmuks*, who, retiring from those that inhabited the south borders of *Siberia* under *Taiuki Can*, settled upon the *Volga*, and are dependent upon *Russia*.

THE *Cosaks*, as appears from *Constantine Porphyrogenetes*, were known by that name ever since the 948th year of *Christ*. They dwelt upon mount *Caucasus*, in the place now called *Cabardy*, and were reduced to the *Russian* dominion by prince *Mstislaw*, in the year 1021. The *Polish* writers describe the *Cosaks* as a strange race of men; but this may be chiefly owing to national prejudice. They reproach them in particular with being a mixed rabble. It is true indeed, that many *Russians*, *Poles*, and others, who could not live at home, have, at different times, been admitted among the *Cosaks*; but the latter, abstracted from these fugitives, must have been an ancient and well-governed nation.

Some account of them.

g TOWARDS the beginning of the sixteenth century, the *Zaporog-Cosaks* fixed their habitations on the spacious plains that extend along the banks of the *Dnieper*. They had undergone considerable hardships from the incursions of the *Tartars*, for which they afterwards found means to avenge themselves in an ample manner. The *Poles*, being sensible how serviceable

Zaporog Cosaks.

serviceable the *Cosaks* might be in defending them from the ravages of the *Tartars*, and even of the *Russians*, proposed to them terms of alliance. In 1562, they solemnly took them under their protection, and engaged to pay them an annual subsidy; in return for which, the *Cosaks* were to keep on foot a sufficient body of troops for the defence of the *Polish* dominions. With a view to bind them still more strongly by ties of interest, the *Poles* gave them the whole country between the rivers *Dnieper* and *Niester*, and the borders of *Tartary*. The *Cosaks* applied themselves with great industry to the cultivation of this fertile spot; so that in a short time it was interspersed with large towns and handsome villages. Besides this, they continually harassed the *Turks*, and did them great damage by their incursions; and in order to prevent the latter from pursuing them, or making reprisals, they possessed themselves of several small islands in the *Dnieper*, where they kept their magazines, &c. The *Hettman*, or general of the *Cosaks*, was not in the least subordinate to the field-marshal of *Poland*; but acted in concert with him as an ally, and not as a subject of that republic. But this alliance, though of such manifest advantage to both parties, was not of long duration. The *Poles*, seeing the vast improvements made by the *Cosaks* in the country they had given up to them, became envious of them, and actually made an attempt to bring them into subjection. The *Cosaks*, fired with indignation at such an unexpected requital of their services, applied themselves for protection and redress both to *Russia* and the *Ottoman Porte*. The result of this was a long and bloody war, which, during the 16th and 17th centuries, was renewed from time to time, with the utmost animosity and fury. In the years 1587, 1596, 1630, 1637, and 1638, the *Poles* were generally victorious; but in 1648, the *Cosaks* gained great advantages over them, and the next year came to an accommodation, in which they not only preserved their old immunities, but obtained additional privileges. The result of all was, that these *Cosaks* remained under the protection of *Russia*; and, as their former country was entirely laid waste in the late wars, they settled in the *Russian Ukraine*, upon receiving formal assurances from the court of *Russia*, that no alteration should be made in their political constitution, and that no taxes whatever should be laid upon them. The *Cosaks*, on the other hand, were always to keep in readiness a good body of troops for the service of *Russia*: but, in the year 1708, *Mazeppah*, their *Hettman* or chief, went over from the *Russians* to the *Swedes*; upon which *Peter I.* resolved to prevent such revolts for the future. To this end, after the battle of *Pultawa*, he sent a strong detachment into the above-mentioned little islands in the *Dnieper*, whither the *Cosaks* had fled, with their wives and children, and all their effects; and ordered them all to be put to the sword without distinction, and the plunder to be divided among his soldiers. He likewise sent a great number of men into their country, and caused several thousands of the *Cosaks* to be carried to the coasts of the *Baltic*, where they were put to all sorts of hard labour; and by that means he, in a manner, extirpated them. On the death of their last *Hettman* in 1722, that office was abolished; but it was restored again in 1750, when they chose for their *Hettman* count *Kirila Grigoriiewitch Rasumowsky*, a *Russian* nobleman of great distinction, whose election was approved of by the empress *Elizabeth*.

WHAT distinguishes the *Zaporog Cosaks* from all other people, is, that they never suffer any woman in their settlements, as the *Amazons* are said not to have suffered any men among them. The women of these *Cosaks* live in other islands of the *Dnieper*. They never marry, nor have any family: all their male children are enrolled as soldiers, and the females are left with their mothers. The brother often has children by his sister, and the father by his daughter. They know no laws but those which custom has introduced, founded on their natural wants; tho' they have among them some priests of the *Greek* persuasion. They serve in the armies as irregulars; and woe to those who fall into their hands^f.

THE country of these *Cosaks*, who are an assemblage of ancient *Roxelans*, *Sarmatians*, and *Tartars*, is called the *Ocraine* or *Ukraine*. It lies upon the borders of *Russia* and *Poland*, *Little Tartary*, and *Turky* (L), and was anciently a part of *Scythia*. By virtue of the last treaty settled between *Russia* and *Poland*, in 1693, the latter remains in possession of all that part of the *Ukraine* which is situated on the west side of the *Dnieper*, and is now but poorly cultivated. That on the east side, inhabited by the *Cosaks*, is in a much better condition, and extends about two hundred and sixty miles in length, and as many in breadth. It is one continued fertile plain, watered by a great number of fine rivers, diversified with pleasant woods, and yields such plenty of all sorts of grain, pulse, tobacco, honey, and wax, as to supply a great part of the *Russian* empire with those commodities. Its pastures are exceeding rich, and its cattle very large; but the inhabitants are greatly plagued by locusts, which infest this fine country. The houses in the *Ukraine* are like those of the *Russians*, mostly built with timber.

^f VOLTAIRE.

(L) The word *Ocraine*, or *Ukraine*, properly signifies a frontier.

THE

a THE *Cosaks* are tall and well made, generally hawk-nosed, and of a good mein. They are hardy, vigorous, brave, and extremely jealous of what is most valuable in life, their liberty; fickle and wavering, but sociable, chearful, and sprightly. They are a very powerful people, and their forces consist wholly of cavalry. Their dialect is a compound of the *Polish* and *Russian* language; but the latter is the most predominant. They were formerly pagans or Mahometans; but upon their entering into the *Polish* service, they were baptized Christians of the *Romish* communion; and now, that they belong to *Russia*, they profess themselves members of the *Greek* church.

EACH of their towns, with the district belonging to it, is governed by an officer called *Ottomann*, or *Attamann*.

b THE *Don Cosaks*, so called from their residence upon the banks of the river *Don*, greatly resemble those already described. In the year 1559, when the czar *Iwan Basilowitz* was emperor of *Russia*, they voluntarily put themselves under his protection, and are at this time on a pretty equal footing with the other *Russian* subjects. They have several towns and villages, upon the banks of the *Don*; but are prevented from extending themselves farther up the country, by the scarcity of fresh water and wood in many places. Their chief support is grazing and agriculture, and occasionally robbing and plundering, for which they want neither capacity nor inclination. Every town is governed by a magistrate called *Tamann*; and the *Tamanns*, with their towns, are under the jurisdiction of two *Ottomanns*, who reside at *Tsherkasky*. The troops of these *Cosaks* likewise consist entirely of cavalry. In this country, all the towns and villages are fortified and encompassed with palisades, to defend them against the incursions of the *Calmuks* and *Kuban Tartars*, with whom they are continually at war. The *Cosaks*, in general, are of great service to garrison-towns by way of defence, or to pursue an enemy; but are not so good at regular attacks.

THE *Sietsh Cosaks*, who are also called *Haidamacks*, have their particular *Hettman*. They inhabit the *Russian*, *Polish*, and *Turkish* dominions, along the banks of the *Dnieper*.

THE *Yaik Cosaks* dwell on the south side of the river *Yaik*, and upon the success of the *Russian* arms in the kingdom of *Asiracan*, voluntarily submitted to them. In stature they greatly resemble the other *Cosaks*; though, by their boorish manner of living, and inter-marriages with the *Tartars*, they have not the shape and air peculiar to the rest of their countrymen. Their natural dispositions and customs are, however, nearly the same. Husbandry, fishing, and feeding of cattle, are their principal employments, and, like the other tribes, they let slip no opportunity of making depredations on their neighbours. Their continual wars with the *Kara Kalpacs*, and the *Kasatshaia Horda*, oblige them to keep their towns and villages in a state of defence. They are indeed subject to *Russian Waiwodes*, to whom they pay annual tribute in corn, wax, honey, and cattle: but they have also their particular chiefs, who govern them according to their ancient customs. Notwithstanding that the generality of the *Yaik Cosaks* profess the *Greek* religion, yet a great many reliques of Mahometanism and paganism are still found among them. Being naturally bold and hardy, they make excellent soldiers; and they are not so turbulent as the other *Cosaks*. They live entirely at peace with the *Calmuks*, and their other neighbours, and even maintain a commercial intercourse with them.

THE government of *KIEW* is divided into the circles of *Starodub*, *Sewerien* or *Neshin*, (formerly a duchy, ceded by the *Poles* to the *Russians* by the treaty of *Andrussow* in 1667) *Tshernigow* (formerly a duchy, and ceded also by the *Poles* to the *Russians* by the same treaty) *Kiew*, *Pereieslawl*, *Priluki*, *Lubni*, *Mirgorod*, *Gaditsb*, *Pultawa*, and *Samara*.

Division of the government of Kiew.

THE places of most note in these circles are,

STARODUB, declared a royal free city by the kings of *Poland*, and one of the four guarantee towns yielded as a security to the *Russians* by the *Poles*.

KIEW, or *Kiow*, formerly *Kisovia*, the capital of this government, said to owe its origin to *Kius*, a *Slavonian* prince; and, according to the *Polish* writers, to have been built in the year 430: but this account is not to be depended on. It was, at first, the residence of *Skold* and *Dir*, two celebrated *Waregarian* chiefs: but in the year 1037, the great-duke *Jaroslav* declared it the capital of all *Russia*; and it continued to be the residence of the great-dukes till the twelfth century. Afterwards it fell into the hands of the *Poles*, who by the treaty of *Andrussow*, in 1667, gave it up to the *Russians* for a certain term of years, and in 1686 ceded it for ever. While *Kiew*, was subject to the *Poles*, the papists had a bishop there; but it is now the see of a *Greek* archbishop, who is the principal of its university. In this town, which is the only one in all *Russia* where there are any remains of antiquity, are some *Greek* inscriptions twelve hundred years old, but not such as can throw any light upon the history of the people.

PULTAWA, famous for the siege laid to it by the *Swedes* in 1709, and for the defeat of *Charles XII.* after which it fell into the hands of the *Russians*. It stands on the river *Worskla*, and is not a place of any great strength.

VII. The Government of BIELOGOROD,

The govern-
ment of Bielogorod.

A PART of *Little Russia*, inhabited by *Cosaks*, is one of the most fruitful provinces in this whole empire, and supplies *Poland* with prodigious quantities of black cattle, well known by the name of *Ukraine* oxen. This province, and that of *Kiew*, are defended from the incursions of the *Crim Tartars* by lines and forts, which reach from the *Dnieper* to the *Don*.

Its divisions,
&c.

THE government of *Bielogorod* includes the districts of *Izium*, *Sumyn*, *Kursk*, the circles of *Bielogorod*, *Waluiki*, and *Siewsk*, and the province of *Orel*.

Its capital, formerly called *Sarkel*, now *Bielogorod*, stands on the river *Donetz*, was built in the year 990 by the great-duke *Wladimir*, and is an archbishop's see.

VIII. The Government of WORONESH and ASOW

The govern-
ment of Woron-
esh and
Asow.
Its divisions
and chief
places.

INCLUDES the districts of *Woronesh*, *Idez*, *Sbatzk*, *Tambow*, *Korotoiak*, and *Bachmut*. Its principal places are,

WORONESH, a bishop's see, and the residence of the *Statthalter* or governor. It lies upon the narrow, but very deep river of the same name, and most of its streets are laid with beams of timber, instead of a stone-pavement. Here *Peter the Great*, to the astonishment of all *Russia*, built his first large ships of war, in order to maintain his sovereignty over the *Black Sea*; and at the same time he made another dock-yard at *Tawrow*, a small town on the same river. The vessels built at this last were chiefly galleys and barks, which were employed in the war against the *Turks*.

ASOW, a celebrated and important fortress, and once a town of considerable trade, but now demolished. Near this place, which lies in the district of *Bachmut*, the *Greeks*, many centuries ago, built the city of *Tanais*, which was very famous for its trade, and from time to time underwent many vicissitudes. The *Genoese*, who settled a trade with *Russia* soon after captain *Chancellor's* discovery of *Archangel*, became masters of this place in the beginning of the thirteenth century, and gave it the name of *Tana*, or *Catana* (M). From the *Genoese* it fell into the hands of the *Turks*, lost its trade, and became an inconsiderable town. In 1637, it was taken by the *Cosaks*; who defended it against the *Turks* in 1641, and the next year set fire to it, and blew it up. The *Turks* rebuilt it, with strong fortifications: the *Russians* laid claim to in 1672, and took it in 1696; but by the treaty of the *Pruth* in 1711, it was restored to the *Turks*. In 1736, the *Russians* became masters of *Asow*; but by the treaty concluded at *Belgrade* in 1739, they were obliged to relinquish, and entirely destroy the place. Such were the various turns of fortune which befel this important fortress.

THE *Don Cosaks* are the most numerous part of the inhabitants of the government of *Woronesh* and *Asow*. Their *Ottomann*, or chief, resides chiefly at a town called *Tsherkask*, built after the *Turkish* manner, on the river *Don*.

THESE eight governments include the country supposed always to have been ancient *Russia*.

The Duchies of LIVONIA and ESTHONIA

The duchies of
Livonia and
Esthonia.

WERE formerly possessed by three different nations, viz. the *Livonians*, *Lettonians*, and *Esthonians*; in consequence of which they were divided into *Liefland* or *Livonia*, *Lettland* or *Lettonia*, and *Estland* or *Esthonia*; not to mention the duchies of *Courland* and *Semgallen*, which also made a part of this country, till the sixteenth century.

THE name of *Liefland* or *Livonia*, which properly belongs only to the district that lies along the *Duna*, has in time been applied also to *Lettonia*; and, generally speaking, the name *Livonia* comprehends the country properly so called, together with *Lettonia* and *Esthonia*: but, strictly, *Livonia* is only the south, and *Esthonia* is the north part of the country.

Their bounda-
ries and ex-
tent.

LIVONIA, including *Esthonia* and *Lettonia*, borders on *Courland*, the *Baltic*, the gulph of *Finland*, *Ingria*, *Russia Proper*, and *Poland*; and extends in length from north to south, from one hundred and fifty to two hundred miles, and in breadth from one hundred and thirty to one hundred and sixty, exclusive of the islands belonging to it.

Air, soil, and
produce.

THIS country consists partly of woods and morasses, and partly in a very fruitful soil. The air is clear and healthy; and though the winter be severe and long, and the summer consequently short, yet the heat of the climate during this last season is such, that the grain sown immediately before or just after winter, ripens perfectly, and yields such plenti-

§ BUSCHING Geog. & MULLER Samlung Geschichte, vol. ii.

(M) The *Tartars*, who were very powerful in these parts, seem to have been in possession of it long before; for there are *Asow* coins yet extant, on which is the name of the *Taktamys Kan*. Busching.

a ful crops, that *Livonia* is called the “Granary of the north (N).” It likewise produces abundance of flax, hemp, and lin-seed, reckoned the best of any; and exports great quantities of hides and leather. Its horned cattle, horses, and goats, are very numerous, and much esteemed: but its sheep are not extraordinary, their wool being coarse.

THE rivers which water this country are the *Duna*, the *Aa*, the *Embek*, the *Pernaw*, and others of less note. It has also several lakes, as the *Peipus* lake, the *Werczer* lake, which is twenty-three miles in length and nine in breadth, the *Lugau* lake, &c. These, as well as the rivers, afford plenty of fine salmon and other fish. Turbots are likewise caught in the gulph of *Riga*, and a great part of the inhabitants subsist by their fisheries. Upon these coasts are taken prodigious shoals of stromlings, a species of herrings, which, when salted, are the ordinary food of the lower sort of people. A *Swede* has of late set on foot a pearl-fishery, and there are between forty and fifty rivulets and lakes in *Esthonia* and *Livonia* where it is carried on: but the former yields more pearls than the latter, which almost equal the oriental in size and clearness. Rivers and lakes.

THIS country was formerly over-run with vast forests of oak, fir, pine, and birch-trees: but the great quantities of timber used in building houses and other structures, almost all of which are of wood, as well in the towns as villages, and the making of the harbour of *Roderwyck*, together with what the inhabitants have cut down in order to clear their lands for tillage, have thinned them considerably, and thereby helped to free this country from numbers of wild beasts, with which it used formerly to be exceedingly infested.

c THE roads and highways in *Livonia* are kept in good repair, and at the end of every *Russian* werst, a red pillar is erected, on which is marked the number of wersts from one town to another. The country-inns are very mean; but the post-houses have every thing in good order. The usual way of travelling in winter, is in sledges.

THIS country was formerly interspersed with many towns and villages; but they have been so destroyed by the wars and commotions, which *Livonia* has experienced, that scarcely any thing more than the ruins of them now remain. In many countries, a traveller passes through more towns in a journey of fifty or threescore miles, than in all this vast extent of land. To the same cause, among several others, may likewise be ascribed the indigence of the *Livonian* peasants, who are obliged to carry to their lords whatever corn they intend for sale, and to take of them in return, iron, salt, tobacco, and such other things as they have occasion for, charged at an exorbitant rate. These lords afterwards distil spirits from it, which they vend; or send it to the sea-ports, where they dispose of it to the best advantage. Some account of the countries.

A much greater number of people might doubtless be maintained in *Livonia* than it has at present, for it has been extremely depopulated by war, pestilence, and famine. Their number may be partly ascertained by the following method: the estates in *Livonia* are taxed according to the number of *Hakes*, that is, of men fit for labour, between the age of fifteen and fifty; five of these being reckoned to a *Hake*. Now the peasants of *Livonia* are said to consist of no more than five thousand *Hakes*, which amount to twenty-five thousand labouring men: an inconsiderable number for so extensive a province. Their inhabitants,

BESIDES inhabitants who are descended from the *Germans*, *Livonia* contains great numbers of *Esthonians* and *Lettonians*, people of a very different extraction and language; though their manners and customs are pretty much the same. The *Esthonians*, from their similarity of speech, and other circumstances, seem to be derived from the same stock with the *Finlanders*. The *Lettonians*, both from their name and language, seem to have sprung from that of the *Lithuanians*, who were composed of a variety of *Sarmatian* tribes. The *Livonians* call both these *Undeutschen*, that is, people who are not *Germans*. Their stature seldom exceeds the middle size; but they are vigorous and hardy, enduring cold and heat, and undergoing the greatest fatigue and labour with alacrity. Their houses are very mean, and the rooms quite black with smoke, owing to their making their fires in the middle of them. They are all vassals, or rather slaves to their lords, who may treat them as they please, provided they do not kill them. They are chiefly employed in agriculture, grazing, and fishing; have a natural genius for mechanics, though there are few artificers among them; are much addicted to drunkenness, and indulge many superstitious practices in private. There are also many *Russians* in this country. The languages usually spoken here are the *German*, the *Russian*, the *Swedish*, the *Finlandish*, the *Lettonian* and *Esthonian* tongues. Most of the inhabitants of *Livonia* are *Lutherans*; but the *Calvinists*, papists, and members of the *Greek* church, residing among them, are indulged with the free exercise

(N) In good years the *Livonians* export great quantities of rye and barley to *Holland*, *Spain*, and other parts. Before the corn is threshed, they dry and harden it in kilns, heated by stoves or ovens; a method which does not in the least hurt it for sowing after-

wards, or for making bread or malt. We find this practice much recommended by the much celebrated M. Duhamel, in his *Traité de la Conservation des Grains*.

of their religion. Their nobility, who are very numerous, and mostly of foreign extraction, being descended from such families as came anciently into *Livonia*, with the king of *Denmark*, or removed thither from different parts of *Germany*, particularly *Lower Saxony*, together with some *Swedes* and *Poles*, have, in general, always chosen a military life. Those who are otherwise inclined, who chuse to reside upon their estates, and make improvements in agriculture, are commonly invested with civil and juridical employments; and of this class are governors, prefects, land-marshals provincial, and *Hake* judges, &c. They have no reason to complain of having fallen under the dominions of *Russia*; all their rights and privileges have been since confirmed to them, and the estates which the crown of *Sweden* had re-assumed having also been restored to the former feudatories.

A diet or provincial assembly is held for *Esthonia* once in three years, at *Reval*; in which one of the chief of the nobility, who is equal to a land-marshal, is elected by vote, and at the expiration of his office he is entitled, on the first vacancy, to the post of *land rath*, or provincial counsellor. All matters relative to the public utility are discussed in this diet, and out of it a committee is appointed, in which the *land-raths* have a seat. The diet is convened by the chief of the nobility, on any important occasion: but it is never held at *Riga*, without leave from the court of *Russia*; which being obtained, a land-marshal is chosen, whose business is chiefly restricted to the affairs under the consideration of the diet.

and govern-
ment.

ALL their parishes in *Esthonia*, which are only forty in number, from whence we may judge of their extent, are subject to the nobility in point of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. They are divided into provostships, according to the circles in which they lie. The consistory of nobles is composed of a president, who is a land-rath, provosts, the preachers at the cathedral of *Reval*, and some other assessors. Here is also a supreme spiritual court of appeals, which consists of some of the clergy, land-raths and nobles.

LIVONIA, or the general government of *Riga*, contains upwards of an hundred and twenty parishes, which are likewise under the jurisdiction of a consistory of nobles, and a general superintendant, who resides at *Riga*, where the high consistory is held. Each circle has a governor in civil and ecclesiastical affairs, who must be a nobleman. The ministers of *Pernau*, *Dorpat*, and other little towns in *Livonia*, are subject to the general superintendant: but the cities of *Riga*, *Reval*, and *Narva*, have their consistories, which, as well as their magistracy, are independent of the nobility.

THE highest tribunal in *Esthonia* is called *The Government*, or *Supreme Provincial Court*, which assembles yearly for the administration of justice, about the middle of *January*, and continues sitting till *Easter*. It is composed of the governor, who is president, and twelve land-raths, who are noble, and have the rank of major-general. The land-raths have power to fill up at their own discretion, the vacancies in their college, from among the nobility, without any licence or nomination from the crown: and the senior land-raths compose a government in the absence of the governors. Subordinate to this tribunal are the *Mann-Gerichte* or inferior courts, and *Haken-Richter* or inferior judges. The *Haken-Richter* of every circle in *Esthonia* has two adjuncts or assistants. His post is to inspect the roads and bridges, to levy the money granted by the diet for the public service, and to hear and determine all debates concerning limits and other incidents. A *Mann-Gerichte*, of which there are three, is composed of a judge, two assessors, and a notary. These take cognizance of all criminal matters, and disputes of greater importance. An appeal lies from the *Haken-Richter* to the *Mann-Richter*. Both these are appointed by the college of land-raths, and must be of the rank of nobles, and continue in office for three years only. When they are changed, the adjuncts are generally made assessors, one of the assessors is appointed *Haken-Richter*, and the former *Haken-Richter*, is preferred to the office of *Mann-Richter*. As these courts are held only at certain times, the plaintiffs are obliged to make application previously to the *General Government* or supreme council, where the governor, who is nominated by the crown, presides.

THE chief tribunal in the *General Government* of *Riga* or *Livonia*, is the *Hof-Gericht*, or supreme court of judicature, which is appointed by the czarina. There are also twelve land-raths, or provincial counsellors; but only one of them has a seat in the *Hof-Gericht*. Each of these land-raths resides in his turn, at *Riga*, for a month, in order to preside in the college of the nobility, and takes cognizance of the same affairs, as the chief of the nobles does in *Esthonia*. The land-raths indeed elect the college; but their choice must be approved by the *Russian* court. The inferior courts are the *Land-Gericht*, and *Ordnungs-Gericht*, the members of which have their respective assessors: and they are on the same footing as the *Mann Richter* and *Haken-Richter* in *Esthonia*. But from all these courts there lies an appeal to the college of judicature, established at *Petersburg* for the provinces of *Esthonia* and *Livonia*, and from that again to the senate, which is the supreme tribunal for the whole *Russian* empire.

THE

- a THE antient history of these duchies is very dark and obscure. Paganism prevailed in them till the twelfth century, when the Christian religion was first introduced into *Livonia* by the following accident. In the year 1158, some *Bremen* merchants, bound to *Wijby* in *Gothland*, being driven by distress of weather upon the coast of *Livonia*, landed at the mouth of the river *Duna*, near the *Baltic*. The inhabitants, who called themselves *Liven*, at first opposed their landing: but becoming more tractable by degrees, they at last traded with each other. After this the *Bremeners* came hither in great numbers, to traffic with the natives, with whose consent they formed a little settlement about two leagues up the river. These new colonists soon increasing, brought with them from *Germany*, about the year 1186, one *Meinhard*, an *Augustine* monk, of the convent of *Segeberg* in *Wagria*, who
- b having learned the language of the country, persuaded some of the *Livonians* to be baptized, and was soon after ordained bishop of *Kerkholm*, one of their towns, which was made an episcopal see. From this æra a great many *German* families settled in *Livonia*; and about the same time, viz. in 1196, *Canute VI.* king of *Denmark*, made an expedition into *Esthonia*; and, after conquering that province, introduced Christianity, built churches, and sent priests to officiate in them. With a view towards effecting the reduction of *Livonia*, bishop *Albert* instituted an order of knighthood, called the knights of Christ, and pope *Innocent III.* gave them the same statutes with the knights Templars, and a cross and sword to be worn upon their coat by way of badge, at the same time enjoining them obedience to the bishop of *Riga*. In the year 1206, bishop *Albert* gave this
- c order a grant of the third part of *Livonia*, with all the privileges of sovereignty; which was confirmed in 1210, by pope *Innocent III.* who exempted the knights from tythes, and other imposts. These knights were, by order of *Winno*, their first grand-master, stiled *Fratres Ensigniferi*, or sword-bearing knights. In 1231 they were united with the knights of the *Teutonic* order: and as their habit, when thus incorporated, was a white mantle with a black cross, they called themselves *Brothers of the Cross*; which humble title they, however, changed in 1382, into that of *Lords of the Cross*. In 1346, these knights purchased *Esthonia* of *Waldemar III.* king of *Denmark*, for eighteen thousand *Lothige* marks of silver (O). In 1521, the grand-master of the *Teutonic* order in *Prussia*, sold his chief jurisdiction in *Livonia*, to *Walter Plettenberg*, the general of the knights of the cross, who,
- d together with the states of *Livonia*, were discharged from their oath of obedience to the *Teutonic* grand-master; and in a little time after the emperor *Charles V.* admitted them among the princes of the empire. By this privilege the *Livonians* had a right of appealing from their high court of judicature to the aulic council at *Spires*. About this time the reformation began to extend over the whole country.

The antient history very obscure.

- TOWARDS the middle of the sixteenth century, the czar *Iwan Basilowitz* formed the design of subduing this country: upon which the city of *Reval*, and the duchy of *Esthonia*, put themselves under the protection of *Sweden*: and upon these grounds was founded the claim of the crown of *Sweden* to *Livonia*, as well as the superior privileges which *Esthonia* enjoyed beyond *Livonia*. *Gothard Ketlern*, grand-master of the order of the
- e cross, surrendered *Livonia* to the king of *Poland*, as great duke of *Lithuania*; upon which it was annexed to the crown; solemnly resigned his command; and in 1561 was created the first duke of *Courland*, but was to hold this duchy as a fief of *Poland*. The *Poles* also got possession of *Riga* and *Lettonia*: immediately after which a dreadful war broke out betwixt *Russia*, *Sweden*, and *Poland*, and laid waste this country in particular, for a whole century, till, by the famous treaty of *Oliva*, in 1660, *Livonia* was given up by *Poland* to *Sweden*, and the *Duna* was agreed on as the boundary betwixt the *Swedish* and *Polish* dominions. This country was again miserably ravaged in the great northern war, which broke out in the beginning of the present century; till at last, by the treaty of *Nystadt*, concluded in the year 1721, *Sweden* agreed to cede *Livonia* for ever to *Russia*.
- f Notwithstanding this, the *Swedes* attempted to recover it in 1741; but, instead of succeeding, lost part of *Finland*, which they were obliged to give up to *Russia* by the treaty of *Abo*, concluded in 1743.

Their present division and principal places.

- SINCE this country has been under the dominion of *Russia*, it has been divided into
1. THE general government of *Riga*;
 2. THE general government of *Reval*; and,
 3. THE government of the city of *Narva*.

IX. The general Government of R I G A

- g CONTAINS *Lettonia*, to which the name of *Livonia* is also given in a restricted sense, and consists of the circles of *Riga*, *Wenden*, *Pernau*, *Dorpat*, and the province of *Oesel*.

(O) A *Lothige* mark is nine ounces twelve penny-weights *Troy* weight.

THE principal places in this government are,

RIGA, the capital not only of this circle and government, but also of the whole province. It stands upon the river *Duna*, and is said to have taken its name from a rivulet formerly called *Rige*, now *Rising*, which is almost dried up. This city, though populous, well fortified, and famed for its opulence and commerce, is not large. *Charles XII.* king of *Sweden*, in 1660, not only declared it the capital of the country, but ranked it next in degree to *Stockholm*, and honoured all the members of its council, and their successors, with the title of noble, whilst they sit in council. The streets are narrow, but the houses are handsome, and built chiefly with stone, much in the same manner as those of the *Hanse* towns upon the *Baltic*. Its cathedral and churches, particularly those of the *Lutherans*, and its *gymnasium* or academy, are magnificent structures, and well endowed. Here are an ancient castle, a strong citadel, and two well furnished arsenals, one stored with arms at the expence of the crown, the other at that of the city. Its fortifications have been much improved by its present possessors; and those next the sea have been enlarged with additional works. This city has an excellent harbour, carries on a good trade with *England*, *Holland*, and the *Hanse* towns, in summer; and in the winter-season it trafficks with the *Russian* provinces by means of sledges. Its privileges, which are very considerable, were confirmed by the empress *Anne*. The supreme court of judicature for *Livonia*, and the high consistory, are held in this city, which is also the residence of the governor and general superintendant. *Riga* was built in the year 1200, and shortly after encompassed with a wall. It has suffered greatly both by fires and sieges. Of the latter, the most considerable are those it sustained from the *Russians* in 1656; from the *Saxons* and *Poles* in 1700; and a second time from the *Russians* in 1710, when it was obliged to submit to *Peter the Great*.

DUNAMUNDE, formerly a convent of *Cistercian* monks, founded by *Albert*, bishop of *Livonia*, in the year 1201, is now a noble fortification, at the mouth of the *Duna*, where the ships that sail out of the *Baltic* into that river, pay toll or custom. It was taken by the *Swedes* in 1609 and 1618; and in 1700 by the *Saxons*, who gave it the name of *Augustsburg*. In 1701 it surrendered a third time to the *Swedes*, who by that means became masters of a fine train of artillery belonging to the *Saxons*; and in 1710 it was taken by the *Russians*.

WENDEN, in the circle of that name, though once the seat of the grand master of the *Teutonic* order, and a place of great importance, having had several diets held in it, is now reduced to a small mean town. When it was besieged and taken by the *Russians* in 1577, many of the inhabitants, dreading the savage cruelty of the *Russians*, blew themselves up with the castle.

DORPAT, or *Dorpt*, a town upon the river *Embeck*, which is called by the *Esthonians*, *Emma Soggi*, or the *Mother-river*, stands in the circle of the same name, and is also called *Odempe*. It was built in the year 1030, by *Juru Jaroslaw Wladimirwitz*, great-duke of *Russia*, who give it the name of *Juriew*; but the *Russians* continued in possession of it only to the year 1191. *Volgum*, great-master of the knights of the cross, took *Dorpat* by storm in 1210; after which it was rebuilt by those knights, and made an episcopal see. It was formerly a member of the *Hanseatic* confederacy, a place of considerable trade, and a rich and beautiful town; but its wealth and beauty have, for some time, fallen a prey to the frequent ravages of war. The last siege it sustained was in 1704, when it was taken by the *Russians*, and treated with great inhumanity. But its ruin was completed in 1708, when these savage conquerors carried away its inhabitants as prisoners of war, and blew up its castle and fortifications. Those unhappy captives being afterwards allowed to return to their native place, rebuilt it, with wooden houses, as well as their wretched circumstances would permit; and since the peace of *Nystadt*, the number of its inhabitants has been so much increased, that it is rather more populous now than it was under the *Swedish* dominion; though it still makes a very melancholy appearance, almost all its ancient buildings still lying in ruins. *Gustavus Adolphus*, king of *Sweden*, founded an university at *Dorpat*, in the year 1632; but it was removed in 1699 to *Pernau*, where it soon decayed; and the building originally intended for it is now converted into a magazine.

THE province of *Oesel* includes the islands of *Oesel*, *Moen*, and *Runoe*. *Oesel* lies at the entrance of the gulf of *Riga*, is about sixty miles long, and from nine to twelve broad, and formerly belonged to the *Teutonic* order, who resigned it to the *Danes*. The *Danes*, at the peace of *Bremesebro*, ceded it to the *Swedes*; and these last by the treaty of *Nystadt*, gave it up to *Russia*. *Moen* and *Runce* are little islands of no sort of consequence.

a X. The general Government of REVAL

INCLUDES the province of *Esthonia*. Its chief places are,

b REVAL, which lies upon the *Baltic*, and once made no inconsiderable figure among the *Hanse* towns. Though not large, it is opulent, well fortified, and still has a flourishing trade. Both the town and castle were founded by *Waldemar II.* king of *Denmark*, in the year 1218; and received, as well as the whole duchy of *Esthonia*, most of its privileges from the *Danish* monarch. The houses of this city, which are brick, are, in general, well built; but the streets are narrow and irregular. Its harbour is convenient and spacious, and a part of the *Russian* fleet usually lies in it. *Reval* has its own arsenal, and maintains a number of matrosses and soldiers. Its tolls or customs, which are considerable, are divided between the magistracy and the crown. It was totally destroyed by fire in the year 1433; and in 1710 surrendered to *Peter the Great*, who not only confirmed its antient privileges, but restored several others which the crown of *Sweden* had taken away.

NEAR *Reval* lie the remains of the rich convent of *Marienthal*, which was demolished at the reformation. The building of this convent, which was begun in 1400, or 1407, took up twenty-nine years.

c ABOUT thirty miles further, upon the same coast, lies *Rögerwick*, where *Peter I.* purposed to have made an excellent harbour; but it was not finished in his time. In 1716, the empress *Elizabeth* took a view of this place, and ordered the work begun by her father to be continued.

THE little triangular island of *Dagbo*, in the *Baltic*, is tolerably fertile. Each side of it is about twelve miles long.

d THE city of *Narva*, upon the banks of a rapid river of the same name, which runs from the *Peipus* lake into the gulf of *Finland*, was built in the year 1224, in the reign of *Waldemar II.* king of *Denmark*. It is not large, but its houses are handsome; and its trade, particularly in flax, is very considerable. *Narva* has frequently felt the calamities of war. When closely pressed by the *Russians* in 1700, it was relieved by *Charles XII.* of *Sweden*; who, with an army greatly inferior to that of the *Russians*, entirely defeated the latter, and raised the siege. In 1704, it was again besieged by the *Russians*, and carried by assault; and since that time it has been a part of the *Russian* dominions, but with the full enjoyment of all its former rights and privileges; the *Russians* only reserving the right of appeal to the senate at *Petersburg*.

XI. INGRIA, which now constitutes the Government of PETERSBURG,

e LIES between the gulf of *Finland*, *Carelia*, and *Russia*, properly so called; and is watered by the *Luga*, the *Sista*, the *Cowassa*, and the *Newa*, or *Neva*: which last is a broad rapid river, has its source in the lake *Ladoga*, and runs through the city of *Petersburgh*, where it divides into several channels, and, after a course of about forty miles, discharges itself into the gulf of *Finland*. This country is fertile, both in corn and pasture, and abounds in all kinds of game, particularly elks. The *Russians* had been in possession of this province so early as the thirteenth century: but were afterwards obliged to give it up to *Sweden*. They recovered it again in 1702; and it was confirmed to them, with their other conquests, by the treaty of *Nystadt* in 1721, and that of *Abo* in 1743.

The government of *Petersburgh*.
Its situation, rivers,

THE most remarkable places of this government are,

f IWANGOROD, or *John's-castle*, a strong fort, built by the great duke *Iwan Basilowitz*, in the year 1492, on the river *Narva*, close by the city of the same name.

and principal places.

g KRONSTADT, a good town, and admirable fortification, upon the island of *Retusari*, which is about four miles long, and one mile broad, and is called by the *Russians*, on account of its form, *Kotlinnoi-Ostrow*, or the *Kettle-island*. *Kronstadt* lies in the gulf of *Finland*, about eight leagues, by water, from *Petersburg*, and near two leagues from the coast of *Ingria*. It was built by *Peter I.* who also erected near it the strong fort of *Kronschlofs*, in 1703, in the winter-season. That great prince embellished *Kronstadt* with a fine palace of stone; but it is now uninhabited, and, with several other handsome stone edifices, which make a grand appearance on the *Ingria* side, is falling to decay. The inhabitants of *Kronstadt* are a mixture of all nations, consisting of soldiers, sailors, and burghers; and amount to about twenty thousand souls. The town is defended by its own wall, on which several great guns are planted, and also by the citadel and fort of *Kronschlofs*, which are at a very small distance from it, on the *Ingrian* shore. *Kronstadt* has three harbours, which are all large, safe, and commodious; but the fresh water in them is very prejudicial to ships. The harbour for merchantmen lies westward, and is very convenient; but that for

for ships of war, in which the greatest part of the *Russian* fleet is laid up, lies towards the east. The powder-magazine is built in the water in this harbour. The middle harbour is for other ships and yachts belonging to the crown. *Peter the Great* intended to fit up this place for the conveniency of repairing his large men of war, by making a stone canal, of an extraordinary breadth and depth, with several docks in it. But this great work was not completed till the present reign. The canal alone is two wersts and fifty fathoms long; and from the outward sluice of the dock to the sea, is three hundred and fifty-eight *Russian*, or four hundred and seventeen *English* fathoms. The water in it is raised to the depth of twenty-four feet, by means of two large sluices. On the surface of the water, the canal, when full, is one hundred feet, and at the bottom from fifty-four to sixty-seven feet in breadth. The outward and inward walls of the canal, and the mole, are hewn out of a rock. At the end of the canal is a deep basin, lined with stone, which intersects the former at right angles, and is intended for a reservoir of the water of the canal, when the docks are to be cleared of it. This great and useful work is not to be paralleled. When the canal was first opened in 1752, it received the appellation of *Peter the First and the Great*; and at the mouth of it were erected two pyramids. On the north-side of the island of *Retufari*, the water is so shallow, as to be navigable only for small boats.

KRONSCHLOSS is a strong castle, built on a sand-bank in the sea, at the distance of a cannon-shot from the harbour of *Kronstadt*, towards *Ingria*. It was erected, as we have already observed, by *Peter I.* for the security of his conquests; and such improvements have been added to it since, that, like *Kronstadt*, it is justly called the bulwark of *Petersburg*. It is built in the form of a round tower, with three galleries one above another, and is well provided with cannon on every side. All ships that sail to *Petersburg* are obliged to pass between this castle and *Kronstadt*, within reach of the cannon from both sides.

ORANIENBAUM, a fine palace on the continent, near the gulf of *Finland*, and directly facing *Kronstadt*, was built by prince *Menshikow*, and afterwards converted into an hospital for seamen: but it is now the summer-residence of the great-duke. Nothing can be more delightful than the garden belonging to this seat.

PETERHOFF is an imperial palace on the coast of *Ingria*, where the present empress usually resides in summer. From the time of *Peter I.* no expence has been spared in adding to the natural beauties of this place, all the embellishments of art. The building itself cannot, indeed, boast of any great regularity; but its charming situation, the elegance of its gardens, adorned with fountains which eject prodigious columns of water to an amazing height, its grottos, double cascades, delightful groves, and many other beauties too numerous to recite, render it little inferior to the celebrated *Versailles*. The palace stands on a hill, about sixty feet high, and commands a most extensive prospect, diversified with noble views of the city of *Petersburgh*, *Kronstadt*, and the sea. Among the summer-houses belonging to this palace, is a very fine one, famed for its curious paintings, and distinguished by the name of *Mon Plaisir*, My Delight.

STRELIN-HOFF, or *Strelna-Musa*, is an imperial seat, built in the water, by *Peter I.* who intended to make it a superb palace, with a garden, a labyrinth, and other embellishments; but his plan has not yet been completed.

ELIZABETH-HOFF, *Annen-Hoff*, and *Catharine-Hoff*, are also imperial residences on the river *Neva*. The last, which was the favourite seat of the empress *Catharine*, consists, properly, of two edifices, and stands in a wood, in one of the finest spots near *Petersburg*; but its low situation exposes it to frequent inundations.

St. Petersburg, situate in fifty nine degrees fifty seven minutes north latitude, is one of the capitals of the *Russian* empire, and an imperial residence. It lies partly on the continent in *Ingria* and *Finland*, among thick woods, and partly on several islands, formed by the channels of the *Neva*, which divides itself into two main branches, called the *Great* and *Little Neva*, and many smaller streams, and by the rivers *Fontanka* and *Moika*, besides several canals. The low and swampy soil in which it stands, has been considerably raised with trunks of trees, earth, and stone: its situation is nevertheless pleasant, and the air wholesome. The city is about six *English* miles in length, and nearly the same in breadth, and has neither wall nor gates. The number of its houses is computed at eight thousand, about six hundred of which are of stone; but the rest are built with timber, and, for the most part, in an irregular manner, after the *Russian* taste. There are about twenty *Russian* churches in *Petersburg*; and, which we may justly look upon as so many temples erected to toleration, and so many noble examples set to other nations, four *Lutheran* churches for the *Germans*, several *Calvinistical* for the *Swedes*, *Finlanders*, and *French* protestants, and others for the *English*, *Dutch*, and *Roman* catholics. The beginning and increase of this now flourishing metropolis were very extraordinary; for till the year 1703, the only buildings

- a buildings on the spot, where it now stands, were two small fishing huts; and *Peter the Great* having in that year taken *Nyefchanze* upon the river *Neva*, and made himself master of this country, its convenient situation for the *Baltic* trade determined him to build a town and fortress here; a design which he immediately began to put in execution, calling the town by his own name. It was at first intended only for a place of arms, to which all kinds of military stores might be conveniently brought from the interior parts of the empire, in order to facilitate the carrying on of the war with *Sweden*. Both the public edifices and private houses were then built only with wood; the dock and the town had no other fortifications than a rampart of earth, nor were the streets paved; so that if the czar had been deprived of the place at that time, his loss would not have been great. But, shortly
- b after, the victory at *Pultawa*, and the reduction of *Livonia*, inspiring him with hopes that he should be able to keep his conquests; influenced also by his fondness for maritime affairs, by a desire of perpetuating his name, an aversion to *Moscow*, where he had received much ill treatment in his youth, and some add, the pleasure of mortifying the *Russians*, who were extremely attached to the city of *Moscow*, he began to think seriously of rendering *Petersburg* the capital of his empire; and accordingly ordered the castle to be built with stone, the admiralty to be walled-in with the same materials, all the buildings to be erected in a handsomer and more durable manner than before, and gardens to be laid out.

- c In 1714 he removed the council to *Petersburg*, and handsome edifices were erected in a strait line, for the public offices, which were also translated thither in 1718. The principal families were likewise ordered to make this their place of residence, and to build houses here according to their abilities. This occasioned an irregularity in the buildings; for the situation of the town was not precisely fixed till the year 1721. The nobility and burghers had been directed to build their houses on the island of *Petersburg*; and not a few buildings both public and private, were accordingly erected there. But afterwards the emperor resolved to have the whole town stand upon the island of *Wassili-Ostrow*. The streets were marked out, canals were dug, the island was to be defended by fifty-seven bastions, and the nobility had their houses to begin again; when the death of the czar put a stop to the execution of this design; and the new buildings then erected, have since been suffered to go to ruin.

- d THE *Russian* nobility expressed great reluctance to settle at *Petersburg*; nor is it to be wondered at, as they can neither live so cheap, nor so commodiously there, as they did at *Moscow*. The soil about *Petersburg* is not very fertile, so that provisions are brought to that city from a great distance, and must be paid for in ready money; which was no small inconvenience to the nobility, who were accustomed to subsist chiefly on the produce of their estates, and seldom abounded in money. Besides, *Moscow* seemed to them much fitter for the imperial seat; being in the center of the empire, from whence justice might be more easily administered, and the national revenues be received and disbursed with greater conveniency and dispatch. They likewise thought that *Petersburg* stood too near the frontiers of *Sweden*. However, notwithstanding all these disadvantages, this city
- e became large and splendid in the time of its founder, and has been so improved since, by his successors, that it is now ranked among the most elegant places in *Europe*.

- f THE river *Neva* is about eight hundred paces broad near *Petersburg*, but not every where proportionably deep; so that large merchant-ships are cleared at *Kronstadt*; but the men of war built at *Petersburg* are conveyed to *Kronstadt* by means of certain machines called *camels*. There is but one bridge over the *Neva*, which is built with large flat-bottom boats, and join the dock-yard to *Bassili-Ostrow*. The *praams*, or lighters, which support the bridge, are laid across the river in spring, so as to make a safe and convenient passage. But they are taken away in autumn before the frost begins. The only communication between the other islands, even in summer, is either in boats or barks, which cross the water at stated

- g *PETERSBURG-Island*, called, by way of distinction, the island of *Old Petersburg*, is formed by the *Great* and *Little Neva*, and the *Newka*, and is upwards of two leagues in circuit. It is well peopled, but most of the houses upon it are very indifferent. Here is still to be seen the little wooden houses built by order of *Peter the Great*, for his residence at the time he arrived upon the spot where the city now stands: and, in order to perpetuate the remembrance of this remarkable circumstance, it is enclosed within a stone-wall, and has been covered with a new roof. On this island is likewise a horn-work belonging to the fort, which stands upon a little island in the middle of the *Neva*, and of the city, and is included under the general denomination of *Petersburg-island*. This fort, which is of an hexagonal form, and built with stone, according to the modern improvements in fortification, is planted with a great number of cannon. Under it are vaults or dungeons, commonly used as prisons. In the midst of it is an elegant church, where the remains of *Peter the Great*, his consort *Catherine*, and many others of that illustrious family, are deposited.

sited, in stately mausoleums. In the fine lofty tower belonging to this church, the spire of which is covered with gilt copper, is a fine set of bells with chimes, made in *Holland*, which play every twelve hours. Upon one of the bastions of this fort, opposite to the imperial palace, a flag is always hung out, according to the custom in *Holland*; which, on state-holidays, is exchanged for a finer, with the *Russian* eagle upon it: and on such festivals the bastions and curtains of the fort are finely illuminated with lamps. On the same bastion also, when the *Neva* is not frozen, a great gun is fired at the rising and setting of the sun, as a signal for the sailors. As this fort stands in the center of the town, it is not only a defence, but a great ornament to it. It serves likewise for a secure prison, and on an emergency may prove a convenient asylum to the sovereign.

PETERSBURG-Island is separated by the *Carvovka* from another, called the *Apothecaries-Island*, which is about five or six miles in circumference, and contains about two hundred houses, besides the large physic-garden, where all kinds of *European* and *Asiatic* plants, roots, and trees, are cultivated in green-houses and other proper places. The other part of this island consists of a pleasant wood.

FROM the island of *Old Petersburg* you cross the *Little Neva* to that of *Wassli-Ostrow*, or *Basil's Island*, which is the largest of all these islands. It is surrounded by the *Great* and *Little Neva*, and lies towards *Kronstadt*. The greatest part of it is covered with woods, and the rest with buildings. It has twelve streets, very long and broad, running in a direct line; upon which account they are called *the lines*, and distinguished by numbers. These are intersected at right angles by six cross streets, but are not paved. The vistas through these streets are very broad and beautiful at both extremities. The largest extends the whole length of the island, as far as the gally-harbour; but the smallest is not so long. Several large canals are cut through this island, particularly at the places where the buildings stand: but most of them being now gone to decay, those parts are little better than morasses. Adjoining to the hemp-warehouses, and opposite to *Petersburgh-Island*, are the exchange, the custom-house, the pack-house, and the merchants key. Contiguous to these are several large stone-buildings, belonging to the imperial academy of sciences, which *Peter I.* founded in 1724, and endowed with an annual revenue of twenty-four thousand nine hundred and twelve rubels. That monarch also designed to erect an academy of the polite arts: but as an estimate of the expence attending such an institution has not yet been made, the present empress *Elizabeth* has, in the mean time, augmented the former endowments to fifty-three thousand two hundred and ninety-eight rubels.

THE academy is divided into two classes, viz. the academy properly so called, and the university. The members of the former are employed solely in finding out new inventions, or improving the discoveries of others. They are properly stiled *Academicians*; but are commonly called *Professors*. They are under no obligation to instruct youth unless particular pupils are recommended to them, or they do it voluntarily for their own advantage. This academy is again subdivided into four classes; namely, 1. The astronomical and geographical class. 2. The physical class, whose province is to make improvements in botany, anatomy, and chemistry. 3. The physico-mathematical class, who study mechanics, civil and military architecture, and experimental philosophy. 4. The higher mathematical class, who solve questions and problems proposed by the other classes, and likewise such as are received from foreign countries. Besides the ten Ordinary, the academy has ten Extraordinary members, who are allowed a pension, which is not to exceed two hundred rubels, for the trouble they are sometimes put to, in elucidating difficult and important questions sent them by the academy. Every academician has an adjunct or assistant, who is under his care, and succeeds him in his place. The academy is governed by a president, but in such manner, that every thing is transacted under the auspices and direction of her imperial majesty. The president at this time is count *Kirila Grigoriiewitsch Rasumowski*, hettman of the *Cosaks*. By the statutes of the academy three solemn meetings are to be held every year, and at each of these public assemblies a *Latin* and *Russian* dissertation are to be read.

THE university has its particular professors, who read lectures in the sciences, both in the *Russian* and *Latin* languages. No person is disqualified for being a professor on account of his religion; but he must not inculcate in his pupils any thing contrary to the doctrine of the *Greek* church. The students are instructed in poetry, *Greek* and *Latin*, arithmetic, drawing, geometry, and other branches of the mathematics, civil and ecclesiastical history, genealogy and heraldry, philosophy and antiquity: but every pupil is not instructed in all these sciences, nor are youth of mean circumstances admitted into the university. In the year 1750 the number of students amounted to thirty, who were sent from different convents, and lived in one house, under the inspection of a professor. The college designed for the academy, which stands somewhat lower, was consumed by fire in 1747, and has

not yet been rebuilt. In the buildings belonging to the academy are, 1. The imperial library, which, as appears by the catalogue published in the year 1742, in three volumes *octavo*, contains two thousand six hundred and ninety-nine *folios*, three thousand four hundred and ten *quartos*, and twenty thousand and seventy-eight *octavos* and *duodecimos*, amounting in all to fourteen thousand one hundred and eighty-seven volumes, besides two hundred and eighty-two *Russian* manuscripts. 2. The *Museum*, containing natural and artificial curiosities, with a collection of physical, mathematical and other instruments. 3. The Printing-house. 4. The bookseller's shop. 5. The apartment for book-binding. 6. Another for letter-founding. 7. The engraving apartment. 8. The academy for painting. 9. The room where mathematical instruments are made. The famous copper-globe of *Gottorp*, which stood upon the tower of the academy, was almost consumed by fire, along with the tower, in 1747; but it has since been very skilfully repaired and beautified, at a vast expence, and rendered more accurate than before. After ascending a few steps, one enters this globe through a little door. Within in it is a table with branches round it, on which a dozen persons may sit conveniently, and be turned round with the celestial globe, the outside of which is the terrestrial. Its diameter is eleven feet. It was brought hither from *Gottorp* in the year 1714, and now stands by itself in a stone-edifice.

THE *gymnasium* and *seminarium* belong also to the university.

THE next remarkable place, in order, is the *theatrum pyrotechnicum*, or *fire-work theatre*, built on piles in the river *Neva*, opposite to the imperial winter-palace. Here is a long stone building, appropriated to the state-colleges and offices.

JUST beyond these stands the magnificent and spacious edifice, which was formerly prince *Menshikow's* palace, but is now the academy of the corps of cadets of noble families, and has received considerable additions, though it still wants a left wing. In 1731 the empress *Anne*, by advice of the field-marshal count *Munich*, issued a proclamation, by virtue of which all the young nobility, and officers sons, of *Russia* and *Livonia*, were invited to *Petersburg*, where they were to be educated *gratis*, according to their rank, &c. In consequence of this ordinance, in the beginning of the year 1732, they made their appearance at *Petersburg*, and the above-mentioned palace was assigned for their dwelling. At that time the number of *Russian* cadets on this foundation was to be two hundred and forty, and that of the *Germans* one hundred and twenty; which number was then indeed complete, besides some supernumeraries: but it is now no longer so, particularly with respect to the *German* cadets, as, of late years, they have been obliged to engage, that they will never quit the *Russian* dominions, nor enter into foreign service. The *Germans* and *Russians*, intermixed together, lodge, three, four, five, seven, eight, or ten, in one apartment, under the inspection of a monitor, who is either a subaltern, or one of the senior cadets. At dinner they have three, and at supper two dishes served up; a captain and a lieutenant being always present. They form three companies, each of which ought to consist of one hundred and twenty persons. Their present director, or governor in chief, is prince *Jussapow*: next to him is the *commandeur*, who is a lieutenant-colonel, and under him is the major. Every company has a captain, a lieutenant-captain, a first and second lieutenant, ensign, serjeant-major, two serjeants, a capitaine d'armée, a quartermaster, a vice-ensign, four corporals, and eight exempts. The subaltern officers, and sometimes even the field-officers, are selected from among the cadets. They were formerly employed, during the whole summer, in the exercise of arms; but at present they are exercised only in *June*, and part of *July*; and that not after the *Prussian* manner, as heretofore, but according to the *Russian* discipline on foot. They are divided into grenadiers and musqueteers, though there are not many of the former. Every four hours, twelve men and three grenadiers, with a serjeant, corporal, and exempt, mount guard. Every two years they have two suits of cloaths; one for every day, the other to wear when they are on duty. Their uniform is green, with straw-coloured waistcoats; and the coats they wear upon duty are bordered with a narrow gold lace. They are also allowed two laced hats; the one for duty, the other for every day; three half upper shirts, trimmed with lawn at the bosoms, three pair of ruffled sleeves, three cravats, three under-shirts, two pair of spatterdashes once in two years; and three pair of shoes every year. Their hours for instruction are from seven to eleven in the morning, and from two to six in the afternoon: they are divided into classes, and are taught the *Russian*, *German*, *French* and *Latin* languages, with the following sciences, *viz.* mathematics, history, geography, ethics, politics, logic, civil law, and likewise dancing, fencing, riding, drawing, and other genteel exercises. According to the original plan, their education was to be entrusted to three professors of law, mathematics, history, and the *Russian* language; four adjuncts or assistants, and twenty-four masters; but some of these places are now vacant. There are also a riding-master and his assistant, an equerry, and four grooms, with a stud of seventy or eighty horses, maintained on this foundation. The *Russian* cadets have their particular church,

church, with two priests, two lecturers, one deacon, and two sextons; and the *Germans* have a preacher, a chanter, and a sexton, with a church set apart for them, which is also frequented by many other *Lutherans* from the city. Divine service is performed in both churches morning and evening, and the *Russian* popes or priests generally preach a sermon. None are admitted into this corps under twelve years of age, and every cadet, according to the statutes, is to continue there five or six years. But several of them do not stay so long, and others continue longer in the academy. Some of these youths, who are intended for civil employments, are termed students, and are not instructed in any military exercises. The others, at their dismissal, are distributed among the regiments; the cadets as ensigns, the corporals as second-lieutenants, the serjeants as serjeants-major, and the ensigns as first-lieutenants. The corps is under the controul of the council of state, and the senate; and the annual expence of this foundation amounts to sixty-five thousand rubels. The salary of the governor in chief is one thousand rubels, that of the colonel fifteen hundred, that of the major seven hundred rubels, and the rest in proportion. The professors and masters have apartments *gratis* in the house, to which belongs a very fine garden.

NEAR the academy is the bridge of boats over the *Neva*; and not far from thence is an academy for three hundred and sixty sea cadets. The galley-harbour lies a little lower down towards *Kronstadt*. In sailing up the *Neva* from *Kronstadt*, one sees on the *Wassili-Ostrow*, which lies on the left, a very long row of near fifty elegant stone palaces, built by the *Russian* nobility, in the *Italian* taste, extending along the bank of the river, almost as far as the cadet academy; but most of them are now empty, and falling to decay.

ON the right-hand is the *Admiralty-side*, or *Admiralty island*, which is surrounded by the rivers *Neva* and *Fontanka*; and from this island the bridge of boats is laid in the summer to *Wassili-Ostrow*, or *Basil's island*. There is also a watch-tower at the mouth of the *Neva*, between these two islands. This is the most magnificent part of the city. A parchment-manufactory, the admiralty-victualling-office, the galley-dock, where all the galleys are built, and the vast storehouses of timber for ship-building, lie on this island. Here are also a great number of handsome store-houses, and elegant palaces along the river-side, reaching almost to the bridge of boats. The *English* factory have their place of worship in this part, and behind it is *New Holland*, with the rope-walk. The admiralty, or dock-yard, is fortified with a wall and five bastions, planted with several guns; and all ships salute it upon their entrance into the harbour. There are always some men of war upon the stocks in this yard. The admiralty-tower, as well as that of the great church in the castle, is gilt at the top.

NOT far from this is the imperial winter-palace, a large square building of three stories high; but the architecture is not extraordinary. Behind it is a spacious area, in which stands a noble equestrian statue of gilt brass, erected in honour of *Peter I.* Contiguous to this, upon the banks of the *Neva*, are several other palaces, among which is the old imperial winter-palace, many elegant stone-buildings, the new-playhouse which is built with timber, and the delightful imperial summer-palace, which is also of wood, but one story high, and looks only like a pleasure-house. Behind this palace are several stone-buildings, for the officers, &c. belonging to the court. It has a fine orangery, and a beautiful large garden, adorned with an admirable grotto, fountains, and other water-works, as well as a great number of valuable marble and alabaster statues brought from *Italy*; but not all equally well executed. Two of these statues which stand near the grotto, and represent Faith and Religion, are greatly admired by the connoisseurs, for the appearance of the faces through thin transparent veils, which seem to cover them. This garden is also famous for a pleasant grove of oaks, which is not to be paralleled in all the *Russian* empire. The dock affords a double vista, one to the *Russian* church of the *Ascension*; the other is terminated by the convent of *St. Alexander Newski*. The magnificent buildings on both sides of the river *Fontanka* make also a very fine appearance from thence. The streets behind the admiralty, and through the fields behind the imperial summer-palace, are very grand and magnificent; but these are equalled, if not excelled, by the *Great* and *Little Morskoi*, and the *Million-street*, which are embellished with the most superb buildings. At the end of the *Million street*, near the garden of the summer-palace, the emperor has a curious dispensary. In this part are likewise the imperial stables, and the dwellings of the officers belonging to them; the churches of the *Swedish Finns*; the *German Lutheran* church, dedicated to *St. Peter*, which is an elegant structure, and the chief of the Protestant ecclesiastical buildings; the church of the *German* and *French Calvinists*; the shops which, to the number of one hundred, lie in a strait line, and form a vista, where all sorts of goods are sold, no merchants being permitted to have shops in their houses; and lastly, two market places full of shops, near which are the menagery, the park, and the elephant-yard, where several of these animals are kept.

a THE *Muscovite* side, which is properly the city, lies on the continent; and a part of it is very well built. In this quarter are the following remarkable places: the private dock; the court-victualling-office; the foundery on the *Neva*, in which great numbers of cannon and mortars are cast; the fire-work elaboratory; the aqueduct, which supplies the fountains in the emperor's garden; the *German Lutheran* church, dedicated to St. *Anne*; three *Russian* churches; the pheasant-house; the *Italian* garden; the *Muscovite Jemskoi*; the barracks for the horse-guards, together with the stables for their horses; and the convent of St. *Alexander Newski*, which lies about five wersts from the castle, on the river *Neva*; and was built, in honour of that pious prince, in the form of an eagle, but it is not yet completed. It contains above two hundred apartments. In the middle of the building b stands a very large and beautiful church, which represents the eagle's body; the two towers form its neck and head: the spire, the imperial crown; and a small church on each side, the two wings. In this convent are deposited the pretended remains of that saint, for which the present empress *Elizabeth* ordered a silver shrine to be made, which lies on a superb monument, covered with silver plates of a considerable thickness.

LASTLY, on the *Wiburg-side*, as it is called, are the following places of note, viz. St. *Samson's* church, with the *Russian* and *German* burial-places, the sugar-house, the land and sea-hospital, the hospital-church, the beer-brewers quarter, the *Dutch* beer-brewhouse, a rope-walk, the suburb called *Sloboda* (P) *Kofatschia*; a nursery of young oaks, called *Great* and *Little Ockla*, a *Russian* church, and the ruins of the fort called *Nienfchanz*, which c was taken and destroyed by *Peter I.* in 1703.

IN this city are four dispensaries (Q); and several manufactures for looking-glasses, gold and silver works, tapestry, &c. Its extensive commerce likewise renders *Petersburg* a place of great importance, for a vast number of ships from different maritime countries frequent this port; where they purchase the various commodities of *Russia*, and find a vent for all the goods they import, and for which there is a demand in this empire.

THE inhabitants of this large city, besides *Russians*, consist of all nations; so that a person hears a great variety of languages, and sees a great diversity of fashions and customs at *Petersburg*. The burghers or citizens, properly so called, do not exceed two hundred; but the place contains upwards of an hundred thousand souls. The splendor of the court d is copied by the inhabitants in general; though all kinds of furniture and apparel, especially if made by foreign artificers, are very dear, and houses on a good situation sometimes bear a very high price in the city. Provisions, however, excepting wine, lemons, oranges, and some other foreign articles, are very cheap here, though frequently brought, especially in winter, from the distance of several hundred miles. The morals of the people, as is generally the case in all large cities, are very corrupted and depraved. The suspicious vigilance of the *Russian* government renders it necessary for a stranger to be very circum-spect in his behaviour and words; though all possible liberty of conscience is granted to foreigners in religious matters, provided they do not say any thing against the *Greek* religion. The police of this city is good, and strictly executed.

e IN summer, those who do not chuse to go about this extensive city on foot, either use their own carriages, which are almost absolutely necessary here, or else hire curricles or boats. As soon as the winter-season commences, near three thousand *Russians* repair to *Petersburg* with sledges, with which they stand in every street, and are so very cheap and convenient, that few people are observed to walk even about the town. A sledge and a horse may be hired for ten copeiks (R) (about five pence sterling) an hour, and in that

(P) Several *slobodes* contain handsome buildings, and are larger than many towns; but they are not fortified. The inhabitants of them are traders, and have a particular magistrature, and a toll-place, or custom-house. — *Jamsküc-slobody* are places where carriers generally live. — The *slobodes* in *Siberia* are inhabited by peasants, and may be accounted part of a circle, or *sloboda uiezd*, as they include several parishes and villages; and in some of them there are *ostrogs*. *Slaboda*, in the province of *Tobolsk*, signifies a town surrounded with wooden walls; and there are few other fortifications in *Siberia*; except those of the city of *Tobolsk*. Indeed the only enemies the *Siberians* have to deal with, are the *Bashkirians*, the *Kalmuks*, and the *Kasatobia Horda*; and their wars may be looked upon as robberies rather than military expeditions, for they attack the villages on horse-back, for the conveniency of carrying away the plunder immediately; so that the main point is to prevent them from breaking in. But little is to be feared from their weapons, which, for the most part, are only bows and arrows.

(Q) All of which, as well as that at *Moscow*, belong to her imperial majesty, at whose expence they are supplied with drugs, which are distributed gratis to her fleet and army. A doctor of physic, styled the *archiatre*, or physician in chief, has the direction of them, with a considerable salary from the crown; and all the apothecaries are employed under him, and have pay proportionable. All other physicians (except the body-physician) and surgeons in the service, are under his jurisdiction, and, at all distances in the empire, are accountable to him. One of these dispensaries is for the household, another for the admiralty, a third for the castle, whence the army is supplied, and the fourth for the hospitals, where the sick and invalids are taken very good care of. Persons not in the service pay for medicines as they receive them, the profit of which accrues to her majesty (1).

(R) The *copeik*, of which one hundred makes a *rubel*, is equal to $\frac{2}{3}$ of a penny sterling.

(1) *Confetti's State and Regulation of the Church of Russia.*

space of time this carriage will go about seven or eight miles, the horse galloping all the way. The driver, who is called *Isbvosbick*, is distinguished by a number upon his back. Most housekeepers have their own sledges and horses, and persons of rank have likewise their postilions. When a person sets out from hence, in order to leave the country, he must be furnished with a pass, and advertise his name and intention of travelling in the public papers.

A SOUTH-WEST wind in autumn frequently lays great part of *Petersburg* under water.

AT about thirty wersts from *Petersburg* stands *Sarskoe-Salo*, an imperial palace, pleasantly situated, and embellished with a fine garden and park : and near *Posad*, a mean little town at the entrance of the *Ladoga* canal, is another imperial palace situated upon a small island in the *Neva*.

UPON another small island in the middle of the *Neva*, just where it runs out of the lake *Ladoga*, is the strong fortress of *Schlusselfburg*, which commands the shores on either side. It was formerly called *Oresbek*, or *Oreckowitz* ; and in the *Swedish* language *Notteburg*, from the form of the island whereon it stands, which resembles a nut. But *Peter I.* having subdued it in the year 1702, changed the name of this fort to *Schlusselfburg* ; that monarch esteeming it the key (*schlüssel*) of his conquests. Its walls are two fathoms and half thick, and built in the old manner. In one angle of this fort is a small, but very strong castle. The *Russians* have improved this fort both within and without, and added to it several new works. It has undergone many sieges. When *Peter the Great* took it in 1702, he ordered two medals to be struck in commemoration of his success. On one of them is the following inscription :

Notteburgum, nunc Schlusselfburgum, post annos XC ab hoste recuperatum. Actum d. 12 Octob. f. v. MDCCII.

“ *Notteburg*, now *Schlusselfburg*, recovered from the enemy after ninety years possession, “ on the 12th of *October*, 1702.”

The late acquisitions of the *Russians* in *CARELIA*, which form the present

XII. Government of W I B U R G,

The govern-
ment of Wi-
burg.
Its divisions

INCLUDE a considerable portion of the great duchy of *Finland*, and consist of, 1. Part of *Finlandish Carelia* ; 2. Part of *Kexholm* ; and, 3. Part of *Sawolax*.

CARELIA has often been a bone of contention between *Sweden* and *Russia*. In the year 1293 it fell under the *Swedish* dominion ; but in 1338 part of it was given up to *Russia*. By the peace of *Nystadt*, concluded in 1721, a still greater part of this country was resigned to the *Russians* ; the western part only being left in possession of the *Swedes*. After this, *Sweden* was obliged, by the treaty of *Abo*, to relinquish the fort of *Frederickshamn* and *Wilmannstrand*, with part of the parish of *Pythis*, which lies on the other side of the eastern branch of the river *Kymmene*.

KEXHOLM antiently belonged to the *Russians*, and was wrested from them by the *Swedes* in 1293 and 1580 ; but soon after recovered. The czar *Wassili Iwanowitz Shuiski* promised it to king *Charles IX.* of *Sweden*, in consideration of the assistance he gave him ; but did not keep his word. *Gustavus Adolphus* revenged this affront, and compelled the czar *Michael Feoderowitz* to resign this country to him, at the peace of *Stolbow*. In 1721, the southern, and best part of it, together with the fortress of *Kexholm*, was restored to *Russia* by the treaty of *Nystadt*.

THE portion of *Sawolax*, which *Russia* now holds, consisting of the town of *Nystot*, and a district of two miles round it, was ceded by the treaty of *Abo*, in 1743.

and principal
places.

THE principal places in those parts of these districts, which are possessed by the *Russians*, are *Wiburg*, *Wilmannstrand*, and *Frederickshamn*, in *Carelia* ; *Kexholm* or *Carlerogorod*, i. e. the fortress of *Carelia*, a strong place, built upon two small islands (the town on one, and the church on the other) at the influx of the river *Waxen* into the lake *Ladoga*, in the country of *Kexholm* ; and in that of *Sawolax*, the town of *Nystot*, called, in the *Finnean* language, *Sawotinna*, situate on the lake *Saima*. Its castle, which stands on a rock in a river near the town, and from which the latter derives its name, is extremely well fortified both by art and nature. In the year 1495, it baffled the attempts of *Russia* ; but in 1714 was obliged to submit. It was restored to the *Swedes* at the peace of *Nystadt* ; but was receded to the *Russians* by the treaty of *Abo*.

WIBURG, by the *Finlanders* called *Somerlinde*, was formerly the capital of all *Carelia*, a bishop's see, and the bulwark of *Sweden* against *Russia*. It is situated on the gulph of *Finland*, and carries on a considerable trade. *Peter the Great* having taken this town by capitulation in the year 1710, improved its fortifications, which have been ever since kept in such good condition, that *Wiburg* may now be looked upon as the bulwark of *Russia* against *Sweden*.

WILMANN-

^a *WILMANNSTRAND* stands on the lake *Saima*, and is called in the *Finnean* language *Lappi Wessi*, i. e. *Lapp-water*. It had formerly the name of *Lap-strand*, was a considerable mart for tar, and the residence of a *Swedish* governor. On the 23d of *August*, 1741, an obstinate battle was fought about a mile from this town, between three thousand *Swedes* and sixteen thousand *Russians*; but at last the former were obliged to yield to the superiority of numbers. After the victory the *Russians* burnt *Wilmannstrand*, then fortified with a moat and wall, which have since been rebuilt.

FREDERICKSHAMN lies also on the gulph of *Finland*, on the spot where the town of *Wekelax*, which was burnt by the *Russians* in 1712, formerly stood. This place had a considerable trade, and was fortified by a castle built in 1722. But in the last war between the *Swedes* and *Russians*, it was burnt to the ground, and ceded to the latter. The limits betwixt the *Swedish* and *Russian Carelia* were fixed near this place, by the treaty of *Nystadt*.

S E C T. II.

Description of ASIATIC RUSSIA.

^c THE *Russian* dominions in *Asia* make a considerable part of *Great* or *Asiatic Tartary*, and may be properly divided, in general, into the west and south parts of *Russian Tartary*, which contains the governments of *Astracan*, *Orenburg*, and *Casan*; and the northern and eastern parts of *Great Tartary*, in which is the government of *Siberia* (S). General division of Asiatic Russia.

THE principal rivers in the *Asiatic* part of the *Russian* empire, are, Rivers.

FIRST, Those which run into the *Caspian* sea. These are,

1. THE *Volga*, which has been already described in our account of *European Russia*. The Volga.

2. THE *Yaik*, formerly called *Rhymnus*, rises among the *Uralian* mountains, in latitude 54°, and longitude 87°, and, after running a course of about one thousand wersts, empties itself by two channels into the *Caspian* sea, in latitude 47° 30', and longitude 74°. It abounds with excellent fish, and has an extremely rapid current, but is very shallow in some places. The chief rivers which run into it, are the *Upper* and *Lower Kysyl*, and the *Saczara*. Its banks, near the influx of this last river, are rocky; and near that of *Kysyl* they are very high and mountainous. Opposite to the *Upper Kysyl* is a high mountain, from which loadstones are dug. But the farther one goes from this river, the more extensive are the plains; and the country is more level near the mouth of it, than about its source: though it is, for the most part barren and sandy. The Yaik.

3. THE *Yem*, or *Jemba*, as the *Russians* call it, is rapid, but very shallow, being hardly five feet deep at its mouth. Its waters are clear, and its banks fertile; but there are neither towns or villages upon the borders of it. The *Tartars* of the *Kasalsba Horda* dwell in tents and little huts on the west side of this river, which empties itself into the *Caspian* sea. The Yem.

4. THE *Gihun*, which is also called by the several names of *Amu*, *Amol*, *Amu-Daria*, *Midergius*, *Sheherbas*, *Nahar* (T), or simply *Roud Kanern*, that is, the great stream, was the *Oxus* and *Bactrus* of the antients, and formerly discharged itself by two channels or mouths into the *Caspian* sea: but these are now become dry, and the stream has been diverted by art into the sea or lake of *Aral*. In the reign of *Cyrus*, it was the boundary of the *Persian* monarchy, and is by some authors supposed to be the *Araxes* of the antients. Its source is in the mountains of *Paropamissus*. The Gihun.

5. THE *Sibun*, which has always emptied itself into the lake of *Aral*, was formerly called *Alshash*, *Saert*, *Acsaert*, *Sir*, *Daria*, *Sirdergius*, *Jaxartes*, and *Siris*. The *Macedonians* mistook it for the *Tanais*. The Sihun.

SECONDLY, Those which discharge themselves into the *Ice Sea*, which are,

^f 1. THE large and famous river *Ob* or *Oby*, which issues from the *Altin* lake (called by the *Russians* *Teleskoi Ofëro*) in latitude 52°, and longitude 103°, 30'. Its name signifies great; and accordingly in *Russia* it is often stiled the *Great River*. The *Calmuks* and *Tar-* The Oby.

(S) Under the name of *Tartary*, a part only of this vast tract is properly included; but custom has extended it to the whole country. This extensive region has, no less improperly, been called *Mungalia*; for it is uncertain whether the people who live more northerly or easterly, had ever any connections with these *Tartars* and *Mungalians*. The *Yakuthians*, and the more remote nations, differ extremely from the *Tartars*, properly so called, in their customs and manner of living. The country of the *Siberians* and *Ostiaks* came to

be looked upon as a part of *Tartary*, because those nations had been conquered by the *Tartars*, or rather by the *Mungalians*, who sent several colonies among them; or because it formerly belonged to the kingdom of *Great Tartary*, which was founded by *Jenghis* or *Zingis Kan* (1). This distinction should be particularly observed with regard to *Russian Tartary*.

(T) כְּהָר, or *Nahar*, in the *Hebrew* tongue, signifies a river.

(1) *Busching*, *Geogr.* vol. i. p. 469.

tars call it *Umar*. Its stream is very large and smooth, its current being usually flow; and it is, in general, between two and three hundred fathoms broad; though in some places it is much wider. It affords plenty of fish, and is navigable almost to the lake in which it springs. After a long winding course through a vast tract of land, in which it forms several islands, it empties itself in latitude 67° , and longitude 86° , into a bay, which, extending near four hundred miles further, joins the *Ice Sea* in latitude $73^{\circ} 30'$ and longitude 90° . The springs from which this river rises, are not very copious; but it receives, in its course, the waters of a great number of considerable streams, conveyed to it by the rivers *Catuna* (U), *Tsharish* and *Alei*, *Tshumysb*, *Tsheus* and *Sagarca*, *Tom* and *Tshulim* (X), *Ket*, *Tym* and *Wak* (Y), *Jugan* and *Irtis*, *Kasim* and *Sofwa*, besides several others of less note. Of these now mentioned, the *Tom* and the *Irtis* are the most considerable. a

THE *Tom* is navigable as far as the town of *Kutnesk*. Its source is near the river *Abaken*, in latitude 53° , and its influx into the *Oby* is in latitude 58° . It receives several rivulets in its course; but the *Condoma*, which runs into it, opposite to the town of *Kutnesk*, is a large river. b

THE *Irtis*, or *Irtish*, rises in the country of the *Calmuks*, in latitude $46^{\circ} 30'$, and longitude 103° , runs through the lake of *Saissan*, and, after a long course, falls into the *Oby*, in 61° of latitude, and 86° of longitude. This river is full of islands, which are more visible in summer, when the water is low, than during the floods in spring. Some of these islands disappear from time to time, and new ones seem to supply their place. The depth of the *Irtis* is so remarkably variable, that ships can no longer pass where they formerly used to do; and on the other hand, those parts which were once shallow, have now a sufficient depth of water for vessels of burthen. Its waters are light and clear, and abounds with fine fish, particularly sturgeon, the fat of which is reckoned a great delicacy by the inhabitants of this country. The *Irtis* receives, on each side several rivers; the principal of which, after it has passed the fortress of *Ustkamenogorsk*, are the *Ulba*, *Skulba*, *Uba*, *Zarguban*, *Tshernuai*, *Shelcsenka*, *Tawgutshei*, *Om*, *Camysblowia*, *Tara*, *Skish*, *Tui*, *Ishim*, *Tobol*, and *Kondo*. Of these, the three last are the largest. The *Tobol*, in particular, which rises from several springs in latitude $52^{\circ} 30'$, and longitude 81° ; and falls into the *Irtis* in 58° of latitude, and 86° of longitude, is increased by the additional waters of the smaller, but by no means inconsiderable rivers *Ui*, *Ifet*, *Tura*, and *Tawda* (Z); which also, in their turns, receive several lesser streams. The banks of the *Tobol* are so low, that the neighbouring country is subject to frequent inundations. c

The Jenisei.

2. THE *Jenisei*, or *Jenisea*, is little inferior to the *Oby*. The *Tartars* and *Moguls* call it *Keen*; but the *Ostiaks* give it the name of *Guck* or *Keses*, that is, the *Great River*. It is formed by the conflux of the two rivers *Ulu-Kem* and *Bri-Kem*, in latitude $51^{\circ} 30'$, and 111° of longitude. From thence it runs almost due north; and in latitude 70° , and $103^{\circ} 30'$ longitude, forms a kind of bay, which contains several islands. This bay runs about $3^{\circ} 30'$ in length northward, in which latitude (that is to say, in seventy-three degrees and a half) and the 100th degree of longitude, it at last joins the *Ice Sea*. At the town of *Jeniseisk*, in autumn, when this river is lowest, the breadth of it at the surface of the water is five hundred and seventy; and in the spring, when it is highest, about seven hundred and ninety-five fathoms. The bottom of the *Jenisei* is stony and sandy, and the banks, especially on the east side, are very mountainous and rocky. The fish in this river are good, and its stream for the most part is rapid; but this rapidity lessens gradually towards the mouth, so that at last it has hardly the appearance of a current. In that part of its course where it approaches the rivers *Dubtsbes* and *Turukan*, it forms several islands between the towns of *Jeniseisk* and *Krasnoiarsk*; and, below the *Dubtsbes*, it has some cataracts; but is navigable from its mouth as far as the *Abakan*, and even higher up. Within a small distance from its source, the *Jenisei* receives the rivers *Kemtshuk*, *Abakan*, *Tuba*, *Mana*, *Kan*, *Kafs*, *Syn*, *Dubtsbes*, *Baïta*, *Yelogui*, *Turuca*, and three other rivers of the name of *Tungusca* (A), besides others that fall into it near its mouth. d

3. THE

(U) From the influx of this river down to its mouth, it is called the *Oby*; but from the *Catuna* up to its head, it is named the *Bi*.

(X) Which last is also called *Jiusi*, and is formed by the conflux of two streams called the *White* and *Black Rivers*.

(Y) Famous for the passage of ships, which sail through these rivers, and the *Yelogui*, into the *Jenisea*.

(Z) The *Ifet* has its source in a lake, runs through the territory of *Cathrinenburg*, and after receiving the rivers *Sifert*, *Sinara*, *Tetsba*, *Mias*, and several small streams, discharges itself into the *Tobol* in latitude 57° . The *Tura* rises in the mountains of *Wercoturia*, in lati-

tude 59° ; and, after receiving the waters of the *Salda*, *Tagil*, *Niza* (which is formed by the *Niewa* and *Resb*, and enlarged by the *Irbis*) and the *Pysbma*, falls into the *Tobol*, in latitude $57^{\circ} 30'$. The *Tawda* rises about the latitude 63° , and longitude 80° , and is formed by the conflux of the *Sofwa* and the *Lofwa*, and somewhat beyond the 59th degree of latitude, and about the same degree of longitude, runs into the *Tobol*.

(A) The northernmost of these is simply called *Tungusca*, and acquires this name after it is joined by the river *Ilien*: it is called *Angara* from the influx of that river to its source, which lies in the lake of *Baikal*. Its bottom is stony, and full of rocks, which cause four water-

a 3. THE great river *Lena* waters the eastern part of *Siberia*, and runs on the north side of the lake of *Baikal*, in latitude $52^{\circ} 30'$, and longitude $124^{\circ} 30'$. After traversing a large tract of land, in latitude 73° , it divides itself into five branches; three of which run westward, and two eastward; and by these channels it discharges itself into the *Ice Sea*. Its three western mouths lie in 153 degrees of longitude, but the eastern extends no farther than 143° . The current is every where very slow, and its bed is entirely free from rocks. The bottom is sandy, and the banks are in some places rocky and mountainous.

THE chief rivers that fall into the *Lena*, are the *Mansurca*, *Culenga*, *Orlenga*, *Ilga*, *Kirmga*, *Tskebsbui*, *Tsbaia*, *Itshora*, *Witim*, *Olecma*, *Aldan*, *Wilui*, the two *Potamas*, and the two *Tabas* (B).

THIRDLY, The rivers which discharge themselves into the Eastern Ocean. These are,

1. THE *Amur*, a great and famous river, formerly called *Karan-Muran*; but now, by the Chinese and *Mansburians*, *Sagalin-Ula*. It is also called *Yamur*, *Onon*, *Helong-Kiang*, and *Skilka*. The *Amur* is formed by the conflux of the rivers *Skilk* and *Argun*, abounds with fish, and is navigable a great way from its mouth. The length of its course is near two thousand English miles.

2. THE *Ud*, or *Uda*, is the only considerable river that runs into the sea of *Kamtchatka*.

3. THE *Penshina*, from whence the gulph of *Pensbinka* takes its name.

4. THE *Anadir*, a considerable river which runs into the Eastern Ocean.

THE principal lakes in this part of *Russia* are, the *Aral*, the *Baikal*, and the *Altin* lakes.

1. THE *Lake*, or, as it is often called, the *Sea of Aral*, is one of the largest lakes in all *Asia*, and lies within a little distance from the *Caspian* sea. Its length from north to south is said to be near one hundred and fifty miles, and its breadth from east to west about seventy. Its water, which is very salt, is for that reason conveyed by the neighbouring *Karacalpacks*, the *Kasatsha Horda*, and the *Turkomanians*, by small narrow canals into sandy pits, where the heat of the sun, by exhaling the water, leaves them a sufficient quantity of salt for their necessary uses. The same kinds of fish are found in this lake as in the *Caspian* sea, and, like that, the *Aral* has no visible outlet.

2. THE *Baikal* lake, by the neighbouring people called *Swiatoie-More*, or the *Holy Lake*, is from west to east five hundred wersts in length, but from north to south it is but twenty or thirty in a direct line, and in some places only fifteen. It is environed on all sides by high mountains. In that part of it which lies near the river *Bargusin*, it throws up an inflammable sulphureous liquid, called *Maltha*, which the people of the adjacent country burn in their lamps. There are likewise several sulphureous springs near this lake. Its water, at a distance appears of a green sea-colour: it is fresh, and so clear that one may see objects several fathoms deep in it. It does not begin to freeze till near the latter end of *December*, and thaws again about the beginning of *May*, from which time till *September* a ship is seldom known to be wrecked upon it: but by the high winds which blow in the last of these months, many vessels are lost on this lake. The inhabitants who live near the *Baikal*, imagine, when such storms happen, that by complimenting the lake with the name of a *Sea*, they render it propitious, and are preserved from all the dangers which it seems to threaten. This lake affords great plenty of large sturgeon and pike, with several black seals, but none of the spotted kind. It contains several islands; and the borders of it are frequented by black fables and civet-cats.

3. THE *Altin* lake, which the *Russians* call *Telestoi-Ozero*, from the *Teleffi*, a *Tartarian* nation who inhabit the borders of it, and who give it the name of *Altin-Kul*, as the *Calmuks* do that of *Altinnor*, is near ninety miles long, and fifty broad. The bottom of this lake is steep and rocky. The north part of it is sometimes frozen so hard, as to be passable on foot; but the south part is never covered with ice. The water in the *Altin* lake, as well as that in the rivers which run through the adjacent parts, contrary to what happens in other lakes, &c. rises only in the middle of summer, when the great heats melt the snow on the mountains, which had remained indissoluble during the spring.

water-falls in this river: notwithstanding which it is navigated during the summer both with and against the stream; but with no small difficulty and hazard. The middle *Tungusca* is distinguished by the appellation of *Podeamenia*, from its rising beyond the mountains; and the third is called the *Lower*.

(B) Of all these rivers, *Witim*, *Olecma*, *Aldan*, and *Wilui*, have the longest course. The *Witim* is said to derive its source from a great number of lakes, which have a communication with each other by natural channels. Among other rivers, it receives two streams

called *Mama*, famed for a transparent fossil called *Marienglas* or *Muscovy glass*, dug along its banks. The course of the *Wilui*, before it joins the *Lena*, is in $16^{\circ} 30'$. The river *Aldan* receives, on the right or east side, the *Utsun* and *Maia*, and on the opposite side the *Judoma*. There is a passage for vessels from the *Leda* and *Aldan*, through the *Maia* and *Judoma*, almost to the source of the latter; from which, after a journey of about ninety miles by land, a traveller may go by water down the *Urack*, into the sea of *Kamtchatka*, a great bay in the Eastern Ocean.

The West and South Part of RUSSIAN TARTARY,

The west and
south part of
Russian Tar-
tary inhabited
by
Circassians.

WHICH, from time immemorial, has made a part of the *Russian* dominions, and belongs to *Tartary* (C), properly so called, is inhabited by the following various nations.

1. THE *Circassians*, who inhabit the country lying to the north-west of the *Caspian* sea, between *Georgia* and the entrance of the river *Volga*. *Circassia* is near three hundred miles in length, and about the same in breadth. It is partly subject to *Russia*, and partly to the *Crim Kan*; though some of its inhabitants still preserve their independency. The *Circassians*, and especially the women, are reported the most beautiful of all the oriental nations. Prince *Cantemir*, in his History of the *Ottoman* Empire, observes, that they may be justly termed the *French Tartars*; because they continually invent new fashions both as to their dress and arms; and that the other *Tartars* never fail to imitate their modes, and generally send their children among them for education. In point of religion, they seem to be half *Mahometans*, for they use circumcision and other *Mahometan* rites; but have no *mulhas* (priests) or *mosques*, nor express any veneration for the *Koran*. They are chiefly employed in hunting, feeding of cattle, and agriculture. That part of their country which borders on the *Caspian* sea, is very barren, but towards *Daghestan* and *Georgia* the soil is extremely fertile. The *Circassian* horses are far from being handsome; but as they are hardy and spirited, they fetch a good price.

Grebini-
an and
Yaik Co-
saks.

2. THE *Grebini-
an* and *Yaik Cosaks*, the latter of which dwell near the river *Yaik*. These tribes have been already mentioned in our account of the government of *Kiew*.

Great
Nogayans.

3. The *Great Nogayans*. These are *Mahometan Tartars*, and live near the *Caspian* sea, between the rivers *Volga* and *Yaik*. They subsist by hunting and feeding of cattle, and some of them are employed in agriculture. Great numbers of the *Nogayans* have been converted to the *Greek* religion.

Torgautians.

4. THE *Torgautians*, or rather the *Torgut-Calmuks*, who inhabit the country between the *Volga* and the *Yaik*, are *Calmuks* and *Pagans*. *Torgut* signifies the *illustrious Tribe*, or the great, noble, celebrated *Horde*; and the *Torguts* are supposed by the learned to be the *Thyssagetes*, or *Tbyrsagetes*, mentioned by *Herodotus* above two thousand years ago.

Tsheremif-
sians and
Tshuwa-
shians.

5. THE *Tsheremissians* and *Tshuwashians*, of whom we have spoken in our account of the government of *Nichnei Novogorod*.

Wotiakians.

6. THE *Wotiakians*, who belong to the government of *Casan*, live in a very savage and sordid manner. They believe indeed in a Supreme Being, whom they call *Yumar*, and think that he resides in the sun; but they neither worship nor pay him any regard. Upon any emergency, they apply for counsel and assistance to a person whom they call *Dona*. They speak both the *Russian* and *Tartarian* languages, and subsist chiefly by hunting.

Casan Tartars

7. THE *Tartars* of the government of *Casan* (D) profess the *Mahometan* religion, and are more civilized than the *Tsheremissians* and *Wotiakians*.

Bashkirian
and Ufian
Tartars.

8. THE *Bashkirian* and *Ufian Tartars*, who likewise inhabit the government of *Casan*. The former live in the country towards the east, between the river *Kama*, the mountains of *Ural*, and the *Volga*; but the latter inhabit the north part of that government. They live together, and intermarry without mixing with other nations. These *Tartars* are strong and well made. Their faces are broad, their complexion brown, their hair black, and their beards long. Their dress is somewhat like that of the *Russians*. They are exceeding good horsemen, and remarkable for their courage and dexterity in managing their bows and arrows. With respect to religion, they are rather heathens than *Mahometans*; circumcision, and some few other ceremonies, being all that they practise of the latter. Some of them indeed have embraced the *Greek* religion. Their habitations are in towns or villages, and their occupations hunting, feeding of cattle, and agriculture. They generally thresh their corn in the field before they bring it home. They pay their tribute in the produce of the country, which is corn, wax, honey, cattle, and furs. Though they have a great number of hogs, they never eat pork. They make use of horses and dromedaries for travelling, carrying burdens, and other such purposes. They take as many wives as they can maintain, and give horses in exchange for them; sometimes six or seven horses for a wife. Both the *Bashkirian* and *Ufian Tartars* have often, and particularly towards the latter end of the year 1735, endeavoured to shake off the *Russian* yoke; but they were soon reduced to obedience. Since that, upon their requesting a new form of government, a *Russian barshine*, or judge, and a *sotnick*, or prefect, have been set over each district, and a kind of overseer is appointed in every village; so that all opportunities of

(C) The right way of spelling which is undoubtedly *Tatarey*; and the inhabitants should be called *Tartars*: — but we conform to custom.

(D) The word *Casan*, in the *Turkish* and *Tartarian* languages, signifies a cauldron large enough to contain

viñuals for many persons: and this name the *Crim* and *Budziak Murfes*, give to the families of their subjects or vassals; about ten men being reckoned to a *Casan*.

a future revolt seem to be taken from them, especially as several fortresses have been built in their country by way of check upon them. This part of the *Russian* dominions in *Asia* is, as we observed before, divided into

XIII. The Government of ASTRACAN.

THIS province, which is a part of the ancient *Kapjak*, conquered by *Jingis Kan*, and afterwards by *Tamerlane*, and the country of those *Tartars*, who, in the thirteenth century, took *Moscow*, and laid its sovereigns under a most humiliating tribute, contains what was formerly the *Tartarian* kingdom of *Astracan*, and was subdued by the czar *Iwan Basilowitz*, in the year 1554. It includes the country on the north, and partly on the west side of the *Caspian* sea, from whence it extends along mount *Caucasus*, to the 50th degree of latitude. The summer-heat here is so intense, that, according to the observations made by *M. Lerch*, at *Astracan*, the thermometer sometimes rises to upwards of one hundred, and even to one hundred and three degrees and a half, according to *Fahrenheit's* scale: though *Beerhaave* says*, that a heat above the ninetieth degree of *Fahrenheit's* thermometer, would be more than human creatures could bear; and that all animals, of which he had any knowledge, soon expired in such a degree of heat. The *Steppe*, or wide desert plain of *Astracan*, according to the account of travellers, is a dreary waste, without water or verdure; and towards the coast of the *Caspian* sea it is said to be very sandy. In the neighbourhood of *Astracan* are small lakes and ponds, so impregnated with salt, that sometimes it incrusts the surface of the water like ice: this saline incrustation is so thick, that one may walk upon it with safety; and salt is likewise found at the bottom of these pools, in the form of chrystal salts. Captain *Perry* (who was employed by *Peter I.* to cut a canal from the *Volga* to the *Don*, which was one of that prince's great designs, in order to open a communication between *Astracan* and the *Black* sea, and so on to the *Mediterranean*, but which dropped with him, and has never been completed) found in this country vast tracts of land, on the west side of the *Volga*, which the *Cuban Tartars* infest, quite uninhabited; though naturally so fertile as to produce grass of a great height, many sorts of leguminous plants, cherry, almond, and other fruit-trees, the best *arbutuses* or water-melons, in the whole *Russian* empire, and great numbers of wild sheep whose flesh is delicate. The vines also, which have been planted about *Astracan*, produce grapes of so fine a flavour, that nothing is wanting but skilful persons to make excellent wine. *Peter the Great* endeavoured to procure such, particularly from *Spain* and *Portugal*; but the rebellion which happened in *Astracan*, in the year 1703, and in which all strangers then in that city were murdered; deterred foreigners from going thither^b.

The government of Astracan.

THE places of greatest note in this government are, *ASTRACAN*, which is the capital, the residence of the governor, and a bishop's see, situate near the *Caspian* sea, on an island formed by the *Volga*. It is about four miles in circumference, encompassed with a good stone wall, and opposite to it is a fort. The cathedral is the latest built, and the most elegant of all the *Russian* churches in this city. The *Luthicans* have a church here, as have also the *Armenians*, who, to the number of forty families, live here for the conveniency of trade, for which *Astracan* has been always famous; and above thirty different nations resort hither for the same purpose. One of its suburbs is entirely inhabited by *Indians*. A garrison of three thousand men is always kept in this city.

Its principal places.

TSHERNOUAR, a small town in the *Steppe* or desert, on the bank of the *Volga*. It is defended by eight wooden towers and strong barricadoes, against the incursions of the *Cosaks*. As these fortifications were built in the reign of the great-duke *Michael*, the town is likewise called *Michailo Novogrod*.

f THIS, with the town of *Krasnouar*, a small place upon the *Volga*, inclosed with a kind of wooden wall, keeps a watchful eye upon the roving *Calmuks*, who often bring their cattle to graze near these places.

ZARIZIN, a small town upon the *Volga*, surrounded with wooden redoubts and towers. Its garrison watches the motions of the *Tartars* and *Cosaks*, against whose incursions a strong line, called the *Zarizin Line*, has been drawn from the *Volga* to the *Don*. Along this line are built the forts of *Metshonaia*, *Gratsbi*, *Ozokor*, and *Donskaia*.

YAIK, or *Yaitzskoi-Gorodok*, a large town upon the river *Taik*. It has a considerable trade, an excellent fishery, and is famous for its *Caviere*.

g *KISLIARSKAIA*, a fortress near the river *Terek*, on the west side of the *Caspian* sea. On the same river are likewise *Shedren*, *Tsherwlenoi*, and some other places of no great importance.

* In his *Elemen. Chym.* p. 192.

^b PERRY, p. 95.

THE *Russians* have extended their conquests on this side of the *Caspian* sea a great way southward, both under the emperor *Peter I.* in 1722, and still farther in the reign of the empress *Anne*. For the *Persians*, by the treaty of peace concluded in 1732, at *Ratsha*, in the province of *Ghilan*, ceded for ever to *Russia* a tract of land along the coast of the *Caspian* sea, of above three hundred miles in length, including the provinces of *Daghestan* and *Shirwan*. But as multitudes of the *Russian* soldiers died in this warm climate, so different from their own, and as the revenues of the provinces did not answer the expence of keeping up the troops; *Russia* evacuated these acquisitions, in exchange for an unlimited commerce throughout all the *Persian* dominions; and the river *Terek* is now the boundary betwixt *Russia* and *Persia*.

XIV. The Government of ORENBURG.

The govern-
ment of Oren-
burg.
Its principal
places.

THIS government, which has been but lately erected, lies in the province of *Ufa*, and derives its name from the town and fortress of *Orenburg*, built at the junction of the rivers *Or* and *Taik*, by order of the empress *Anne*, in the year 1738. But that situation being found inconvenient, the inhabitants were removed, and the town built lower down on the *Taik*, in 1740. This place was intended to protect the new subjects, who, from time to time, put themselves under the protection of the *Russians*, and to promote the trade with the people that live more to the south. Since the establishment of a considerable commerce here, all the *Russian* and *Asiatic* merchants are permitted, on paying a certain duty, to sell their goods by wholesale or retail; and all *European* foreign merchants are allowed to bring their goods from the harbour and frontier towns to *Orenburg*.

THE other places of note in this government are, *Ozernoi*, *Bordinskoi*, and *Ilek*, forts upon the river *Taik*; *Sakmark*, a town upon the river *Sakmara*; *Ufa*, a fortified provincial town, on a river of its own name; *Kandara*, a fortress upon a lake of the same name; *Menzelish*, a fortress situated on the river *Menzelia*; *Kungua*, a town famed for its chalk cavern (E); and the forts of *Atsbitekaia* and *Bisert*, so called from the rivers on which they stand, in the *Steppe* or desert.

XV. The Government of CASAN.

The govern-
ment of Casan.

Its divisions,

and principal
places.

THIS government, which reaches from that part of *Astracan* to *Siberia*, is much more extensive than the antient kingdom of *Astracan*, conquered by the czar *Iwan Basilowitz*, the greatest of all the *Russian* conquerors, in the year 1552.

IT is divided into the circles of *Casan*, *Sinbirsk*, *Persisk*, *Alatyrsk*, *Swuask*, *Zywilsk*, *Thebaksar*, *Kusmodemiank*, *Korkshaisk*, *Carewo-Kokshaiskoi*, *Carewo-Sontshurskoi*, *Yaransk*, *Urfum*, *Klynov*, *Kaigorodok*, *Tsberdyn*, *Solikamskoi* (F), and the barony of *Straganow*; in all eighteen circles, the principal places of which are,

CASAN, the capital of this government, situate on the river *Kasanka*, which, at the distance of about five miles falls into the *Volga*. This city is large, defended by a strong fort, and is an archbishop's see. At one end of the town is a manufactory of cloth; all of which is bought up by the crown, at a set price, for cloathing the troops. In a convent called *Siliandowo*, about two miles off, is a school, where the children of the *Tshuashian*, *Tsheremissian*, and *Mordunian Malmuks* and *Tartars* are taught the *Russian* and *Latin* languages, the principles of the Christian religion, and the elements of philosophy, in order to qualify them as preachers for the conversion of the nations to which they be-

(E) The inside of this cavern is so curiously formed by nature, that every traveller who passes this way takes an opportunity of seeing it. It is reported to have been formerly the habitation of some *Russians*, who took shelter here from the incursions of the *Bashkirians*; and to this it is owing that a wooden cross is still to be seen in the cave.

(F) Called also formerly *Biaomo*, and now frequently *Great Permian*. This province, in particular was once a famous mart for the various merchandise of *Persia*, and the furs of *Tartary*. A great quantity of gold coins, stamped by the first *Tartar Khalif*, and some golden idols of the old *Tartars*, have been found of late years in places that are now deserts in this country: and *I. N. Stelow* says (1), that many *Syrian*, *Arabian*, *Grecian*, *Roman*, and *Cimbrian* coins have also been found in these parts, in the burial-places of their antient inhabitants, who, it is plain from thence, traded

with those nations. This, as *Strahlenberg* justly observes (2), corroborates what *Pliny* and *Pomponius Mela* relate of a king of the *Suevi*, who, in the time of *Augustus*, made *Metellus Celer* a present of some *Indians*, who had been shipwrecked near the *Elbe*. Our moderns, especially since the discovery of the passage round the *Cape of Good Hope*, have looked upon this account as fabulous: but, adds *M. de Voltaire*, whose *Memoirs*, received from the court of *Russia*, confirm what the *Swedish* baron says, it was not more extraordinary for an *Indian* to go into the northern countries of the western world to trade, than for a *Roman* to go to *India* through *Arabia*. The *Indians* travelled by land to *Persia*, embarked upon the *Hyrcanian* sea, sailed up the *Rha*, now the *Volga*, passed through the *Kama* into *Great Permian*, and could there take shipping on the North, or *Baltic* sea. The *Tyrians* performed much more surprising voyages.

(1) In *Præfat. Guthiland. Chronic.*

(2) In his *Description of the North and East Parts of Europe and Asia*, p. 3.

a belong. The *Russians* first made themselves masters of this important place on the third of *October*, 1552.

ABOUT seventy wersts from *Casan*, and not far from the river *Kama*, are the ruins of the antient city of *Bulgar*, formerly the capital of *Bulgaria*, which still makes a part of the czar's titles.

SIMBIRSK and *Tshebakfar*, provincial towns on the river *Wolga*. *Solikamskaia*, on the river *Ussolka*, noted for its salt, which like all the rest that is boiled in *Permia*, is reckoned the best in *Russia*. *Pishkora*, on the little river *Pysbkora*, which falls into the *Kama*, remarkable for its copper-works, as the country round it is for its mines of that metal; and the villages of *Leniva* and *Novo-Ussolie*, in the barony of *Straganow*, famous for their salt-works, which are sixty-seven in number, and very considerable.

XVI. SIBERIA, or the Northern and Eastern Parts of Great Tartary, which were lately added to the Russian Dominions.

THE name of *Sibiria*, or *Siberia*, was originally applied, and still properly belongs only to the south part of the province of *Tobolsk*; but, in a more extensive sense it now includes all the northern part of *Asia*, which borders on *Russia* to the west, on the *Ice Sea* to the north, on the Eastern Ocean towards the east, and on *Great Tartary* to the south. Its length from east to west is near four thousand miles, and its breadth from north to south upwards of twelve hundred, which is the smallest width of the *Russian* empire.

SIBERIA seems to derive its name from an old city called *Sibir*; which, according to a received tradition, stood on the right side of the river *Irtis*, about eighteen wersts from *Tobolsk*, and was the residence of the antient sovereigns of *Siberia* (G).

THIS very country was formerly the abode of those *Huns* who ravaged the western world, and sacked even *Rome*, under their commander *Attila*; and they themselves came originally from the north of *China*. Such have been the vast migrations of the human race! The *Uzbek Tartars* succeeded the *Huns*, and the *Russians* succeeded those *Tartars*. Men have butchered one another for the worst of countries, with the same fury as they have contended for the best.

THE air of *Siberia* is in general, extremely piercing; the cold there being, as we learn from authentic observations, more severe than in any other part of the *Russian* dominions. The *Siberian* rivers are frozen very early, and it is late in the spring before the ice is thawed. The snow often falls in *September*, and is frequently seen on the ground in *May*. If the corn does not ripen in *August*, there is little hopes of a harvest in this country; and in the province of *Jeniseisk* it is sometimes covered with snow before the peasants can reap it. The earth is never thawed to any considerable depth in *Siberia* (H). To defend the inhabitants against this extreme severity of the climate, Providence seems the more liberally to have dealt out to them, wood for fuel, and furs for cloathing. Even ice itself is, in some measure, converted by them into a fence against the cold; for in the northern parts, particularly at *Jakutzk*, it is usual to hew a transparent piece of ice, of the size of the hole which serves the peasants for a window; and having fixed it on the out-side they sprinkle a little water at the edges, which immediately freezes and cements the ice in the hole. This ice-window keeps out the wind and cold, without much diminishing the light. Those who have glass-windows besides, place them on the inside, that the room may not be chilled by the moist effluvia of the ice (I); but the common people do not mind this inconvenience. As the winter-days in the north parts of *Siberia* last but a few hours, and the storms and flakes of snow darken the air so much, that the inhabitants, even at noon, cannot see to do any thing without artificial lights, they sleep away the greatest part of that season (K).

f THESE severe winters are rapidly succeeded by summers, in which the heat is so intense, that the *Tungusians*, who live in the province of *Jakutzk*, go almost naked. Here is scarcely any night during that season; and towards the *Frozen Ocean*, the sun ap-

(G) There are still some ruins of a rampart to be seen on the spot, but no other remains of a city.

(H) M. *Gmelin* having, on the 18th of *June*, O. S. caused the earth to be dug near *Jakutzk*, where the ground was high, found the depth thawed to be scarce four feet from the surface; and in low places it did not exceed three feet. Near fort *Argunsk*, which is but little beyond the 50th degree of north latitude, the inhabitants acquainted him, that in several places the soil was not thawed to above the depth of an ell and a half, and that this internal frost made it very difficult to come at any springs. He likewise observed that the quick-

silver sunk to one hundred and twenty degrees of *Fahrenheit's* scale at *Jeniseisk*, which is a degree of cold never felt hitherto in any other country on the globe.

(I) Beer is seldom known to freeze in the cellars of those houses whose windows or holes for admitting light, are thus stopped with a piece of ice.

(K) In those parts where the river *Jenisei* falls into the *Ice Sea*, the northern lights appear from the beginning of *October* till *Christmas*; and the corruscations of one kind of them are said to be very terrifying. M. *Gmelin* thinks this the place where the *Aurora Borealis* is to be seen in its greatest perfection.

pears continually above the horizon. The vegetables and fruits of the earth are here extremely quick in their growth. Thunder is seldom heard near the *Ice Sea*, on the coast of which the thunder-claps are said to be so faint, as hardly to strike the ear; but the lightning is very visible in that climate. On the contrary, the south part of *Siberia* is subject to very dreadful tempests.

Soil and produce.

THE whole tract of land beyond the 60th degree of north latitude, is a barren waste; for the north part of *Siberia* yields neither corn nor fruits; tho' barley is known frequently to come to perfection in *Jakutzk*. For this reason, the inhabitants of the northern parts are obliged to live on fish and flesh; but the *Russians* are supplied with corn from the southern parts of *Siberia*, where the soil is surprisingly fertile. The countries beyond the lake of *Baikal*, especially towards the east, as far as the river *Argun*, are remarkably fruitful and pleasant; but such is the indolence of the inhabitants, that several fine tracts of land, which would make ample returns to the peasant for cultivating them, lie neglected. The pastures are excellent in this country, which abounds in fine horned-cattle, horses, goats, &c. on which the *Tartars* chiefly depend for subsistence. However, there are several *Steppes*, or barren wastes, and unimprovable tracts in these parts; and not a single fruit-tree is to be seen. There is great variety of vegetables, and in several places, particularly near *Krasnaia Sloboda*, the ground is in a manner over-run with asparagus of an extraordinary height and delicious flavour. The bulbs of the *Turkish bundes*, and other sorts of lillies, are much used by the *Tartars* instead of bread. This want of fruit and corn is richly compensated by the great quantities of wild and tame beasts and fowls, and the infinite variety of fine fish which the country affords, among which are the sturgeon and sterled. Provisions are so cheap, that, in many places, a *Pud*, or thirty-six pounds of meal, may be had for five or eight, and a pud of the finest beef for twenty or thirty copeiks.

IN that part of *Siberia* which lies near the *Ice Sea*, as well as in several other places, no trees, but shrubs and bushes grow; but the greater part of this country produces large woods of pine, larch, and other trees: besides which, a considerable quantity of wood is thrown ashore by the waves of the *Ice Sea*; but from whence it comes is not yet quite clear.

Wild beasts.

BESIDES the wild fowl, such as moor-hens, partridges, woodcocks, and snipes, with which *Siberia* abounds, there is a prodigious number of wild quadrupeds, some of which are eatable, and others valuable for their skins or furs. The *Argati*, which is also called *Stepnie Baranni*, or wild sheep, the *Dsholaisshan*, the *Gaadinadaish*, the *Kytap* and *Kulem*, resemble roe-bucks more than sheep, and are a particular species of animals between those two. They are found near the *Irtis*, and from thence eastward as far as *Kamshatka*. In the province of *Irkutzk*, and beyond the lake *Baikal*, is a sort of deer called the *Isubr*; but the people who live near the *Irtis* call this creature *Maral*, and the *Tartars* about the *Jenisei* give it the name of *Syn*. This species is also distinguished by the several appellations of *Maime*, *Meyimie*, *Buha*, *Kumaka*, and *Kumaká*. There are also two kinds of wild goats, one in the province of *Irkutzk*, which are called *Dshers*, and perfectly resemble the roe-buck, except that they have horns like the shamois, which they never shed; the other, called *Saiga*, frequents the source of the *Irtis*, and is found in no other part of *Siberia*. The *Saiga* is not unlike the shamois, except that its horns are quite strait, and have no branches. These horns are almost transparent, and much used to make handles for knives, daggers, &c. The animal called *Saiga* beyond *Krasnoiarsk*, and throughout the whole province of *Irkutzk*, and the government of *Jakutzk*, is the musk or civet-cat. The *Kosi* or roebuck, the *Socaty* or elk, rein-deer, hares, the *Kabari* or wild boars, and bears, are common over all *Siberia*. The *Tshigitai* or wild mules, in the province of *Irkutzk*, are like a bay horse, but their tail resembles that of a cow, and their ears are of an enormous length. They are, however, remarkably swift.

THE animals most valued for their skins are the black fox, the sable, the hyæna, the ermine, the squirrel, the beaver, and the lynx. The skin of a real black fox is more esteemed than even that of a sable. In the country near the *Frozen Ocean* are also blue and white foxes. The finest sables come from *Nertschinsk* and *Jakutzk*, the inhabitants of which places catch them in the mountains of *Stannowoi Kribet*. It is usual in those parts for ten or twelve men to join in a society, and share the sables they take. One of the members is chosen as chief, to whom all the rest must pay obedience, on pain of being well beaten or expelled from the society. Before they set out, they never fail to make a vow of giving part of their capture to the church. Several *Tartars* likewise apply themselves to the hunting of sables, and pursue them very dexterously through all their shifts: for when the sable finds no means of escaping its pursuers, it climbs up the highest tree within sight; but the hunters immediately set fire to the tree, and spreading out a net, catch the sable as it leaps down to avoid the flames. By the great value set on sables, the breed of those animals

- a animals is very much lessened: and, what is no small detriment to the crown, great numbers have been caught and sold clandestinely, notwithstanding the severest prohibitions. The tributary nations were formerly obliged to pay their taxes in the skins of foxes and fables only. But now the skins of squirrels, bears, rein-deer, &c. and sometimes money, are received by way of tribute; and this not only from those who live near the *Lena*, but also in the governments of *Ilinsk*, *Irkutzk*, *Selenginsk*, and *Nertschinsk*. When the *Tartars* first became tributary to the *Russians*, they brought their furs indiscriminately as they caught them, and among them were often fables of extraordinary value; and formerly, if any trader brought with him an iron-kettle, they gave him, in exchange for it, as many fables as it would hold. But they are now better acquainted with their value. They sell
b their fables to smugglers at a very high price, and pay only a ruble instead of a skin to the revenue-office, which now receives more ready money than fables, by way of tribute. The subjects plead the scarcity of furs, and, as we have already observed, not without some appearance of truth.

THE hyæna is a very subtle animal, watching other creatures with singular address, in order to execute by craft, what it could not do by force; and is equally artful in avoiding the snares and contrivances of men. It keeps a sharp eye upon fawns, young elks, rein-deer, civet-cats, roe-bucks, hares, squirrels, foxes, and young partridges; and either watches them on a tree from whence it springs upon them, and fastens on their neck with its teeth, or surprizes them in their lares or dens. The hyæna is of great detriment to
c the hunters, by frequently devouring the animals caught in their toils. This creature is extremely voracious, and runs from south to north, and from north to south, in quest of its prey: but the opinion that it squeezes itself between two trees, to force out its excrements, and make room for more food, wants confirmation. It is called in *Siberia* *Rossomak*. The *Germans* call it *Vielfras*, which signifies a glutton.

WITH regard to squirrels, the blackest, which are indeed the smallest, are caught in the mountains of *Stannowoi Kriebet*. Those of *Beresow* are larger; but their fur is of an ash-colour. The silver-coloured squirrels of *Tselut* are remarkable throughout all *Siberia*, for their bigness; and indeed some prefer them to the black sort. The flying squirrels bear scarce any resemblance to the common species, except in their manner of climbing up trees.
d They look more like a rat; and have a strong tegument, from the hind to the fore-leg, on both sides, which is above an inch broad, and can be contracted or dilated as the animal pleases. This mechanism enables it to fly a little way. The tail, which is of a dark yellow, is not so long as that of a squirrel.

THE whitish beavers are tame and familiar; but so many of them have been destroyed in *Siberia*, that they are now very scarce. The greatest number of them is now found near the source of the river *Jenisei*, and on the banks of the *Oby*; but the largest are those of *Kamtshatka*.

SIBERIA has still other, and more valuable treasures than those we have yet mentioned. The silver mines of *Argun* are extremely rich; the silver they produce yields some
e gold, and both of these are found among the copper-ore of *Koliwan*. This country is also particularly rich in copper and iron ore. The former lies even upon the surface of the earth; and considerable mines of it are found in the mountains of *Pitlow*, *Koliwan*, *Ploskaii*, *Woskerefensk*, *Kuswi*, *Alepaik*, and several others, and in the government of *Krasnoiarsk*. Iron is still more plentiful in all these places, and very good: but that of *Kamenski* is reckoned the best. Several hundred thousand puds of these metals are annually exported from the smelting-houses, which belong partly to the crown, and partly to private persons. Most of them lie in the government of *Catharinenburg*. The *Tartars* also extract a great quantity of iron from the ore. Minerals;

THE topazes of *Siberia* have so fine a lustre, that none but good judges can distinguish
f them from the oriental ones. In open sandy places, near the river *Argun*, as well as on the banks of other rivers and lakes, are found single small pieces of agate. Here are also cornelians and green jasper with red veins; the latter is chiefly met with in the deserts of *Gobiskoi*. Precious stones.

THE famous *marienglas*, or *lapis specularis*, great quantities of which are dug up in *Siberia*, is by some called *Muscovy* or *Russian-glass*; and by others, though with less propriety, *isinglass*. It is a particular species of transparent stone, lying in *strata*, like so many sheets of paper. The *matrix* or stone in which it is found, is partly a light yellow *quartz* or *marcassia*, and partly a brown indurated fluid; and this stone contains in it all the species of the *marienglas*. The clearest and most transparent is accounted the best, and that of a greenish tinge is looked upon as the worst sort. Next to the colour, its size is most regarded. Some pieces have been found near two ells square: but these are not very common. Hence it is that they bear an extraordinary value, a rubel or two a pound being readily paid for a piece of an ell square. As for the more common sort, a pud of that
g
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of

of a quarter of an ell square is sold for nine or ten rubels: and the worst sort of all, which is stitched together, is sold for a rubel and a half or two rubels a pud. To render the marienglas fit for use, it is split with a thin two-edged knife: but care is taken that the *laminae* be not too thin. It is used for windows and lanterns all over *Siberia*, and indeed in every part of the *Russian* empire, and looks very beautiful; its lustre and cleanness surpassing that of the finest glass, to which it is particularly preferable for windows and lanterns of ships, as it will stand the explosion of cannon. It is found in the greatest plenty near the river *Witim*.

Magnets.

SIBERIA affords magnets of an extraordinary size, and even whole mountains of loadstones. Pit-coal is also dug up in the northern parts of this country. The *Kamennoie Maslo*, a yellowish kind of alum, unctuous and smooth to the touch like *tophus*, is found in the mountains of *Krosnoiarsk*, *Ural*, *Altai*, *Jenisea*, *Baikal*, *Bargusik*, *Lena*, and several others in *Siberia*.

Salt lakes and springs.

IN this country are not only a great number of fresh-water lakes, but likewise several whose waters are salt; and what is very singular in both of these is, the alterations to which they are liable; the fresh-water lake being sometimes changed into a saline, and a saline into a fresh one. Some lakes also dry up, and others appear where none were ever seen before. The salt-lake of *Tamuscha* in the province of *Tobolsk* is the most remarkable of all; for it contains a salt as white as snow, consisting entirely of cubic-crystals. One also finds in *Siberia* saline springs, salt-water brooks, and a hill of salt. The salt springs in the province of *Irkutsk*, which lie about two hundred wersts from *Olecminkoi Oslog*, near the banks of the *Kapitenda*, are so strongly impregnated with saline particles, that a pure white salt is gradually accumulated to the height of several feet above the spring. In the same province is the salt-hill, which is thirty fathoms high, and two hundred and ten in length from east to west. This hill, as far as two thirds of its height from the base, is a congeries of a very hard transparent salt, which consists of large cubic crystals, without the least apparent mixture of any heterogeneous substance. From what has been said, it may be concluded that there are a great many salt-works in this country.

Natural curiosities.

SIBERIA affords many other things which deserve notice. That useful root called *rhubarb* grows in vast quantities near the city of *Seleginsk*. The curious *mamont's* bones and horns, as they are called, which are found along the banks of the *Oby*, *Jenisei*, *Lena*, and *Irtis*, are unquestionably the teeth and bones of elephants, and are made into combs and other utensils like ivory. Some of these teeth, or horns, as they are called in *Siberia*, are four *arsbines* (L), or *Russian* ells in length, and six inches in diameter; and the largest sort weigh six or seven *puds* (M). Their colour is like that of ivory, excepting some few of them which are yellowish, brown, or of a blueish black, owing probably to their long continuance in the earth. Those that are found near the mouths of the rivers which run into the *Frozen Ocean*, or on the banks of the fresh-water lakes, which lie at no very great distance from the *Ice Sea*, where the ground is perpetually frozen, are generally very fresh: whereas those that are dug up in the southern parts of *Siberia* are often soft and decayed. But whether these elephants teeth and bones were conveyed to these northern regions by the general deluge, or by any other inundation, and were by degrees covered with earth, is a point which might lead us into long and very fruitless disquisitions. We shall therefore only observe, that such bones have likewise been found in *Russia*, and even in several parts of *Germany*. A kind of bones of a still larger size than these have also been dug up in *Siberia*, and seem to have belonged to an animal of the ox-kind. The horn of the whale, called *narwhal*, has been found in the earth near the rivers *Indigirka* and *Anadir*, and the teeth of another species of whales, called *walrofs*, about *Anadirskoi*. The latter are larger than the common sort, which are brought from *Greenland*, *Archangel*, and *Kola*.

WE must not here forget the *Siberian* volcano near *Kamtshatka*, where violent earthquakes are not uncommon. Shocks of them, though smaller, have likewise been felt in other parts of this country, particularly in *Irkutsk*, and about the lake *Baikal*.

Mountains.

THE chain of *Siberian* mountains reaches from that of *Werchoturie* towards the south, as far at the neighbourhood of the city of *Oriemburg*, in a continued ridge, under the name of the *Uralian* mountains; but from thence it alters its direction westward. These mountains are a kind of boundary between *Russia Proper* and *Siberia*. Another chain of hills divides *Siberia* from the country of the *Calmuks* and *Mongolians*. These mountains, between the rivers *Irtis* and *Oby*, are called the *Attaic* or *Golden Mountains*; which name they afterwards lose, particularly between the river *Jenisei* and the *Baikal* lake, where they are called the *Sayanian Mountains*. From this chain some branches advance towards the south,

(L) The *arsbine*, or *Russian* ell, is equal to twenty-eight inches and one tenth, *English* measure.

(M) The *pud*, or *poed*, contains forty *Russian* pounds, which are equal to thirty-six *English* pounds of sixteen ounces.

a into the country of the *Calmuks* and *Mongolians*; and some towards the north, which partly encompasses the rivers *Oby* and *Tom*, and especially the *Jenisei*. This whole country which extends to the north and east, towards the *Frozen* and the *Eastern Oceans*, begins here to grow mountainous and rocky: but the longest chain of mountains in *Siberia*, is that which lies between the rivers that run into the *Eastern Ocean* and the *Ice Sea*. This ridge begins in the country of the *Mongolians*, and extends to the north-east extremity of *Siberia*. Another ridge of hills, called *Wercoiankoi*, in which are the sources of those rivers which empty themselves into the *Ice Sea*, lies on the south side of the river *Aldan*. Others less remarkable mountains are those between the *Jenisei* and the *Lena*, from which the river *Tungusta*, that runs beyond them, derives its name.

b THE inhabitants of *Siberia* consist of three sort of people; namely, the *Aborigines* or *Inhabitants*, ancient inhabitants, *Tartars* and *Russians*.

OF the two first, some have no other religion but that of nature; others are pagans or mahometans; and some of them have been converted to Christianity, or rather only baptised by the *Russian* missionaries. The *Aborigines*, or first inhabitants, consist of, *First inhabitants of Siberia.*

I. THE *Wogulitzians*, or *Wogulians*, who live in the province of *Tobolsk*, and may more properly be classed here, than among the *Tartars*. These, by living among the *Russians* in a constant intercourse of trade, before the latter had conquered this country, are more civilized than the other *Siberian* nations. They have some notion of a God, the creator and preserver of all things. They also believe a resurrection of the dead, and a future state of rewards and punishments; which important truths they probably received from the *Russians*: but they absolutely deny the existence of the devil, saying that if there was such a being, he could do them no hurt, and that they never knew any instance of it. Their whole religious worship consists in the following ceremony. Once a year, towards the end of summer, every father or head of a family in all their villages meet, and in some adjacent wood, offer the head of every species of animals they are acquainted with, and hang the skins upon trees; after which they make several reverential bows before them, but without uttering a word by way of prayer. This done, they regale themselves with great festivity, on the flesh of the animals whose heads have been thus offered. The only reason they assign for performing this ceremony is, the practice of their ancestors. When they bury their dead, they throw money into the grave with the deceased. They generally take as many wives as they can maintain. Their dress and method of building are, for the most part, copied from the *Russians*; though they furnish the inside of their houses rather in the *Tartarian* manner. As they have not a sufficient quantity of arable land, they chiefly subsist by grazing and hunting. They are entirely subject to the *Russian* government; and many of them have embraced the Christian religion, as professed by the *Greek* or *Russian* church. *The Wogulitzians.*

II. THE *Samoyedes*, who live in the province of *Jeniseiskoi*, and of whom we have already spoken in our account of the government of *Archangel*. *Samoyedes.*

III. THE *Yuraki*, a numerous tribe of *Samoyedes*, who inhabit the sea-coast, and farther up the continent between the rivers *Jenisei* and *Oby*. Most of these still live without any form of government: and though some of them pay tribute to the *Russian* empress, the generality have not yet submitted to the yoke. *Yuraki.*

IV. THE *Ostiaks*, or *Ashaks* who call themselves *Conti*, or *Konni-yung*, and whom the *Tartars* call *Yshuk*, are divided into the *Ostiaks* of *Narim*, *Jenisei*, *Oby*, *Surgut*, *Irts*, &c. The ancestors of this people are supposed to have emigrated hither from *Weliki Permia*, when Christianity was first introduced into *Russia*, to enjoy their idolatrous worship without molestation; at least their language is said to have a great analogy with the *Permian*, which is very different from that of the neighbouring *Samoyedes* and *Wogulitzians*. They are of a middle stature, and generally well-shaped, but excessively filthy in their way of living. They give their children the name of the first animal they meet, and as they grow up instruct them in hunting and fishing. They never leave off fishing in summer till they have caught enough to last them the whole winter, during which they go out with their dogs to hunt hyænas, lynxes, fables, ermines, and bears; which enables them to pay their tribute, and to carry on a trade with strangers. In these excursions they also catch a great number of birds and rein-deer for food. They are excessively fond of *shaar*, or *Chinise* tobacco. Their dwellings are little low huts made with shrubs and bushes, and covered with the bark of birch-trees; and in the middle is the hearth for fire. They neither mind grazing nor agriculture, nor keep any animals but dogs, for hunting and drawing their sledges. They worship three deities called *Stariks*, besides a great number of frightful idols, several of which were destroyed in the years 1712, 1713, and 1714, when many of these heathens were converted to Christianity. They call the devil *Sbaitan*; and bury with their deceased friends, arms and household furniture. When they take an oath of fidelity to the *Russian* government, they use the following ceremony: Having laid down a *Ostiaks.*

bear-skin and an ax, they hold over it a piece of bread on a knife, and express themselves in these words: "In case I do not, to my life's end, prove true and faithful to the supreme government of the country; or if I knowingly and willingly break through my allegiance, or be wanting in the duty I owe to the said supreme government; may the bear tear me to pieces in the wood! may the bread I eat stick in my throat and choak me! may the knife stab me, and the axe cut off my head!" The like ceremony is used among them in the deposition of a witness.

Barabinzians.

V. THE *Barabinzians*, who inhabit the country on both sides of the river *Irtis*, and seem to derive their name from the *Barabaian* desert, whose lakes supply them abundantly with fish; on which and on feeding of cattle they chiefly subsist. They have plenty of game and wild fowl of every kind, particularly ducks and puffins. Most of them are heathens: but Mahometanism gains ground daily among them. Some of them pay tribute to the empress of *Russia*, and others to the *Kan Taisha*.

Tungusians.

VI. THE *Tungusians*, or rather *Tingisians*, a populous nation dispersed throughout the provinces of *Jeniseisk* and *Irkutsk*. The *Chinese* call them *Solun*, and the *Ostiaks* give them the name of *Kellem* or *Vellem*, that is, *The party-coloured*: but they term themselves *Oewonki*. The *Tungusians* must not be confounded either with the *Tangutes*, or with the eastern *Mongolians*, whom the *Calmuks* call by the nick-name of *Tungus*, *Swine*. As some of the *Tungusians*, when they became subject to the *Russian* empire, were observed to travel in sledges, drawn by horses, others by rein-deer, and others again by dogs, they were divided accordingly into the following tribes.

1. THE *Konnie Tungusi*, who live in *Dauria*, and near the town of *Nertschinsk*, and are so called from the horses they use in travelling with their sledges. Grazing and feeding of cattle are the chief support of this tribe, who, in dress and several other respects, greatly resemble the *Mongolians*. They wear their hair like the *Calmuks* and *Mongolians*, and are armed after the same manner, excepting that they have no sabres. They pay no attention to agriculture: but content themselves with a kind of meal made of the roots of yellow lilies, which they use instead of flour. They are good horsemen, strong made, and behave with great courage in war.

2. THE *Olenne Tungusi*, who are so called from their rein-deer, and live about the rivers *Lena*, *Nisbnaia*, and *Tunguska*. They subsist by hunting and fishing, and also breed some cattle. They make their cloaths of the skins of rein-deer, and wear caps of fox-skin. Their usual oath is *olimni*, which signifies, that they call God to witness the truth of what they say. When they are accused, they clear themselves by an oath of purgation in this manner: Having first killed and burnt a dog, the defendant, after drinking some of its blood, wishes with an imprecation, that he may shrivel up and be burnt like that animal, if the charge against him be true.

3. THE *Sabatsbie Tungusi*, who live chiefly in the province of *Irkutsk*, and are so called, not only because they use dogs to draw their sledges, but also because they eat the flesh of those animals. They are likewise termed *Lamuts*, from the country about *Ocotzk*, which is also called *Lama*. The skins of rein-deer are their winter-cloathing.

4. THE *Podkamenie Tungusi*, who inhabit the country that lies between the rivers *Jenisei* and *Lena*, or about *Ilinisk*. These people are poor, and live much in the same manner as their neighbours the *Ostiaks* and *Samoyedes*.

THESE several nations resemble one another so strongly in their manners and customs, as well as in their figures, that no doubt can be made of their being descended from the same stock. Their complexion is not so yellow as that of the *Calmuks*, nor have they such large eyes and flat noses. Their stature is generally low, and, from a custom of plucking off the hair, very few of them have any beard. They mark the cheeks, forehead, and chin of their children, when young, with black and blue figures, by mixing the colour with their spittle, and dipping in it a needle and thread, with which they stitch the child's face; continually drawing the thread thus coloured, under the skin, notwithstanding the incessant cries of the tortured infant. If the face swells, they smear it over with fat, by way of remedy. Anciently, conquerors in war, or in single combat, were honoured with this distinction; but then the figures were not confined to the face only, but were made all over the body. Such marks, in those days, commanded universal respect; which probably first brought them into vogue, and induced this people to look upon them as highly ornamental. The religion of these nations is pretty much alike; and they stile their idols *Shewuki*. They obstinately adhere to their superstitions, and render all attempts to convert them fruitless. They allow polygamy, but seldom have more than two wives. Most of them live in small tents or huts, which they remove from place to place. They are active and sprightly, naturally inclined to justice and equity, and are even inspired with a desire of fame. They are all under the protection of the *Russian* government, excepting some few that belong to *China*. They are divided into tribes or families,

a families, over a certain number of which presides a *saissan*, or chief, who has a deputy stiled *taisha*. Both these officers are appointed by and receive a pension from the empress of Russia. The furs of the *Tungusians* are reckoned the very best.

VII. THE *Buratts*, or *Buratians*, whom the *Russians* call *Bratski*, differ from the *Tungusians* only in their language, which resembles that of the *Mongolians*. They formerly lived on the south-side of the lake *Baikal*; but removed gradually to the north of the province of *Irkutzk*, towards the close of the last century. About the year 1644, a handful of *Cosaks*, sent from *Krasnoiarsk*, prevailed with them, by fair words, to become subjects of Russia. They were formerly one people with the *Jakutians*. They are of a good shape and stature, and subsist by feeding cattle and sheep, and hunting. A *Buratt* has been more than once known to possess a thousand sheep, besides a great number of bullocks and horses. The men cut off their hair close to the head; but their dress differs little from that of the common people in Russia. The greatest ornament of the females consists in their hair, which their young ones plait into three or four locks, but the elderly women only into two. They live in hexangular huts, built with logs of wood laid one upon another to the height of three or four feet; and upon these poles are fixed, which terminate almost in a point, leaving only an opening at the top for the smoke. The entrance of these cottages always faces the east; and on each side of them stands a birch-tree. From one of these trees to the other a pole is laid, on which hang narrow slips of furs, the skins of ermines and weasels, and the fleeces of sheep; and every night and morning the *Buratt* makes several bows and prostrations before these trophies, touching his forehead with two of his fingers, according to the oriental custom. They have a sort of priests, or soothsayers, whom they call *Bo*, and who dress themselves in a frightful manner. Several of the poorer *Buratts* have been persuaded to be baptised, especially those who live near *Balaganfskoi Ostrog*; and these, contrary to the custom of the rest of their nation, apply themselves to husbandry and trades, so that many of them are very expert mechanics, particularly at inlaying iron with pewter or silver. They ride either on horses, oxen, or cows, taking the first that comes in their way; and seldom continue above a month or two in the same place: for as soon as they find that their herds and flocks have eat up the pasture, they remove immediately to another spot.

d VIII. THE *Jakutians*, who, in their features, are very like the *Calmuks*, in their way of living resemble the other pagan nations we have been speaking of, excepting that they wear long hair and short garments. They give themselves little trouble about bread, living on several sorts of roots, garlic, onions, milk, the flesh of horses and cows, and of all kinds of wild beasts that they chance to meet with: but mice, mountain-rats, and wild fowl, are their favourite dishes. They have both summer and winter-cottages; and the cattle lie under the same roof with their owners. They use mortars of frozen cow or ox-dung, in which they bruise not only dried fish, roots, and berries, but the more wealthy among them pound pepper and salt. They have a great number of idols, which look like so many puppets, and are all made of rags; for they hold wooden images in great contempt. They rub the mouths of these wretched figures with the fat or blood of animals. It is said, that the *Jakutians* formerly either burnt their dead, or exposed them to the air on trees, or left them unburied in the huts where they expired. But at present they generally bury their deceased friends; which custom they have probably learnt from the *Russians*. Several of these people are now baptised.

IX. THE *Yukagirians*, a tribe of the *Jakutians*, who live mostly among the mountains, and near the *Ice Sea*.

f X. THE *Tshukshians*, who live in the north-west part of *Siberia*, wear the tooth of a walrus in each cheek, which are inserted in the flesh during their infancy; and the *Olutshians*, a savage, fierce nation, who, according to all accounts, are so far from submitting to the *Russians*, that they commit all possible hostilities against them. This obliges the *Russian* traders to go from *Ocotsk* to *Kamtschatka* by water.

XI. THE *Shelations*, *Kurilians*, and *Coriekians*, who also live in these parts, are but little known.

XII. THE *Kamtshadations*, or inhabitants of the peninsula of *Kamtschatka*, supposed to have been originally a *Japanese* colony, are more tractable and civilised than their northern neighbours. They pay the *Russians* a tribute in furs.

g THE second principal class of the inhabitants of this country are the *Tartars*, who are the most civilised of all the foreign nations in *Siberia*; and those *Tartars* who are *Mahometans* are still more so than the pagan *Tartars*. The latter have their *keman*, or priests and forcerers, who impose vilely upon the people by their juggling tricks. They affect to seem as if they were possessed; and have their magic drum, by which their deluded followers believe they can procure lost things, heal the sick, and foretel future events. Their common dress is a leather coat, with several pieces of iron hanging to it, leather stockings,

stockings, with a variety of ornaments, and a cap well adapted for terrifying the ignorant. The houses and huts of the *Tartars* are distinguished by a broad low seat, and a hearth with a chimney.

Their several tribes, viz.

THE *Siberian Tartars* consist of several populous nations and less numerous tribes, and live under the protection of *Russia*. They derive their names from the countries, towns, and rivers near which they dwell.

THOSE of the province of *Tobolsk* are divided into the following tribes.

Tartars of Tobolsk.

1. SUCH as inhabit the city of *Tobolsk*, of whom we shall speak farther in our account of that place; only observing here, that they are more cleanly than the *Tartars* of *Casan*, but so poor that they seldom have more than one wife, nor drink any other liquor than water.

Tartars of Tibyk-Aul.

2. THE *Tartars* who live about *Tibyk-Aul*, or *Siniarskoi-Prud*, as the *Russians* call it, near the river *Siniar*. These pay no tribute whatever to the crown; but are obliged to perform *Cosak* service, and are called *Moshtshiaraki*. They have fixed habitations, and reside always in the same place.

Tartars of Turinsk.

3. THE *Tartars* in the government of *Turinsk* are more savage than any of the others. They were baptised in the year 1720, by *Philophei*, archbishop of *Tobolsk*; and great numbers of them, who refused to comply, were driven by force into the river, which the *Russians* concluded would answer the purpose very well.

Mirow Tartars.

4. THE *Mirow Tartars*. These, in general, are independent, exempt from tribute, and live decently.

Ishmisk Tartars.

5. THE *Tartars* who dwell near *Ishmisk*, a town upon the river *Irtis*. These have commonly one village for the summer, and another for the winter: a custom which, however, is not peculiar to them.

Yesashnie Tartars.

6. THOSE who live near the city of *Tara* are called *Yesashnie Tartars*, that is, *Tartars* who pay a tribute to the crown.

Theleuti Tartars.

7. THE *Theleuti Tartars* live about the river *Tshumush*. These were formerly much more numerous, great numbers of them having removed farther up into *Siberia*, to avoid the ravages of the *Calmuks*; but they now begin to return to their old habitations.

Jenisea Tartars.

8. THE *Tartars* who live in the province of *Jenisea*, with several of the *Theleuti* and *Kash-tim Tartars*, who inhabit the parts about the river *Kaltirak*, in the neighbourhood of *Ilün-skoi Pogost* (N), were baptised by the above-mentioned prelate, but they are far from being Christians: they do not even wear the cross that is given them at baptism, which is here accounted the essential part of Christianity; but publicly declare that they were compelled to be baptized against their inclination. However, they are very ready to make the sign of the cross, are generally married by a *Russian* priest, and sometimes look into a *Russian* church.

Theleuti Tartars.

9. THE *Theleuti Tartars*, who live near *Kusnetsk*, are not Mahometans, nor have they any settled form of religion. They, indeed, believe the existence of a God; but almost the only worship they pay him is, that every morning at the rising of the sun, they turn towards the east, and say this laconic prayer, "Do not strike me dead." Near their villages are open places or areas, called *Taulga*, where, once a year, or oftener, they kill a horse, eat its flesh, then stuff the skin, and set it up with its head towards the east. The *Taulga* is also built facing the east, and is only a square spot inclosed with stakes of birch-trees. However it is looked upon as a consecrated place; and there the stuffed skin is left as an offering to the deity, which is accounted an act of religious worship. They eat no pork, but drink brandy as often as they can get it. They are so immoderately fond of tobacco, that they swallow the very smoke of it. Some of these *Tartars* bury their dead, and others burn them.

Abintzi Tartars.

10. THE *Abintzi Tartars*, who also live near *Kusnetsk*, are said to be of the same religion with the *Theleuti*. Their huts are chiefly built with earth, and their employment is agriculture.

Beltiri Tartars.

11. THE *Beltiri* are the only *Tartars* in the *Kusnetsk* government, who, besides paying a tribute to *Russia*, are likewise taxed by the *Calmuks*, and are obliged to pay the latter in iron and *Russia* leather. In this country are also the *Kabal* and *Saga Tartars*.

Tuliberti and Kistimi Tartars. Tshulimzians.

12. FARTHER up in the continent, near the river *Jom*, live the *Tuliberti* and *Kistimi Tartars*.

13. THE *Tshulimzians*, who are also baptized, though they have but a very imperfect notion of a God. They eat dead horses, and offer up the skins to the devil. When they bury their dead, every person present leaps through a fire which is kindled on the spot, that the deceased may not follow him; for they imagine that the dead are very much

(N) *Pogost* signifies properly a church with the buildings belonging to it: but, in a more extensive sense, it denotes the whole territory of a parish belonging to a church. The villages dependent on the church have also the same name.

afraid

a afraid of fire. When archbishop *Philophei* went to these parts to baptize the people, he ordered the dragoons who attended him, to force such as expressed any reluctance into the river *Tshulam*; and upon their coming out of the water, crosses were hung about their necks, and then they were called *Baptized Tartars*. They have not the least knowledge of the essential part of Christianity: but idly think that it consists in carrying the cross about them, and making the sign of it; in abstaining from eating the flesh of horses and squirrels; in going to church; in having their children baptized; in restricting themselves to one wife, and in observing the fasts of the Greek church.

14. THE *Tartars* who live near *Krasnoiarsk* have very much the air of *Europeans*. They are generally thin, but brisk and sprightly. They are civil, sociable, and honest, and do not want a capacity for business. Some caution must indeed be used in trading with this people; but robberies and thefts are never heard of among them. They have generally two or three, and sometimes four wives. They are not over cleanly, or scrupulously neat in their apparel. They have a good breed of horses and horned cattle, and are tolerably well acquainted with agriculture. They have hitherto been so tenacious of paganism, that neither the *Mahometans*, *Russians*, nor *Monguls* have ever been able to make any impression on them, in favour of another religion.

15. THE *Arinzi* were formerly a principal tribe of *Tartars*; but their number is now become inconsiderable.

16. THE *Kotowzi* and *Kamatshinzi* inhabit the country between *Abakansk* and *Ransk*. The *Tartars* who live near *Ransk* are not very rich, and few of them have more than two wives. Both sexes among them wear no other garment than a coat, except the few that have been baptized, who wear shirts and shifts. But as they never wash them, they look very dirty and slovenly. Their only occupation is hunting of fables: and as they have not yet applied themselves to agriculture, like many of the other *Tartars*, they use the bulb of the *Turkish Bundes*, and other lilies, instead of bread.

17. THE *Affani Tartars*, formerly a very numerous tribe, are now almost entirely extinct. The few of them that remain, live near the rivers *Ussolka* and *Ona*.

18. THE *Soieti*, who are a sort of roving pagan *Tartars*, live near *Tunkinsk Ostrog*, in the province of *Irkutsk*, and speak the same language as the *Tartars* of *Krasnoiarsk*.

d THE third principal class of the inhabitants of *Siberia* are the *Russians*, of whom great numbers have settled there since the conquest of that country; but most of them have fled thither, from time to time, from other provinces. Since their establishment they have founded a great many towns, *ostrogs* (O), and villages; which, according to their custom, are built and fortified with timber. Most of the villages take their names from the peasants who first built them, and but few from the rivulets on which they stand. The *Siberian* dialect in the villages, is very different from the common language of *Russia*, and is intermixed with many barbarous words never used in that country. Idleness, drunkenness, and debauchery are so universal throughout all *Siberia*, that in many parts of it one meets with few persons who are free from the venereal disease.

e THE notion believed and propagated by foreigners, that the criminals exiled by the *Russian* court to *Siberia*, whose number is very considerable, are obliged daily or weekly to catch and deliver in a certain number of fables, is a vulgar error, for that is an employment to which they are little accustomed. Of the unhappy exiles who are sent thither as state-prisoners, some are strongly guarded in fortified houses, and maintained at the expence of the crown; others enjoy their liberty, but under certain restrictions; and others again are sent thither into slavery, to work in the mines, fortifications, &c. Several decayed merchants who are banished to *Siberia*, as debtors to the crown, meet with more favourable opportunities of getting money, and gradually retrieving their affairs, than if they had continued in *Russia*; and these opportunities they are suffered to embrace as often as they occur. To such industrious persons, *Siberia* must be looked upon rather as a desirable and advantageous country, than as a wretched place of banishment.

f THE many navigable rivers that water *Siberia*, greatly facilitate its commerce, which is very considerable. By means of its trade with *China*, foreign *European* commodities are often sold in the towns of *Siberia*, nearly as cheap as at *Petersburg* and *Moscow*: nor is there a city in *Russia* from which merchants do not travel to *Siberia*, with foreign goods. These traders vend their merchandize partly among the inhabitants of the *Siberian* towns, but chiefly to the *Chinese* merchants, who frequent the great yearly fairs in *Siberia*; and

(O) *Ostrog*, in the *Russian* language, signifies a place inclosed with pallisades; of which there are numbers in *Siberia*. Instead of a wall they are surrounded with long piles driven perpendicularly into the ground, or with wooden breast-works, like ramparts, made of logs and beams of timber laid upon each other. These

ostrogs have only the principal buildings inclosed within them, as the *voivode* or governor's house, the public offices, a magazine of provisions, an armory, a warehouse, a church, &c. But most of the *ostrogs* stand near a town or village.

Krasnoiarsk Tartars.

Arinzi Tartars.

Kotowzi and Kamatshinzi Tartars.

Affani Tartars.

Soieti Tartars.

Russian inhabitants of Siberia.

General mistake in regard to state-prisoners sent thither.

Trade of Siberia.

purchase some of their commodities in return. Such a trader performs a long and tedious journey before he sets his home again: for he sets out, we will suppose, from *Moscow* in the spring; arrives at *Makar*, where a fair is held in the summer; and is at *Irbitz*, by the annual fair, in the beginning of the ensuing year. In the former place he barter some of his goods for such as will turn to better account in the latter; which he does chiefly with a view to the *Chinese* trade. If any goods remain upon his hands, which he thinks he cannot dispose of, to advantage, in *Irkutsk*, he endeavours to procure a market for them at *Tobolsk*, where he arrives by winter. He leaves this place in the spring, and trading through all *Siberia*, comes about the end of the summer to *Irkutsk*: or if he be hindered by the ice, he fails not to be there by the beginning of winter, and then trades with the *Chinese*. After this, he bends his course to *Kiakta*; and the following spring reaches *Yakutsk*. From thence he goes by water six or seven hundred wersts farther, and then proceeds in sledges directly to *Kiakta*, in order to dispose of his *Yakutskian* commodities. In the spring following he sets out for *Irkutsk*, and in autumn arrives at *Tobolsk*. After that, he takes care to be present at the *Irbitz* fair in winter, and in the ensuing summer at that of *Makar*. After thus travelling from place to place for four years and a half, he at last returns to *Moscow*; and in that time, if he understands his business, and things have turned out well, he will have gained at least three hundred per cent. The *Russian* is the only coin used in *Siberia*: but most of the traffick is carried on by bartering goods for goods.

Siberia subjected to the Russian government.

ALL *Siberia* is at present subject to the *Russian* government, under which it was reduced towards the latter end of the sixteenth century, in the following manner: in the reign of the czar *Iwan Basilewitz II.* and his successor the *Feodor Iwanowitz*, one *Jermak Timiofeytz*, a *Don Cofak*, at the head of some thousands of his countrymen, committed dreadful ravages in the districts about the rivers *Oka* and *Volga*, sacking and plundering the towns, and destroying all before him; till being at last driven to the greatest extremities by the troops sent against him, and his retreat to the country of the *Cofaks* effectually cut off; after losing the greatest part of his army, he crossed the rivers *Kama* and *Tshusowaia*, and, by the assistance of a certain *Strobinow*, or *Stroganow*, who was sovereign of a vast tract of land near the *Tshusowaia*, embarked with eight hundred *Cofaks*, who still remained under him, and other auxiliaries, on the river *Tura*, laid siege to the town of *Onzigidin*, now called *Tiumen*, and took it, as he afterwards did the city of *Tobolsk*, out of which he drove the *Kuzium Kan*. *Jermak* being thus master of the only two towns then in *Siberia*, and sensible that he should not be able to keep in awe the prodigious numbers of *Mahometan Tartars* who inhabited this country, sent to *Moscow*, *Altanai Sultan*, son of the *Kuzium Kan*, whom he had taken prisoner, with a tender of his conquest to the *Russian* court, on condition of his obtaining a free pardon. His request was readily granted; and a good body of troops were sent to take possession of the country. From that time the *Russians* have been continually extending their dominions in *Siberia*. Soon after, *Jermak*, being on an expedition with some ships on the river *Irtis*, was surprized in the night by the *Tartars*, and killed with most of his people. His memory is still held in great veneration in *Siberia*: and, as an acknowledgment for the service performed by the *Cofaks* in this conquest, all the troops kept by the *Russians* in *Siberia*, are ordered always to be incorporated with them, and to bear their name. Hence the *Siberian* militia, to this day, are called *Cofaks*.

Its present government, and division into

SIBERIA now constitutes a very extensive government, consisting of three large provinces, each of which includes several subdivisions and towns, with their respective districts. Every town has its *woiwode*, whose jurisdiction extends to the district belonging to it, without any *uprawitel*, or deputy under him. The *statthalter*, or general governor of *Siberia*, resides at *Tobolsk*; and the deputy-statthalter, whose seat is in *Irkutsk*, and all the *woiwodes*, are subordinate to him: but he has not the power of appointing a *woiwode*, they being always nominated by the chancery or office for the *Siberian* affairs at *Moscow*. In the government-chancery at *Tobolsk*, are two secretaries, who are not changed, like the governor, but continue in office during life, if they behave well. For this reason they are more respected than even the general governor; and the *Siberians*, of all ranks, pay their court chiefly to them. They likewise preside over the principal officers of the garrison, and have an almost unlimited power over the city of *Tobolsk*. All ecclesiastical persons and affairs in *Siberia* are under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of *Tobolsk*.

THE three provinces into which *Siberia* is now divided, are,

I. The Province of TOBOLSK,

The province of Tobolsk.

THE south part of which includes *Siberia Proper*, formerly called *Tura*: but the whole province strictly belongs to *Tartary*, properly so called; as it once made a part of the kingdom of *Great Tartary*, and is peopled with *Tartarian* colonies.

THIS

- a THIS province is subdivided into the circles or districts of *Wercoturie*, *Cathrinenburg*, *Turinsk*, *Tiumen*, *Isetsk*, *Tobolsk*, *Surgut*, *Pelym*, and *Beresow*.

THE principal places in the circle of *WERCOTURIE*, the first one enters in going the usual road from *Russia*, from which it is separated by the *Wercoturian*, *Uralian*, or *Riphaean* mountains, are,

which is subdivided into the circles of *Wercoturie*,

- b THE town of *Wercoturie*, the first that the *Russians* built in *Siberia*, and the first one comes to in travelling the common road from *Solkamsk*. It lies on the river *Tura*, has a stone castle, some pretty good buildings, four churches, two or three chapels, a convent of monks, a nunnery, and about two hundred and fifty dwelling houses, most of which are of wood. Its situation is pleasant; but the country round it produces little corn, the inhabitants finding their account more in gathering pine-nuts, of which vast quantities grow in these parts, than in agriculture, which is of course neglected. All goods brought to or carried out of *Siberia*, are strictly examined here.

NEIWLANSKOI, a town on the river *Neiwa*, consisting of a wooden fort and about eight hundred houses, built in the year 1701, at the expence of the crown, on account of some considerable iron-works which are there. It is plentifully supplied with all the necessaries of life; and, among its inhabitants are great numbers of *starowerzi*, or old believers, as they stile themselves; but the *Greek* church calls them *schismatics*. Very curious and serviceable utensils of brass and copper are made here; and likewise at *Bynkowski*, another iron-work and brass-manufactory a little farther up, on the same river.

- c *KUSHWINSKOI*, or *Blagodat Kushwinski Sawod* (P), is also an iron and copper-work, on the small river *Kushwn*. The mountain called *Blagodat*, which yields the iron-ore, yields likewise good magnets.

NEAR *Libianskoi Pogost*, on the river *Liala*, is a copper-mine; but of so poor an ore, that a quintal of it does not yield above two pounds of pure metal.

WUISKOI Sawod, where are copper and iron-works, with about two hundred houses, is famous for a writing-sand of a gold colour, which is made of *gold-talc*, as it is called: and on the east side of the river *Tagil*, near *Werkno-Tagilskoi Sawod*, and *Sburalskoi Sawod*, other iron-works, is a rock of asbestos; but very few of the veins are an inch thick. On being scraped, the filaments are almost as soft as the finest silk.

- d IN the circle of *CATHRINENBURG*, called in *Russia*, *Ekaterinburgskoi Uezd*, are very rich mines, and several considerable iron and copper-works. At *Kamenskie Sawod*, one of these works, is made the best *Siberian* iron.

Cathrinenburg.

THE forts, or *kreposti*, as the *Russians* call them, *Miaskai* and *Tshiliabinskaia*, on the river *Mias*; *Itkulskaia*, on the lake *Itkul*; *Tshebarkulskaia*, on the lake *Shebat*, near which fine black beavers are caught; *Viskai*, on the river *Vi*, in the midst of a fertile country; *Ukly-Karagaiskaia*, near a lake of the same name; and *Werkiaitskaia*, on the river *Taik*; were built of late years on the south side of this circle, as a defence against the incursions of the *Bashkirians* and the *Kasatshia Horda*.

- e ABOUT fifty wersts from the last mentioned of these forts, which was erected in the year 1735, is a whole mountain of load-stone, near the river *Taik*, about three wersts in length from north to south; and on the west side it is divided into eight slopes of different depths, resembling so many terrasses. The seventh, which is the highest terrace, contains the best magnets. None are found at the summit of the hill: but about eight fathoms below it, there is a heap of sixty or seventy *puds* of ponderous stones, which at a distance look like large pebbles. These stones are found to have a magnetic virtue; for they attract a knife at the distance of an inch or more. One of these large magnets consists of a congeries of smaller stones, which operate in different directions. That part of the mountain where the load-stones are found, consists chiefly of a fine steel-ore, which lies in *strata* between the magnetic rocks. The principal place in this circle is

- f *CATHRINENBURG*, or *Ekaterinburg*, a regular town upon the river *Isset*, which runs through the middle of it. It is built in the *German* manner, and was begun by *Peter I.* in the year 1723, and finished in 1726, by his consort the czarina *Catharine*; after whom it is named. *Cathrinenburg* consists of about four hundred and fifty houses within its walls, all built at the expence of the government, and most of its inhabitants are officers belonging to the crown; the rest are artificers, and head-miners who have the care of the works. The suburbs, which are without the walls, are inhabited partly by exiled criminals, or others who work voluntarily at the fortifications and mines for daily pay. The public buildings of the town are a wooden church, a stone edifice for the public offices, an exchange with shops, an arsenal, and a toll or custom-house. This last is dependent on the government of *Tobolsk*; and the merchandize brought to the annual fair at *Irbitz*, which is the only time it is suffered to pass through this town, is searched here. As this

(P) A *Sawod* is a smelting-house, or place where ores and metals are melted down and wrought.

place lies in the neighbourhood of the *Bashkirians*, it is well fortified and garrisoned with two companies of soldiers, besides a party of engineers and matrosses for the artillery. *Cathrinenburg* may be accounted the centre of all the *Siberian* mine-works belonging to the crown; and on this account it is the residence of the director of the *Siberian* mines, who issues out his instructions to the sub-directors, and passes their accounts. The water of the river *Isset* is raised by a dam ninety-eight fathoms long, three high, and twenty broad, in order to supply a great number of mills and other engines belonging to the mines. All the forges and works about this town are kept in good condition, and the miners and artificers work with a diligence and spirit far beyond what is seen in other countries. Their wages are paid them regularly every four months, and all sorts of provisions are here very cheap. When any of the workmen fall sick, they are taken great care of, in the hospital; to which patients are also brought from the neighbouring works. Adjoining to this hospital is a physic-garden, for the use of the patients. This town, though belonging to the government of *Tobolsk*, is not subject to the *Siberian* government-chancery, but has its particular jurisdiction; and the director-general, when he sits in the chief mine-court, has two mine officers for assistants. There is, besides, a court of justice in this district, and a police peculiar to itself. A *German* school has been founded in this town.

Turinsk. IN the circle of **TURINSK** lies the town of *Turinsk*, formerly called *Xepantshin*, which name it likewise still retains. It is situate upon the river *Tura*, and contains a wooden fort, a mother-church, with six subordinate ones, and about three hundred and fifty houses. Provisions are very good here; and so cheap, that a *pud* of excellent beef, equal to thirty-six pounds of our weight, may be bought for twenty or thirty *copeiks*, that is to say, for about a shilling or fifteen pence.

Tiumen. IN the circle of **TIUMEN** are, *Tiumen*, anciently called *On-Zigibin*, a town, consisting of about five hundred houses, on the south side of the *Tura*, at its junction with the little river *Tiumsenka*, which runs through it. Over the *Tura* is a bridge eighty three fathoms long, which leads to a suburb on the north side of the river, inhabited by *Russians*, *Mahometan Tartars*, and *Bukarians*. *Tiumen* is defended by a stone fort, has several churches, six of which are of wood, and a convent of nuns with a church. In the suburbs are a church and a *metshed* or *mosque*.

KRASNAIA Sloboda, or *Krasnoslobodskoi Ostrog*, upon the river *Nisa*. The governor of this place is of equal dignity with the woiwodes of the smaller towns in *Siberia*. Great plenty of asparagus, above two feet high, grows wild in these parts.

IRBITSKAIA Sloboda, on the river *Irbis*, is famous for its annual fair, which is kept in the month of *January*. On this occasion, traders resort to this place from almost every town in the *Russian* dominions; and among the foreign merchants who frequent this fair, are *Greeks*, some of every *Tartarian* nation, and *Bukarians*. All goods brought here for sale, except gold, silver, and bullion, pay a duty of ten per cent.

Isetsk. THE place of most note in the district of **ISETSK**, which was erected into a province in the year 1737, is

DALMATOW, a stately convent, upon the river *Isset*, in a level, fertile, and pleasant country,

OKUNESKOI Ostrog, situated on the river *Mias*; *Isetskoi Ostrog*, on the river *Isset*; *Butkinskaia Sloboda* and *Tetshinskaia Sloboda*, on the river *Tetsha*, are little better than poor villages; though each of the two last is defended by a wooden fort.

IN the circle of **TOBOLSK** lies the city of *Tobolsk*, the capital of all *Siberia*, and the residence of the governor-general. It is situated in latitude $58^{\circ} 12'$, on the *Irtis*, near the influx of the *Tobol*, into that river. This city is divided into the *Upper* and *Lower Town*, the former of which stands upon an eminence, on the east-side of the river *Irtis*, and the latter in a plain between that eminence and the river. Both towns taken together are of a very large circumference; but the houses are all built with wood. In the upper town, which is properly called the city, stands the fort, which was built with stone by the late governor *Gagarin*. In this fort are the government-court, the governor's house, the archbishop's palace, the exchange, and two of the principal churches, which are all stone buildings. The *Upper-Town*, which stands on the east of the fort, and is surrounded with a rampart of earth, affords nothing remarkable but a market for provisions, and all kinds of small ware, three wooden churches, and the convent of *Roshdestvenskoi*. This part of the city is out of the reach of inundation from the river, by its high situation, which, in return, is attended with this inconveniency, that the inhabitants are obliged to go down the hill for water. Besides, large masses of earth fall from the side of the hill, on which the town stands, towards the river almost every year, which frequently obliges the inhabitants to pull down and rebuild the houses near the declivity. The *Lower-Town* contains a market-place for all sorts of provisions, with several shops, seven churches, and a stone convent

a vent called *Snamenskoï*; and several small brooks run through it into the *Irtis*. This part of the city has consequently water at command, but it is exposed to inundations when the river overflows its banks, which indeed does not happen very often. *Tobolsk* is very populous; and almost the fourth part of its inhabitants are *Tartars*, partly descended from those that were settled there before the conquest of *Siberia*, and partly from the *Bukarians*. These *Tartars* in general, behave very quietly, and carry on some commerce; but practise no mechanic trades. The rest of the inhabitants are *Russian* exiles, or people whose ancestors were such. As every thing is sold so extremely cheap at *Tobolsk*, that a common man may live there very well for ten rubles (Q) a year; indolence and sloth prevail to such a degree, that it is difficult to get the least utensil made, though the town abounds with artificers, who want neither tools nor the materials to carry on their respective trades. The inhabitants of *Tobolsk* are nick-named *Jassowiki*, either from a fish call *Jassi*, that is "red eyes," of which there is great plenty here, or for some other reason which we know not. Several of the *Swedish* officers, who were taken prisoners at the battle of *Pultawa*, and sent to *Tobolsk*, set up schools there in the year 1714, for teaching the children of *Swedes*, *Russians*, *Cosaks*, *Tartars*, &c. the *German*, *Latin*, and *French* languages, with geography, geometry, and drawing. Many of them also took in boarders; and these schools acquired such reputation, that children were sent to them from great distances, to be educated. Such was the exemplary behaviour of these military pedagogues, that their undertaking met with uncommon success. But when the peace of *Nystadt* was concluded, the *Swedish* officers returned to their own country, and these beneficial seminaries of learning dropped. Some time after, the empress of *Russia* founded a *German* school at *Tobolsk*. The trade of this city is in a flourishing condition; and the traffic carried on by the *Calmuk* and *Bukarian* merchants, in *Indian* goods, with which they supply all *Siberia* and part of *Russia*, is very considerable. All the *Chinese* caravans are obliged to pass through this town; and all the furs furnished by *Siberia*, are brought into a warehouse in this city, from whence they are sent to the *Siberian* chancery at *Moscow*.

ABALACK, a small town about twenty wersts from *Tobolsk*, is famous for a picture of the virgin *Mary*, to which great numbers of pilgrims resort at all times of the year; and several masses are said before it. This picture is carried annually to *Tobolsk*, in a procession of the clergy, and is kept there about a fortnight.

SEMPALATAIA Krepost (R), or *Sempalat* fort, was built in the year 1714, on the bank of the *Irtis*, in a pleasant, fertile, but uncultivated country, the soil of which is so good, that it produces a very fine species of melons. This fort has its name from *Sempalat*, a ruinous town lying about sixteen wersts from it, on the the same river, where some remains of old stone buildings are still to be seen. The first *Russian* settlers here found seven of these houses, as the name of the place imports. The learned are of opinion, that some old inscriptions, which were found among these ruins, relate to the mythology of the *Calmuks*; and that this place was deserted by that nation in consequence of a maxim of their religion, that when any consecrated place is once profaned by war, it must be relinquished for ever.

ABOUT six wersts from *Yamushewa Krepost*, a fort on the river *Irtis*, lies the famous salt-lake called *Jamusha*, which gives name to the fort, and may be looked upon as a prodigy in nature. It is of a round form, and about nine wersts in circumference. Its banks are so full of salt, that the ground is in a manner crystalized with it. The water is saline to the highest degree; and the salt that it yields is excellent, surpassing all other salt in whiteness, and consisting entirely of cubic crystals. It is found here in such quantities, that several ships might be soon loaded with it; and the places where the salt has been taken away, are filled up with it again in five or six days. The province of *Tobolsk*, and *Yenisei* are supplied with salt from this lake; which yields a sufficient quantity for fifty such provinces. This salt-trade has been monopolized by the crown. A pud of salt is sold on the spot for twelve copeiks; but at *Tobolsk*, *Tomsk*, and *Yeniseisk*, it costs about twenty.

THE tract of land called the *Desert of Barraba*, which is in this circle, lies between the rivers *Irtis* and *Oby*, and extends from the town of *Tara* to *Tshawskoi Ostrog*. This place yields but little wood; but has an excellent soil for tillage, and part of it might also be laid out in meadows and pastures. However, it is as yet uninhabited. *Barraba* is interspersed with a great number of lakes, which yield plenty of *karawtschen*, a species of carp; and abounds with elks, deer, foxes, ermines, and squirrels.

BETWEEN the *Irtis* and the *Oby* are some rich copper-mines; and from the *Ploskaia-Gora*, or flat mountains, fine ore is carried to the copper-works at *Kolivan*. The copper-mines in the mountain *Pictowa* (so called from the *Picta*, or white firs, that grow on it)

(Q) The commercial value of the *Rubel* varies according to the course of exchange; the par of which makes the *Rubel* worth just four shillings and six pence sterling.

(R) The word *Krepost* signifies a fort or fortified town.

yield a vast produce: and there is no need of digging deep to come at the ore, as it lies near the surface of the ground. Every hundred weight of this ore yields twelve pounds of pure copper. Not far from *Pidlowa* are two other hills, near the surface of which ore is also found. The *Waskreschen* mountains likewise abound with ore; but it lies mostly in veins or veins at a considerable depth. Most of these ores, besides being very rich in copper, yield a great deal of silver, which affords so much gold as makes rich returns for the trouble and expence of extracting it. It is thought that the whole country between the *Irtis* and the *Oby* abounds in rich ore of various metals; and that the ore generally lies near the surface of the earth.

Surgut. THE circle of *SURGUT* has its name from *Surgut*, a pretty large town on the river *Oby*, surrounded with pallisadoes and towers. The *Ostjaks* who live in this country pay annual tribute to the *Woiwode* of *Surgut*. The adjacent country abounds with fables, black, white, and red foxes, and fine grey furs; and has plenty of excellent fish, but produces no corn. The inhabitants of this town have the nick-name of *Griwus*, because most of them squint.

Pelym. THE circle of *PELYM*, to which the famous field-marshal count *Munich* was banished, is large, but contains no remarkable place. The small town of *Pelym*, from which it is called, stands on a river of the same name. There are several lakes in this district, and some of a considerable extent.

Beresow. THE circle of *BERESOW* is bounded on the north by the freights of *Waigatz*, and on the east by a large bay of the *Frozen Ocean*, which runs into the land towards the south; and at the sixty-fifth degree of latitude separates into two arms, one of which is called the *Obkasa-Guba* or *Oby-bay*, and the other *Tazowskaia-Guba*, or the bay of *Tazow*. The river *Oby* empties itself into the former, and the *Taz* into the latter. This district was under the *Russian* dominion long before the other parts of *Siberia* was conquered; for it was added to the empire by the czar *Gabriel*, so early as the year 1530.

THE most remarkable places in it are, *LIAPINSKOE*, from which the *Ostjaks*, who live in those parts, are called *Liapinians*. *KUISKOE*, on the river *Kuiskoi*, which gives name to the *Ostjaks* and *Samoyedes* who inhabit the adjacent country.

OBDOORSKOE, *Ostrog*, which lies near the mouth of the *Oby*, and to which the *Samoyedes* bring in their tribute; and

BERESOW, a town on the river *Oby*, fortified with pallisadoes, where the count-favourite, prince *Menshikoff*, died in exile.

NEAR *Nadym*, *Ostrog*, which stood by the mouth of the river *Nadym*, where it falls into the bay of *Oby*, till it was destroyed by the *Tuzaki*, is a deep and spacious cavern in a mountain, where the *Nadymian Ostjaks* shelter themselves. They make use of ladders to get in and out of this cave.

Novaia Semlia. THE island and freights of *Waigatz*, and *Novaia Semlia* or *New-land*, which lies beyond them, and is erroneously written *Nova Zembla*, are but little known. This country was first discovered in the year 1566, by *Stephen Barrow*, an *Englishman*. In 1596, *William Barentz* and *Jacob Heemskirk*, two *Hollanders*, wintered there with their crew. The sun disappeared on the third of *November*, and they never saw it again till the twenty-fourth of *January* following. The *Russians* have not yet ventured to sail round the coast of *Novaia Semlia*; but as they go in small vessels between that country and the coast of *Aja*, and the *Dutch* navigators have discovered the northern coast of it, we may conclude that it is an island; and it is represented as such in the *Russian Atlas*. The *Samoyedes*, who live in this neighbourhood, on the coast of the *Ice Sea*, sometimes cross over to *Novaia Semlia*, to hunt rein-deer, elks, and white bears. It is yet uncertain, whether this island be inhabited or not; for granting that men have been seen on it, that does not absolutely prove that they always dwell there.

II. The Province of YENISEI.

The province of Yenisei. THE fourth part of this province must have been included in the ancient kingdom of *Great Tartary*; but whether the north part ever belonged to it, is doubtful. We have already spoken of the *Tungusians*, *Ostjaks*, and other *Tartarian* nations, who inhabit this province, which is now divided into the districts or circles of *Mangasea*, *Naryn*, *Tomsk*, *Kaisk*, *Krasnoiark*, and *Yenisei*.

Divided into the circles of Mangasea. IN the circle of *MANGASEA*, which the *Russians* call *Mangaseiskoi Uiezd*, are four bays, into one of which the *Yenisei* discharges itself; besides the large gulf of the *Frozen Ocean*, of which that of *Tazow* is only a bay. Though the climate of the country near the mouth of the *Yenisei* be most excessively cold, yet it is well peopled; the all-bounteous Creator having liberally bestowed many advantages on this country, which is generally represented in very dismal colours. The white and blue foxes, and the white wolves and bears which

a which are caught here, surpass those of all other parts in size. Their hair is also finer, and grows closer than ordinary; on which account their skins always bear a higher price than those that are brought from the *Oby* and the *Lena*. These profitable captures induce more *Russians* to settle on the banks of the *Yenisei*, than near any other river in *Siberia*. From *Mangaséa* to the sea, and along the coast to the river *Piasga*, and from the *Piasga* to the *Cantanga*, on which is situate *Catanskoi*, which lies also in this circle, in latitude 70 degrees 30 minutes, and along the banks of this last river, the country is full of *Russian* habitations. Some of the inhabitants remove to end their days in some other places; and some chuse to live and die here. People who want employment flock to these parts in great numbers; and a young fellow, tho' he be ever so poor at his first setting out, soon makes his fortune in this country, if he is active, industrious, and frugal, by catching those animals, whose skins are so valuable, and with which it abounds. In summer, when only rein-deer are to be caught, the people of those parts employ themselves in fishing, in order to lay up provision for the winter. The *Russian* parish of *Kataskoi-Pogost*, which lies in the sixty-eighth degree and a half of north latitude, on the banks of the *Yenisei*, is much frequented by the hunters, who live in the neighbouring houses, of which there are numbers in the adjacent country.

The principal place in this circle is *Mangaséa*, or *Mangazeia*, the most northern town in *Siberia*, upon the parallel of sixty six degrees of north latitude. The time when *Mangaséa* was first discovered and peopled by *Russian* colonies, cannot be well ascertained. According to an ancient tradition of the country, the old *Ostrog* of *Mangaséa* was built by a colony from *Archangel*, before there was a *Russian* town known in *Siberia*. It takes its name from a tribe of *Samoyedes*, called *Mangaséa*, who inhabited these parts, and, by promising to pay tribute to the *Russians*, gave occasion to the building of this town. Old *Mangaséa*, which stood on the river *Taz*, fell gradually to decay; and in the year 1600 the present town was built, and the inhabitants of the old *Ostrog* were removed to this, which stands on the north bank of the *Nikolskoi-Sbar*, about a werst from the place where the river *Turukan* falls into that branch of the *Yenisei*. The houses in this place, which is inclosed within a small wooden fortification, with four pieces of cannon, are not contiguous, nor do they exceed one hundred. Most of the inhabitants of *Mangaséa* have always been *Cosaks*; placed there in order to subdue, or at least check, the pagan nations of this country, particularly the *Tungusians* and *Samoyedes*. The *Mangaséans* are nick-named *Swietslobi*, from their shining foreheads; and *Parfewiki*, because they eat dried and putrified fish instead of bread. This town carries on a good trade in furs. In summer-time the fun is seen here continually above the horizon; and during that season, prodigious flights of birds, particularly water-fowls, and several kinds of wild-geese, ducks, plovers, snipes, &c. frequent the neighbouring country. Since the year 1721, this town and its district have been annexed to the province of *Yenisei*; whereas, before that time, it depended immediately on *Tobolsk*, and prior to that was in the jurisdiction of *Tomsk*.

In the circle of *NARYM*, the chief place, and that a very inconsiderable one, is the town of *Narym*, which stands on the island in the river *Oby*, and is fortified with palisadoes and wooden towers. The neighbouring *Oshiaks* pay their tribute there.

The principal places in the circle of *Tomsk* are, the town of *Tomsk*, situated on the river *Tom*, at the place where it is joined by a rivulet called *Ussaika*, which runs through the town. The foundation of *Tomsk* was laid in the reign of the czar *Peddor Iwanowitz*, who built an *Ostrog* upon this spot, about twenty years before the building of *Kutneisk*. Several nations of these parts having been reduced by force of arms, and others submitting voluntarily to the *Russians*, the *Ostrog* was by degrees converted into a fort; and the fort in time increased to a town, which now consists of above two thousand houses. It was once the second city in *Siberia*, being next in degree to *Tobolsk*, and continued such for years; but has since been included in the province of *Yenisei* (S). In the highest part of the town stands a small wooden castle, defended by fourteen pieces of cannon; and in it are a cathedral built with wood, the woiwode's house, the government-chancery, and an arsenal. The lower part of the town, which is the most populous, contains a monastery, a nursery, four parish-churches, an exchange for merchants, and a *Tartarian* slobode. This place is well situated for trade, and carries on a considerable one. It lies in the great road from *Yeniseisk*, and all the towns in the northern and eastern parts of *Siberia*; so that all caravans going to or from *China*, besides one or two from the country of the *Calmuks*, pass through it every year. Here are indeed tradesmen and artificers of all kinds; but they are extremely indolent and slothful; owing to the extraordinary cheapness of provisions in this town, and their brutal propensity to drunkenness and venery, there being scarcely a family

(S) Some are of opinion, that the circle of *Tomsk* still belongs to the province of *Tobolsk*; but the *Russian Atlas*, which we follow, places it in that of *Yenisei*.

in the place that is entirely free from the foul disease. The adjacent country is very fertile a and produces all sorts of grain.

BOGORODSKOI, a town upon the *Oby*, is famous for its iron-works; but more for a picture of the virgin *Mary*, which is distinguished by the appellation of *Oedistria*, and is carried in solemn procession to *Tomsk* every year, on the twenty-first of *May*.

IN 1713, a fortification called *Tshausboi-Ostrog*, defended by five pieces of cannon, was built upon the river *Tshaus*, in order to check the incursions of the *Kasatshaia-Horda*, who have never made their appearance since in those parts. Most of the inhabitants possess great herds of cattle.

IN the desert of *Barraba*, and on the borders of it, are three forts, called *Ubinskoi-Pass*, *Kainskoi-Pass*, and *Tartaskoi-Pass*. The first of these, lying near the lake *Ueba*, has b a garrison of fifty men, is dependent on *Kainskoi-Pass*, stands on the river *Om*, and is defended by brass-guns, and a garrison of an hundred and fifty men. *Tartaskoi-Pass*, which likewise stands upon the river *Om*, is but a mean place, though its situation is good, and the country round it very fertile.

Kutnetsk.

THE chief place in the circle of *KUTSNETSK* is *Kutnetsk*, a large town on the river *Tom*, formerly inhabited by the *Kirgisian Tartars*, who retreated by degrees to the borders of the country of the *Calmuks*, when the *Russians* settled in this place. This town has been built above an hundred years, and was peopled with colonies from the districts of *Tomsk*, *Wercoturie*, and *Weliki-Novogrod*. Before that time the *Tartars*, who dwelt in the place where the city now stands, used to smelt iron from the ore, and subsisted partly by c that employment, and partly by the iron which they wrought. Hence the town had its name; *Kufnetz*, in the *Russian* language, signifying a forge. In 1689, *Kutnetsk* was declared a city. The upper and middle parts of it stand upon a high bank, and the lower part on a plain, between that eminence and the river *Tom*. In the upper part stands a small wooden citadel; in the middle is an *Ostrog*, inclosing the woiwode's house and the government-chancery; and in the lower part are most of the houses, which amount to about five hundred, and a church. No sort of trade is carried on in this place.

BIELOIASKAIA and *Bikatunskaja*, are two frontier forts erected in this district, to check the incursions of the *Calmuks*.

Krasnoiarsk.

THE circle of *KRASNOIARSK* contains, among other less remarkable places, the town d of *Krasnoiarsk*, situate at the junction of the river *Katsha*, with the *Yenisei*. It was first built in year 1728, as an *Ostrog* or fort, to check the incursions of the neighbouring tribes; and afterwards, gradually, became a town. Its name is derived from the dark-red colour of the north-west bank of the *Katsha*. The original *Ostrog* stands on the north-side of the town, and contains the great church, the government-chancery, the woiwode's house, the arsenal, &c. In the town itself, which is surrounded with palisadoes and towers, are a church, the town-house, and about three hundred and fifty dwelling-houses. The inhabitants are called *Buntowshike*, by way of contempt, on account of their frequent revolts. Most of them are *Slushiwie*, or a sort of irregular infantry; though some of them are not without such wealth as the country affords, which consists in horses and cattle, that feed all e the year round on the steppe or heaths. The adjacent country is so fertile, that provided it be only superficially plowed, without any manure, it will bear crops of corn five or six years running; and when the land is impoverished, there is plenty of other waste-ground, which may soon be rendered fit for sowing. Many antiquities were formerly found in these parts, particularly in the town of *Krasnoiarsk*. These remains of ancient times, several of which are still to be seen near *Abelansk* and *Sagansk*, were taken out of old graves and monuments. Even considerable quantities of gold and silver have formerly been found in them; and copper is now frequently dug up in such places. The great road from *Tomsk* to *Irkutsk* goes through *Krasnoiarsk*.

WEKRNEIKARAULNOI Ostrog, *Sanianskoi-Ostrog*, and *Abakanskoi Ostrog*, are forts f built on the river *Yenisei*, in the years 1707, 1709, and 1725, to awe the *Kirgisans*, which end they have fully answered.

THE surprising dexterity of the *Tartars* in catching fables near *Kanskoi Ostrog*, which stands on the bank of the river *Kan*, renders that place one of the best in *Siberia* for the fur trade; on which account the merchants, who travel to the frontiers of *China*, generally make some stay there. It is also one of the most lucrative places in the department of the woiwode of *Krasnoiarsk*; and the *kanskoi*, or receiver of the tribute, pays a round sum for his office.

and Yenisei.

THE principal place in the circle of *YENISEI* is the city of *Yeniseisk*, the capital of this province, situate on the river *Yenisei*, which is there about a werst and a half in breadth. g This city, which is built along the bank of the river, is about six wersts in circumference. An *ostrog* was erected in this place in 1618, which at first depended on *Tobolsk*, and then was under the jurisdiction of *Tomsk*; but it was afterwards raised to a town, and in 1719 made

- a made the capital of the province. The old *ostrog* contains the great church, the woiwode's house, the chancery or state-offices, and an arsenal. In the city are three churches, a monastery, a nunnery, an exchange for merchants, a powder-magazine, a magazine for provisions (the two last inclosed with pallisadoes), and seven hundred private houses. The *Archimandrite*, who superintends the convent of *Troitz-Mangaséa*, which stands near the mouth of the river *Nisbne Tunguska*, as well as the whole body of the *Yenisean* clergy, resides in the monastery at *Yeniseisk*. A considerable trade is carried on at this place, in which most of its inhabitants are more or less concerned. Here is great plenty of corn, flesh, and fowl; but the only fruit this country produces are two or three sorts of berries. Drunkenness, sloth, and debauchery, with all their concomitant diseases, prevail here as
- b in the other towns of *Siberia*. The inhabitants of this place are looked upon as a crafty, deceitful people, which has procured them the nick-name of *Skowfniki*, which signifies sharp-sighted.

MARKOWO Gorodishche, *Ust-Tunguskoi*, and *Jesaulowo-Sielo*, are handsome villages, or rather small towns, on the river *Yenisei*.

- THE forts called *Maskowskoi Ostrog*, situated on the river *Ket*, and *Rubinskoi Ostrog*, are very poor fortifications. *Tasseouskoi Ostrog*, another fort, which stands on the river *Ussolka*, is in somewhat better condition, having been rebuilt and improved in the year 1723. But the *Tartars* and *Tungusians* of the country it was intended to awe, are become so peaceable and submissive, that it has no longer occasion to use the few guns with which it
- c is provided.

UDINSKOI Ostrog, a small place, was built in the year 1644 on the river *Uda*, and brings a considerable income to the *Yenisean* woiwode; all the neighbouring *Buradians* paying their tribute of furs at this place.

III. The Province of IRKUTZK,

- WHICH also belongs to *Tartary*, properly so called, at least as far as the circle of *Yakusk*, which indeed cannot rightly be included in it. This province is governed by a deputy *statthalter*, under whose jurisdiction are the woiwodes of *Ilimsk*, *Selengensk*, *Nertschinsk*, *Yakutsk*, and the officers who preside over *Obotsk* and *Kamtshatka*; though he is himself
- d subject to the governor of *Tobolsk*, notwithstanding he has a large appointment: for his perquisites, exclusive of his salary, amount to thirty thousand *rubels* a year. The *Buradians*, *Yakutians*, and other inhabitants of this province, having been already spoken of, we have now only to mention its seven circles and their principal places.

The province of Irkutsk. Its government, and division into the circles of

- THE circle of *ILIMSK* contains the town of the same name, situated upon the river *Ilimsk*, *Ilim*, which, though a poor mean place, consisting of only eighty houses, and a pallisadoed fort, is nevertheless the residence of a woiwode. But it is remarkable for the quantities of fine black fables that are caught in its neighbourhood. Great numbers of *Tungusians* live near *Bratskoi Ostrog*; which stands on the river *Angara*, and consists of about fifty dwelling-houses. About five wersts from it is a monastery called *Spaskoi*; and at the distance of about four wersts is a great distillery for spirits.
- e

ENDINSKOI Ostrog, on the bank of the *Angara*; *Lenskoi Ostrog*, on the river *Lena*; and *Ust-Kutskoi Ostrog*, also on the *Lena*, are very mean pallisadoed places. Not far from this last, and near the river *Kuta*, are several saline springs, which furnish the whole circle of *Ilimsk* with salt.

- KIRENSKOI Ostrog*, which was built on the bank of the *Lena* in 1665, is now in a mean condition. The country round it is very fertile, and, considering its latitude, which is in 57 deg. 47 min. has a surprising verdure, and produces various sorts of vegetables, which are remarkably large in their kind. The sturgeons and streleds caught in the rivers near this *ostrog* are reckoned the finest in all *Siberia*. Even in this frozen climate, near the
- f influx of the river *Kirenga* into the *Lena*, is a convent famed for its opulence and endowments. Many of the inhabitants of these parts bordering on the *Lena*, are disfigured with wens of an uncommon bigness, and even their cows and oxen are subject to the same disagreeable excrescences.

- IN the circle of *IRKUTZK* are, *Irkutsk* the capital of this province, and the residence of its deputy *statthalter*, situate near the river *Angara*, in a fine plain not far from the lake *Baikal*. This city, one of the most considerable and populous in all *Siberia*, takes its name from the river *Irkutsk*, which runs into the *Angara* near the place where it stands. It contains near a thousand good dwelling-houses, and is inclosed with pallisadoes, within which are fourteen small forts, a moat, and some *chevaux de frize*. It is also defended by a
- g fort, without the town, near the *Angara*, and by sixteen pieces of cannon. There are two churches built with stone, and four with wood, within the city; and two other churches, one of which belongs to a nunnery, stands without it. The bishop of *Irkutsk* has a jurisdiction over all the clergy of the province. The inhabitants, who are chiefly traders, live

Irkutsk.

in the *Siberian* manner, that is, in drunkenness, indolence, and debauchery; the consequences of which are very common among them. The neighbouring country is pleasant, and diversified with hills and vales; but as it lies uncultivated, great quantities of corn are brought hither from other places. Here is plenty of game, as elks, stags, wild-boars, and roe-bucks; with partridges, wood-cocks, moor-hens, and snipes. The lake of *Baikal* is an inexhaustible magazine of fish. Foreign goods are sold here almost as cheap as at *Moscow* and *Petersburg*; for merchants resort hither from every town of any note in *Russia*, and barter their commodities for *Chinese* goods. a

ABOUT six wersts from *Irkutsk*, is a distillery for spirits, consisting of thirty-seven alembics; a little farther is another of fifty-three; and beyond that is a third with sixty. All these belong to the empress, and supply the circles of *Irkutsk*, *Ilimsk*, and *Selenginsk* with distilled liquors. b

NIKOLSKAIA Sastawa, or *St. Nicholas's* custom-house, stands at the mouth of the river *Angara*. The duties payable on *Chinese* goods are received there, and the collector of those duties has so profitable a post, that he generally makes his fortune in one year. This country is frequented with prodigious flights of all kinds of wild-ducks.

ON an island formed by the river *Angara* are two salt-works, which supply the whole district of *Irkutsk* on this side of the lake *Baikal*, and part of that of *Ilimsk*, with salt.

THE country about *Olonki*, a slobode consisting of two large villages, very pleasantly situated, yields plenty of corn.

BALAGANSKOI Ostrog, upon the river *Angara*, was built before that of *Irkutsk*, and is a place of some note. It is defended only by two pieces of brass cannon. Near this *ostrog* are about sixty good houses, which are inhabited partly by *Slushwies* or irregular troops, and partly by traders, who are all in very good circumstances. c

URICK, a village on a rivulet of the same name, consists of several houses, so well built as not easily to be matched by those of most towns in *Siberia*.

Selenginsk,

THE places of most note in the circle of *SELENGINSK* are,

SELENGINSK, a town upon the river *Selenga*, made an *ostrog* in the year 1666, about twenty years before the fort which now defends it, and to which the place chiefly owes its prosperity, was built. Its extent is small, containing only about one hundred and fifty houses and two churches, inclosed within a fortification, which is defended by five pieces of brass cannon, and as many iron guns, with a regiment for its garrison. All the neighbouring country is very mountainous and barren; but at the distance of fifteen wersts lower, there is good arable land. The district about *Selenginsk* yields great plenty of rhubarb; and indeed all the rhubarb that is exported from *Russia* is the produce of these parts. d

STRIELKI, a square fort erected upon a point of land between the rivers *Thioki* and *Selenga*, in a fertile and pleasant country; but not sufficiently garrisoned, considering its being a frontier place; nor is it otherwise fortified, than with pallisadoes. The *Chinese* caravans pass through this place.

TROITZKAIA Krepost, a fort lately built on the little river *Kiakta*, on the frontiers of *Siberia*, consists of an *ostrog* with four bastions. All traders and merchants, who pass through this place, are obliged to pay duty for their goods, unless they quit the road, and go another way to avoid the fort. e

KIAKTA, or *Kiaktinskoi Krepost*, and *Kiaktinskaia-Torgowaia Sloboda*, are the limits between *Russia* and *China* towards the south, as they were settled by a treaty concluded in 1727. Before that time the river *Bura*, which lies about eight wersts farther towards the south, was looked upon as the boundary between the *Russian* and *Chinese* empires; and this was more agreeable to the natural divisions of the countries, as well as more advantageous to *Russia*, than the present limits, which are arbitrarily laid out across deserts, and over mountains, and ascertained by pillars set up along the frontiers. By this alteration the *Russians* have also lost the fine iron-ore, which the mountains near the river *Bura*, and no other place in those parts, afforded. Two slobodes were also built on the banks of the little river *Kiakta*, in 1727; one on the north side of that river, inhabited by *Russians*, and the other on the south side, occupied by *Chinese*. They lie about one hundred and twenty fathoms asunder, and are surrounded with an *ostrog*; besides which, the *Russian* slobode is defended by six bastions and a moat. Between these two slobodes a barrier is erected, and a guard placed, who, on both sides, are very careful that no encroachments be made on the frontiers. As these slobodes lie in a barren waste, all sorts of provisions are very dear there. The *Chinese* traders are more numerous than the *Russian* merchants in these frontier towns. f

TUNKINSKOI Ostrog lies to the west of *Kiakta*, in latitude $50^{\circ} 15'$. In the neighbourhood of this *ostrog* live the roving *Soietians*, who are pagan *Tartars*. g

ON

a On the other side of *Selenginsk*, near the lake of *Baikal*, lies *Udinsk*, a small town upon the river *Uda*, which is navigable, and runs into the *Selenga*, near this place, which is surrounded with fine fields and meadows, and great plenty of wood, and consists of somewhat above an hundred houses, defended by a fort and five brass cannon. The road to the south and east frontiers of *China* passes through this town, in which there is plenty of provisions, particularly garden-fruit and fish.

ILUNSKOI Ostrog, or *Bolschaia Saimka*, on the river *Selenga*; *Kakanskoi Ostrog*, on the brook *Kakana*, which runs into a branch of the *Selenga*, and is situated in a good arable land, with excellent pastures; *Hanzinskoi Ostrog*, and *Bargazinskoi Ostrog*, on the little river *Barguzin*, which falls into the lake of *Baikal*, are places of less note in this circle; b in which are also the monasteries of *Posolk* and *Troitz*; the former situated on the south side of the lake of *Baikal*; and the latter an ancient and stately building, richly endowed.

THE circle of *NERTSHINSK* contains,

Nertshinsk.

NERTSHINSK, a frontier town towards *China*, built upon the river *Nertsha*, in the year 1658, in a country which is very mountainous, but yields excellent pasture for cattle. It has some public edifices, and one hundred and fifty houses, most of which are very indifferent. The fort, which first gave rise to the town, mounts thirty-two brass and one iron cannon. The inhabitants of this place are indolent, debauched, and drunkards. The *Chinese* caravans used formerly to pass through *Nertshinsk*; but they now take another road. c However, the *Russian* envoys are well received and handsomely entertained by the *Chinese*, and the like compliments are paid to those of *China* by the *Russians*, in this town. A treaty of peace was concluded between the two empires, at this place, in 1689.

ARGUNSK, the farthest fort of the *Russians* towards the east, on the *Mongolian* frontiers, was first built in the year 1682, on the east bank of the *Argun*, for the convenience of levying the tribute payable by the *Tungusians*, who inhabit these parts; but was rebuilt in 1689, on the west side of that river. It is well garrisoned, and carries on a considerable trade with the *Mongals*. The country round it is very fertile, and the air healthy; but so cold, that even in summer, the earth, in many places, is not thawed d above two or three feet below the surface. The territory of *Argunsk* is frequently visited with slight shocks of an earthquake in the spring, and about the beginning of winter; and its inhabitants, besides the venereal disease, with which both young and old of both sexes are miserably afflicted, are very subject to epilepsies. The *Chinese* erect new pillars every year on the eastern bank of the *Argun*, to mark the limits of their frontiers.

Not far from *Argunsk* are the *Argunskian*, or, as they are sometimes called, the *Nertshinskian* silver-mines. The smelting-houses belonging to them stand on the little river *Tusatki*. The ore does not lie deep; though it is found in masses or *strata*: nor does any great profit arise from these mines, which, however, answer the expence of working e them. One pound of fine silver extracted from this ore, contains the value of two ducats and a half of fine gold, which has a beautiful colour, and is exceeding malleable. Twenty-six *puds* and some odd pounds of pure silver, and twenty-seven pounds of fine gold, both which were the produce of this mine, were delivered in at *Petersburg* for the use of the crown, in 1740 and 1741. About six miles south-east of this place, is a mountain of beautiful green jasper; but so mixed with common stone, that it is rare to find any large piece quite transparent and without flaws. In the neighbouring waste are several salt-lakes, one of which is upwards of three wersts in circumference, and produces great quantities of good common salt, which floats on the surface of its water.

Silver-mines.

A mountain of green jasper.

IN the circle of *JAKUTZK* are,

f THE town of *Jakutzk*, consisting of between five and six hundred poor houses, and a wooden fort, situate near the river *Lena*. It is supplied with plenty of various kinds of fish; and the adjacent country is very fit for tillage: but the inhabitants prefer hunting.

The circle of Jakutzk.

OLECMINSKOI Ostrog, which also stands on the *Lena*, is one of the most antient *ostrogs* in these parts; but consists only of a few mean houses, and has no more than forty-six families of peasants in its territory. The country between this place and *Witimsk* is a fertile plain, capable of supporting a great number of people, if they were industrious: but very little care is taken to cultivate it. The rye, barley, oats, and hemp which grow here, are very good in their kind.

g *WITIMSKAIA Sloboda*, which consists of a few houses, a church, and a custom-house, is one of the oldest *Russian* settlements on the banks of the *Lena*, and almost as antient as the town of *Jakutzk*. Though it lies in 59° 28' north latitude, yet the harvest, when the weather proves favourable, is seldom later than the middle of *August*, old stile.

FARTHER

FARTHER north, towards the *Ice Sea*, is the river *Karaulac*, which runs into a bay of the *Frozen Ocean*. Near this river lieutenant *Lassenius*, who was sent upon discoveries by the late czarina *Anne Iwanowna*, wintered with his party, in the year 1735, and never saw the sun above the horizon from the sixth of *November* to the eighteenth of *January*.

The territory
of *Ocotzk*.

THE territory of *Ocotzk* lies on the coast of the sea of *Kamtshatka*, and takes its name from the *Ocotzkoi Ostrog*, which stands on the little river *Ocota*, and is the residence of a governor, under whose jurisdiction are the *ostrogs* of *Taviskoi*, *Udskoi*, and *Anadirskoi*, situated in the same district. From the harbour of *Ocotzk*, which is three wersts from the *ostrog*, the *Russians* cross over into the peninsula of *Kamtshatka*. The soil about the *Ocotzkoi Ostrog* produces little or no grass; and provisions are brought thither from *Jakutzk*, both by land and water. This last conveyance is very tedious, and attended with some danger: nor is the land-carriage free from difficulties; for the distance is nine hundred and nineteen wersts, and the road lies over mountains, and through morasses and thick woods of larch and birch-trees, so that the journey takes up near six weeks. Besides, every thing must be carried this way on horses or rein-deer, which last are furnished by the neighbouring *Tungusians*.

THE north-east extremity of *Siberia* is still but very little known. The cape at the farthest north point of this country, called *Tshuketskoi* (in the *Russian* maps *Sbalaginskci Nofs*) is in *Siberia*, and consequently belongs to *Russia*. Near the promontory or north-east point of the continent, is an island called *Diomedes*; and near the east point lies the island of *St. Laurence*.

The peninsula
of *Kamtshatka*;
its inhabitants,
&c.

THE peninsula of *KAMTSHATKA*, which the *Chinese* call *Jecco*, and the *Germans* *Jesso* or *Jedso*, joins to the extreme north-east part of *Siberia*, and runs upwards of seven hundred miles in a south-east direction, between the latitudes of 60 and 52 degrees, and from about the 172d to the 177th degree of longitude. On the north of it lies the continent; to the west and south, the bay of *Penshinsk* and the sea of *Kamtshatka*; and towards the east it is bounded by the *Eastern Ocean*. From the south-east point of this peninsula a chain of islands extends as far as *Japan*. This country was not at all known to the *Russians*, till about the middle of the last century, when some *Jakutzkian* fishermen were driven by a storm to its south-east promontory; and towards the same time, viz. in 1643, the *Dutch* discovered part of its eastern coasts by sea. The next information of it was given to the office of trade at *Moscow*, in the year 1701, by *Wolodimir Atlassow*¹, a *Cosak* officer, who travelled all the way by land from *Jakutzk* to *Kamtshatka*. According to his account there is a double promontory, called by some *Nos-Tschalatskoi* and *Anadirskoi*, between the *Kolym* and *Anadyr*, two of the principal rivers in this country, which no vessel can pass; because the west side of this cape is choaked up with large floats of ice in summer, and quite frozen in winter; whilst the sea on the east side of *Nos-Anadyrskoi*, where the *Hollanders* navigated, is open and clear. The whole country is extremely barren, and quite uncultivated; and yet its inhabitants, who consist of *Kurili*, *Lutorzi*, *Koraiiki*, *Trushki*, *Stugagiri*, and other savages, besides the *Kamtshadali* themselves, are at continual war with one another, as if they had things of value to contend for. Their usual arms are poles, clubs, slings, and bows and arrows, in the use of which they are tolerably dexterous; but they are excessively afraid of fire-arms. In winter, they go to war in snow-shuits, which, like those of all the people on the coast of the *Frozen sea*, are upwards of four feet long; or in sledges drawn by rein-deer; and in summer they march to battle on foot, some cloathed, and others naked. *Atlassow* says, they had several settlements and forts, particularly on the river *Jelowka*, when the *Russians* entered their country; and that they endeavoured to resist their invaders: but that these last terrifying them with their fire-arms, drove them into their huts, then surrounded and set fire to them, and killed them one by one as they ran out to escape the flames, till at last they were forced to submit. The conquerors have since settled colonies among them, the principal of which are *Nischnei-Kamtshatzkoi Ostrog*, near the mouth of the river *Kamtshatka*; *Werknei-Kamtshatzkoi Ostrog*, *Bolskeretzskoi Ostrog*, and *St. Peter* and *St. Paul's* harbour; and have built several forts to secure their trade; and a tribute they have laid on them, both of which consist chiefly in furs. The *Russians* barter with them knives, blue glass beads, and other such trifles, for sable, fox, beaver, otter, bears, and wolves skins, of which there are great numbers in *Kamtshatka*. Some of the *Kurili* informed *Atlassow*, that the people of the neighbouring islands, meaning the northern islands of *Japan*, came frequently over to their coast, and brought with them china and lacquered ware, striped and coloured silks, cotton-stuffs, and garments of thin silk: and that others, in larger ships, which they called *Bussi*, went farther on, towards the beaver-rivers, from whence they fetched away train-oil, and blubber of seals and whales, of which very large

¹ STRAHLENBERG's Appendix.

a ones often came near the shore at high-water, and being left behind by the ebb, were killed by the inhabitants of those parts.

The *Kamtshadali* had no sort of government or magistracy before the *Russians* came among them; but the poor were subject to the rich: which we may suppose to be nearly the case now. They keep no cattle, or other beast, but dogs, which are generally very large, and have hair seven or eight inches long. Their huts are made of reeds or hides, sometimes big enough to contain one hundred and fifty or two hundred men; but they live mostly under ground. Their cloaths are made of skins, with the fur-side outwards, and their shoes or boots are soled with seal-skin. Polygamy is allowed among them, and they have no idea of any religious ceremonies; but place great confidence in their *schamans*, who, like those of the *Ostiaks*, wear a frightful garb, beat a drum, make a hideous noise, and pretend to foretell future events. All the plants in *Kamtshatka* are of the dwarf kind, except the pine, birch, and larch trees, which are very common, and said to grow as high as in other countries. The inhabitants of these regions, especially towards the sea, live chiefly on fish; which they generally eat either raw or frost-dried. In winter they dig holes in the ground, and fill them with raw fish, covering them with the bark of birch, and over that with earth. When this food is thoroughly putrified, they take some of it out of the hole, put it into a wooden trough, with water, throw in red-hot pebbles, and keep stirring it till it boils, which raises such an abominable stench as even a *Russian* can hardly bear. The *Kurili* inhabit the south part of this country, the *Lutorzi* the east, and the *Koraiki* the north. Another tribe, called *Czucktschi* live near the mouth of the river *Anadir*.

TRAVELLERS say there are several *volcanos* in the northern islands of *Japan*. There are also two in the northern parts of *Kamtshatka*, not far from the river of the same name, in the neighbourhood of which violent shocks of an earthquake are frequently felt, and a hideous roaring noise is almost continually heard. One of these, near the river *Jenisei*, towards the *Ice Sea*, throws out a sort of ashes, which some take to be the *flores salis ammoniaci*, or *flores sulphuris nativi* (T).

KAMTSHATKA has, of late, been rendered famous by the attempts made from thence to discover whether *Siberia* be joined to *America* towards the north; or whether there be a north-east passage by sea between these two continents.

d PETER the Great, ever desirous of knowledge, and of extending as well as civilizing his vast empire, gave orders that captain *Beering* and lieutenant *Spangenberg*, two *Danes*, and M. *Tshirikow*, a *Russian*, should sail from thence upon this expedition; but, unfortunately, died before they could go. His successor, the czarina *Catherine*, actually sent them out in the year 1725; and after spending near five years in the voyage, they returned, without success, in the spring of the year 1730.

e In 1732, the same officers were sent out a second time. *Spangenberg* steered his course to the south-east, arrived at the northern coast of *Japan*, and from thence sailed back to *Ocotzk*. They went as far as the 67th degree of north latitude, and found that the land extended no farther towards the north.

CAPTAIN *Beering*, accompanied by one M. *Steller*, sailed from the harbour of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, and steered towards the south-east; but not meeting with any land after he had sailed about two hundred and fifty leagues, he directed his course to the north-east, and at last discovered land towards the north-west. On the 20th of *July*, 1741, he anchored near an island in 59° 40' north latitude, to which he gave the name of *Elias Island*. From thence he sailed betwixt the south and west points, nearer to the continent of *America*, of which he had sight. After this, he landed on an island, to which he gave the name of *Skumagin*, in the 53d degree of north latitude; and had some little traffic with the *Americans* who lived upon it. In the 51st degree and some few minutes of north latitude, he discovered an island to the north-west-and-by-north, which he called *St. f Martian*. Two days after, he saw several other islands to the north-north-west, to which he gave the name of *St. Stephen's Islands*; and the next day he discovered another island to the west, which he called *St. Abraham's Island*. In his return he was ship-wrecked on an island near the coast of *Kamtshatka*, where he ended his days.

M. *Tshirikow*, who was accompanied by professor *de l'Isle de la Croyere*, set sail from *Kamtshatka*, continued his course till he came within fourteen degrees west of *California*,

(T) The same is said of some of the ashes of *Vesuvius* and *Ætna* (1): and this is, perhaps, what *Abulfeda* means when he says, *In montibus Albotom* (near *Samarcand*) *spelunca est, cujus spiraculis occlusis vapor in ea densus exoritur, noctu ignem, interdum fumum referens: in hoc est Almusbader* (sal armoniac). *Nemo poterit ca-*

vernarn ingredi; nisi vestimentis crassis, corporique ob-
strictis co-operiatur; & confestim inde Almusbader auferat.
Vapor de loco in locum movetur, quem quod apparuerit,
fodiendo consequuntur, si nullus fuerit fornix, qui dilatione
vaporis impedimento sit: accedentem non lædit.

(1) *Joh. Rosensengel, Instit. Pharmaceuticæ, p. 195.*

and sailed twelve degrees and a half to the north of that country, where no navigator had been before. On his return he saw land for several days together to the north of his course; and when he sailed near the coast, he could distinguish the inhabitants, several of whom rowed towards him in small boats, like those used by the *Greenlanders* and *Esquimaux*. Mr *Busching*^k conjectures, that this land is, perhaps, a continuation of that near the north pole, which joins to *America*; and thinks it highly probable, from these discoveries of the *Russians*, that *Asia* and *America*, about the 66th degree of north latitude, are separated from each other only by a very narrow channel.

C H A P. II.

Of the Climate, Soil, and Produce; Population, Government, Laws, Religion, Manners, and Customs; Language, Learning, Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce of *RUSSIA*; and of the Titles, Coronation, Court, Revenues, Forces, &c. of the *CZAR*.

S E C T. I.

Of the Climate, Soil, and Produce of Russia.

Climate, soil,

IN a country of such vast extent as the *Russian* empire, at one extremity of which it is noon, when it is almost midnight at the other (A), the climate and soil cannot but differ greatly.

IN the parts which lie beyond the 60th degree of latitude, the cold is excessively intense, the winter nine months long, the days extremely short during that season, the country full of mountains, rocks, and morasses, and very thinly inhabited. Corn never ripens in those regions, unless it be a little barley sowed near *Archangel* and about *Jakutskoi*; nor are any garden-fruits, or even trees, produced there: but straw-berries, raspberries, black-berries, juniper-berries, black and red currants, and several sorts of shrubs grow naturally: game, wild-fowl, and fish, abound, and horned cattle are bred in the neighbourhood of *Archangel*^a. With these the inhabitants not only subsist, but are clothed and enabled to pay their tribute.

FROM the 60th to the 57th degree of latitude, the air is somewhat milder and better, the country is less thinly inhabited, and yields, besides various kinds of wild fruits, horned-cattle, goats, sheep, horses, plenty of fish, and some corn and garden-productions.

THE countries between the 57th and 54th degrees of latitude, where the air is wholesome and less inclement, produce all sorts of fruits, plenty of corn, and abound in venison, wild-fowl, cattle, and honey^b; in short, the inhabitants, who are much more numerous here than farther north, want nothing but wine; for which they make up with mead and brandy.

FROM the 54th degree of latitude to the most southern boundaries of the empire, the climate varies from temperate to very hot; the whole extent of the country is flat and even; it has few morasses; is watered by several rivers, which abound with fish; and has sufficient plenty of game, though it be not over-run with woods. In the deserts, or steppes as the *Russians* call them, in these parts, very little snow lies in winter; it being so exposed to the wind, that it cannot settle much; which is the reason why great quantities of wild-fowl, and all sorts of game resort hither in that season, in quest of food. The provinces in these parts are the most inhabited of any in the *Russian* empire, and naturally so fertile, that very little culture would render them extremely rich and flourishing: but that the natives are deterred from, partly by the overflowings of the *Volga*, which lays the country on both sides of it under water in the spring, for many miles together, towards *Astracan*; and still more by the ravages and inroads of the neighbouring *Tartars*. Tobacco, wine, and silk might be produced in most of these parts, as the two former are near

^k Geograph.

^a BUSCHING and STRAHLENBERG.

^b Idem.

(A) At the winter-solstice, when the day is at the shortest, the sun rises and sets on the horizon of the principal cities in the *Russian* empire, according to the following table.

	Sun rises.		Sun sets.	
	h.	m.	h.	m.
At <i>Astracan</i> - - - - -	7	48	4	12
At <i>Kiozu</i> - - - - -	8	7	3	53
At <i>Moscow</i> - . - - -	8	37	3	23

	Sun rises.		Sun sets.	
	h.	m.	h.	m.
At <i>Riga</i> - - - - -	8	47	3	13
At <i>Tobolsk</i> - - - - -	8	56	3	4
At <i>Petersburg</i> - - - - -	9	15	2	45
At <i>Archangel</i> - - - - -	10	24	1	36

At the summer-solstice, when the day is at the greatest length, this order is reversed.

Astracan

a *Astracan* and in the *Ukraine*. It is true, indeed, that the wine made at *Astracan*, though pressed from fine well-flavoured grapes, is not pleasing to the palate, nor will it keep; but *Strahlenberg* assures us, that the vines which grow farther southward, near the city *Terek*, and those on the rivers *Don* and *Dnieper*, near *Czerkaskoi*, *Belgorod*, and *Kiow*, yield a better wine than that which is produced in *Saxony*. We have already observed, that one of the plans of that great prince, *Peter I.* for improving his country, was to bring from other nations people skilled in the management of vines, and the making of wine.

THE common observation that eastern countries are much colder than the western, which lie in the same latitude, is greatly confirmed in *Russia*: for since the year 1718, the river *Neva* has frequently been covered with ice at *Petersburg*, so early as the twenty-fourth of
b *October*; but it generally thaws by the 26th of *April*, old stile, which it has hardly ever been known to exceed^c. In the middle and northern parts of the *Russian* empire the days are extremely short in winter, which lasts there near three quarters of the year, and the cold is so excessively severe, that spittle has been known to freeze before it reached the ground, and water as it dropped^d; birds have fallen down dead in the midst of their flight; travellers have been frozen to death upon their horses^e, and come into inns, sitting upright, with bridle and whip in their hands, as if alive; and numbers have lost their nose, ears, feet, or hands, which have absolutely dropped off through the intense rigour of the weather, though their bodies have been well covered with furs (B). Summer succeeds the winter very suddenly, and, in general, with as great a degree of heat, as the other
c season had of cold; so that the *Russian* peasant sows his grain, sees it spring up, and reaps his crop, even though it be wheat, in less than three months. The nights are very short, and the twilight is remarkably luminous in this season; during which, infinite swarms of gnats, flies, and other insects, arise from the lakes and fens, and are excessively troublesome.

THE middle provinces of *Russia* produce much more wheat, rye, barley, oats, peas, buck-wheat, and a grain called *psnytha*, which tastes like rice, than is consumed in them^f, and they accordingly supply therewith most of the other provinces, in exchange for their native commodities: besides which, great quantities of barley and rye have frequently been exported to *Holland*. Apples, pears, plumbs, cherries, strawberries, raspberries, goose-
d berries, and several other kinds of fruit, with all manner of pulse, pot-herbs, asparagus, onions, garlick, roots, cucumbers, melons, &c. grow in great plenty, and come to perfection in different parts of the *Russian* dominions, even so far north as *Moscow*: so that baron *Herberstein* and *Guagninus* are wrong in saying, that no sort of fruit is produced near this city that is worth sending up to table; unless they mean to speak of the soil quite adjacent to *Moscow*, which is indeed a shallow, sandy gravel, unfit for vegetation. *Olearius* ^{and produce; viz. corn, fruits, and trees.} assures us, that he saw there apples of uncommon beauty, so transparent, that if they were held against the sun, one might see through them, and count almost all the kernels; and this is confirmed by baron *Strahlenberg*^h, who adds, not only that they have a sweetish tart, and very pleasant taste, and an agreeable smell, but that frequent trials to raise this
e fruit in other places have shewn, that it will not grow any where else so well as near *Moscow*. The *Russians* call it *naliv*, which signifies, poured full; because when these apples are ripe, all the pulp turns to juice. Bitter almonds grow near the rivers *Don* and *Dnieper*, on small shrubs; about eighteen or twenty inches high. Helebores and hops grow wild, and in great plenty, in many parts of *Siberia*; as do also leeks, in such abundance, that every master of a family among the *Ostiaks*, near the river *Oby*, fetches every morning during the summer-season, a good boat's load, which is generally consumed by nightⁱ. The *Russians*, especially the lower class, are not less fond of garlick, which is the sole traffic of *Dmitrow-Rostrow*, and several other large towns, where it is cultivated for sale. About *Casan*, *Astracan*, and in other warm provinces, it grows spontaneously and plentifully in
f the open fields^k. The south part of *Kamtschatka* is remarkable for a plant about two feet and a half high, and of the thickness of one's finger. The inhabitants call it *Ababatka*. When cleaned, peeled, and dried in the sun, it becomes as white as snow; and when pounded small, tastes like sugar^l. The *tribulus aquaticus*, or *water-nut*, which the *Russians* call *aralnick*, grows in several parts of *Siberia*; where are also great quantities of madder, as good, says *Strahlenberg*, as that which is cultivated in gardens in *Germany*.

^c BUSCHING.^d OLEARIUS, lib. iii.^e REUTENFELS, de Reb. Muscovit. lib. iv. cap. ii^f OLEARIUS, lib. iii. FLETCHER, of the Russe Commonwealth, chap. iii.^g Ubi supra.^h Historico

Geogr. Descript. of the North and East Parts of Europe and Asia, chap. 13.

ⁱ Idem ibid.^k Idem ibid.^l Idem ibid.

(B) To approach a fire, or go suddenly into a warm room, would occasion almost immediate mortification of the part thus violently struck with cold. Instead

of that, the *Russians* rub it with snow, and chafe it with their hands, till it begins to glow; after which the danger is over.

THE cedar grows naturally in many parts of *Siberia*, but much smaller than on mount *Libanus* and in other parts of *South Asia*. In *Kamtshatka*, it seldom rises higher than a large juniper. Trials have been made to transplant these trees when young, as well as to raise them from seeds in the western parts of *Russia*; but they will not thrive there (C). The larch-tree, which is very common in *Siberia*, and is an ever-green in other parts, sheds its leaves and prickles there in winter, and buds again sooner than any other tree. Its wood, by being laid about half a year in a moist dunghill, and afterwards put into water for some time, becomes absolutely petrified^m. On the bark of the birch-tree, which is black in the province of *Dauria* in *Siberia*, grows an excrescence, which the people of that country call *repytzna*, and of which they make all manner of turned ware. It is a sort of speckled wood, of a fine grain, and has white veins. The vessels made of it are so very thin, that they are transparant, will bend, and are generally covered with a yellowish varnish. The *Siberians* are dexterous enough to turn one vessel within another when they use this wood, which is very dear. There are no oaks in *Siberia*, nor on the east-side of the *Volga*; but they are found in great plenty on the west-side of that river, and in the kingdom of *Casan*. It is remarkable that *Kamtshatka* produces some of the same species of plants that grow in *Lapland*, and others which have been thought peculiar to *Canada* in *North-America*".

OLARIUS declares^o, that several *Muscovites* assured him in the strongest manner, that the famous vegetable lamb, or *boranetz*, as it is called in the *Russian* language, does really grow near *Samara*, between the *Volga* and the *Don*; that it is of the gourd kind, shaped exactly like a lamb, and fastened to the ground by a stalk which proceeds as it were from its navel: that as it grows, it changes its place, and, as it turns, makes the grass around it wither. The *Russians* call this browsing or feeding; and add, that when it is ripe, the stalk withers, and the fruit is covered with a hairy skin, which may be dressed and used instead of fur. Some of these skins were shewn to our author by persons who vowed they came from this fruit; but he owns he could hardly believe it. They were covered with a soft frizzling wool, not unlike that of a lamb newly weaned, or taken out of the sheep's belly. *Julius Scaliger*^p speaks of this fruit, and says it grows till the grass fails it, and then dies for want of that nourishment: to which he adds, as *Olearius* was likewise told, that no beast will feed on it except the wolf, and that it is used as a bait to catch that ravenous animal. *Strahlenberg*, who was at some pains to enquire after this extraordinary production, both among *Tartars* and *Russians*, during his captivity, could get no account of any such thing; and is therefore of opinion, that those who have believed it have been led into a mistake by the *Merluschka-Outschinka*, or *Astracan* lamb-skins, of which there are three sorts, all of them the skins of flinks, or unborn lambs, are imported into *Russia*, from *Bucharia*, *Persia*, and the country of the *Calmuks*. The wool of these skins lies flat, and is undulated, almost like the hair of some dogs.

WE have already spoken of several of the animals with which this country abounds; but a few further particulars concerning some of them may, perhaps, not be foreign to our present subject, or displeasing to our readers. We shall collect them chiefly from *Strahlenberg* and *Olearius*.

THE *argali*, a sort of wild goats in *Siberia*, of which mention was made before, cannot feed on flat ground, like other goats and sheep; but with their heads erect, at the bottom of mountains, by reason of the size and weight of their horns^q. It is doubtful, whether the *Siberian* be the true sort of beaver, though it has a tail like that of this last, and lives chiefly in water. The *Russians* tell the same stories of the industry of this creature, as are related of the beavers of other countries. The *Russians* call the civet-cat of *Siberia*, and its musk, *cabardyn*, in order to distinguish it from the true musk of *Tibet* and *China*, which has a three-times stronger smell, and is, in proportion, dearer. The *Siberian* musk is of a whitish gray; the other is yellow. These animals, of which there are great numbers between *Krasnoiarsk* and *Abakan* live chiefly upon a white moss, in the thickest woods, in summer; and never appear but in winter, when they are so very wild, that it is extremely difficult to catch them. They do not run like other beasts, but skip and jump continually. When close pursued by hunters, or by a fox or wolf, they fly to the highest and strongest rocks, and from thence leap down upon any part that happens to project, though

^m STRAHLENBERG, ubi supra.
LENBERG, cap. xiii.

ⁿ BUSCHING.

^o Lib. iii.

^p Exercit. 181.

^q STRAH-

(C) Botanists call the *Siberian* cedar, *Pinus foliis quinis, cono erecto, nucleo edili*. It bears great plenty of fruit, or cones, shaped like those of the fir-tree, but much bigger. In each of these cones are forty or fifty white kernels, covered with a thin blackish shell.

Their taste is very agreeable; and the *Russians* extract from them an oil, which is used by their gentry instead of butter for pastry, in frying of fish in lent, and other

- a it be but two hands broad, and twenty feet deep, or more. The cabardyn is shaped like our deer; is full as long, but not so high; and has much such hair, but harsher, and of a light grey. The females of these animals have no musk; nor is their flesh, which the *Tartars* and *Russians* in *Siberia* eat, as they do venison, so rank as that of the males, whose musk is not lodged in the testicles, as some have supposed, but under the belly, between the flesh and skin, just where the yard pierces. Neither the musk of the cabardyn, nor that of the true civet-cat, is always of the same strength, either in hot countries or in cold; for it is always best in summer; in rutting-time, and in the full of the moon^r. *Olearius* says^s there are no deer in *Muscovy*; meaning, we suppose, the country properly so called; for *Strahlenberg*^t enumerates nine different species of this animal in *Siberia*. It has been remarked
- b of the hares in *Russia* and *Livonia*, that they change their colour in winter, and become white. *Olearius* imputes this to external cold, and says, he has known the same thing happen to hares, even in summer, when they have been kept some time in a cave. The sable hides itself, so as not easily to be discovered, at a certain time of the winter, when it rolls itself up like a ball, and sleeps for a while so sound, as to bear pulling about without waking. These creatures live chiefly upon mice, cedar-kernels, red-berries, and fish; and it is observed of them, that their fur is most beautiful when they are put to the greatest exercise for subsistence; and that the finest sable skins have generally the worst tails, and the worst skins, on the contrary, the finest tails. There are sables as white as snow, but they are very seldom met with. Upon the islands in the north-east sea, beyond *Kamtshatka*, the skins of the sables are very indifferent; but they have tails seven or eight inches long, streaked red and black. The wool of the *Russian* and *Siberian* sheep is generally very harsh, and therefore used only for making common stuffs. Bears and wolves are not only very numerous, but do prodigious mischief in most parts of these countries.
- c

SNAKES are deemed sacred among the *Calmuks*, who never kill any, but make them so familiar, that they will creep into bed to them; nor has it ever been heard among them, that they have done any hurt to man or beast. The reason why they have such a regard for this animal is, that they imagine the *God of the water* sometimes puts on the form of a snake, and comes ashore: and if they should hurt or kill any of these creatures, that deity would be offended, if not killed^u.

- d In *Lithuania* and *Russia*, bees are not kept in hives near houses, but in the woods, upon the highest and straightest firs, the branches of which are cut off almost up to the bees nest, near the top of the tree; and a scaffold, like the round-top of a mast, is made round the tree, that neither men nor bears can easily climb up^w. Formerly the peasants of *Dorpat* made an agreement with the people of *Plescow*, to have their bees in the woods, under the jurisdiction of these last, for which every peasant was to pay yearly six *whites* (a *Livonian* coin); and when these woods were afterwards destroyed, *John Basilowitz* still insisted on the payment of the sum stipulated, as a right due to him.

- e THERE are three sorts of eagles in *Siberia*; the largest of which, about the size of our Fowls. turkey-cock, is quite black, except the skin round the nostrils and legs, which is of a pale yellow. They live chiefly on high mountains, and in thick woods. The smallest sort, which the *Tartars* use, as they do falcons, for hawking, a diversion they are extremely fond of, is the *aquila mævia*. In the province of *Dauria*, and near the river *Amur*, there are great numbers of milk-white falcons, many of which are sent yearly to *China*. Partridges are found only in the southern parts of *Siberia*, about *Crasnoyabr* and *Abakan*; but almost all *Russia* abounds in ducks, and various kinds of wild-fowl, as we have already observed. There is a species of owls in *Siberia*, as white as snow, and as large as hen-turkeys^x. The *Russians* call them *lun* and *ulun*, and the *Calmuks* hold them sacred. What *Strahlenberg* describes as the *Siberian* stork, seems to us to be a bird of a different species.

- f THE beluja, of which frequent mention has been already made, is perhaps the largest Fish. eatable fish in the world. It is caught chiefly in the rivers that flow into the *Caspian* and *Baltic* seas. *Strahlenberg* says, he saw one of them, sixty-six feet long, and near eighteen feet thick. It is shaped like a sturgeon, but has a shorter and thicker snout; its flesh is very white, tender, and well-tasted; it has few or no bones, and but little gristle, except in the head. The largest ones are cut in pieces, salted, and sent to *Moscow*, and other places. The smaller, that is to say those which do not weigh above fifteen puds, are sent whole, if caught in winter. The best ising glass is made of the inner-skin of the gut of this fish, and caviar of its roe. The beluja-rybiza, of which there is great plenty in the river *Volga*, is a white salmon, and one of the most delicate fishes in *Russia*. Its roe is red, and the grains of it are as big as small peas. The *Russian* sturgeon is sometimes seven feet long; its flesh g is white, intermixt with yellow fat; and caviar, carluk, and weliga, are made out of this

^r STRAHLENBERG, *ibid.*^s *Lib.* iii.^t *Ubi supra.*^u STRAHLENBERG, *ibid.*^w *Idem ibid.*^x *Idem ibid.*

fish; but greatly inferior to what is prepared from the beluja. Considerable quantities of pickled sturgeon are exported every year. The *Russians* themselves eat it when dried in the sun, in which state they call it *provensnye-spinki*; and sometimes even raw, which they think a great delicacy. Another favourite dish of theirs, called *vesiga*, is made of the sinewy substance which incloses the spinal marrow of the beluja and sturgeon. The *sevrjuga* is of the sturgeon-kind, and as large, but not near so good as the sturgeon. Its flesh is white, and the roe black. The *schipp* is another species of the same fish, caught only in the rivers *Taik* and *Wolga*. Its flesh is yellow, and reckoned very nice eating. Great quantities of *snets*, a small flat fish much esteemed, are taken in the *Bielo Osero*, and near *Plescow*, where they are dried in ovens, both salted and unsalted, and from thence sent to all parts of *Russia*. *Craw-fish* are not to be found in any of the rivers or brooks of *Siberia*; but there are some in the river *Argun*. It is confidently affirmed, that not an eel is to be seen in all the numerous waters of *Siberia*; and the same is said of the *Danube*, and all the rivers that run into it: nor are there, according to *Olearius*, any carps in *Muscovy* (D) or *Livonia*; though they abound at *Astracan*; where, however, they are not esteemed, their flesh being very coarse. The twisted horn of the sword-fish, such as we often see in the shops of the druggists, are sometimes found near the mouth of the river *Lena*, and along the coast of *Kamtschatka*.

Mines, minerals, precious stones, &c.

WE have spoken in general of the mines and minerals of *Russia*; some of which particularly a silver-mine near the city of *Argun*, and the river *Serebrinka*, in *Siberia*, and another of copper, in the *Uralian* mountains, near the new city of *Catharinenberg*, would seem, by the accounts of travellers, to deserve more labour than has been yet bestowed upon them, if a greater number of carriages and hands could be spared. The iron-mines of *Russia*, and especially those in *Ugoria* and *Siberia*, the metal of which is best and toughest, have afforded constant employment to many artificers, ever since the beginning of this century, when they were first opened, and quantities of their wrought works are exported to various parts of *Europe*. *Strahlenberg* says, that twenty thousand muskets and ten thousand pair of pistols are made annually near the city of *Tula*; and twelve thousand muskets and six thousand pair of pistols, in the same space of time, at the *Sawods* or fabrics of *Petroka*, *Ustrowka*, and *Alexei* in *Carelia*, besides anchors and other iron-works, for the use of the admiralty, to which they belong; and that one cannon a-day is cast at *Petrowka*. The iron-works in *Siberia* are still more numerous than those in *Russia*.

AMETHISTS, and the brown-red sort of the hæmatites, or blood-stone, are found in the mountains of *Catharinenberg*, and in places near the river *Isset*, in *Siberia*; and near the city of *Argunskoi*, in the province of *Dauria* in the same country, there is a considerable mountain, which affords jasper, partly of a deep, and partly of a pale green colour, so hard, that no steel-tool will touch it; and it bears as high a polish as looking-glass^y. *Peter I.* once thought of having some columns made of this stone. An ordinary sort of lapis lazuli is common enough at *Kongur*; but a very fine kind of it is said to be in *Dauria*. Very large cornelians, and of a high colour, are likewise found in *Siberia*: and abundance of red, white, and black agate, particularly near the rivers *Amur* and *Agun*. Near the *Isset* and *Tomber*, not far from the city of *Tomski*, are quantities of crystal, naturally formed into perfect hexangular cylinders, somewhat more than an inch long, and superior in lustre to any yet produced in *Bohemia*. We have already spoken of the load-stones of *Ugoria*, which are mixed with so much iron, that their magnetic virtue is not great. There is a kind of black pumice-stone in *Siberia*, between the cities of *Crasnoyackr* and *Abakan*. The amiantus or asbestos is of a light-grey, when dug; but becomes as white and soft as cotton, when wrought. The natural grottos, or subterraneous passages, which the *Russians* call *pitschorets*, in the alabaster mountains near *Todma*, and *Kongur* in *Ugoria*, are much talked of by travellers; and *Strahlenberg* gives us a drawing of these last. This alabaster is so soft and like chalk, that they who call them chalk-caverns, are, perhaps, not much mistaken.

IN the kingdom of *Casan*, a pure solid sulphur is dug out of the rocks of *talc* or *marienglas*, in which it is enveloped. It is as clear as amber; and some lumps of it weigh upwards of fifty pounds. The finest parts of it are put to physical uses, and the others serve in the composition of gun-powder.

A LAKE near the river *Isset* in *Siberia* yields, like several other lakes in the *Russian* empire, great quantities of salt; one-third of which, in this, is saltpetre; but for want of

^y STRAHLENBERG, cap. 13.

(D) *Olearius* means, we suppose, only the province of *Moscovy*, and not the whole *Russian* empire; because, as has been already observed, there are great numbers of karawtschen, a species of carp, in the lakes of the

desert of *Barraba* in *Siberia*; and *Fletcher* (1) speaks of carp, pike, perch, tench, roach, &c. as fish very common in *Russia*, and very good.

(1) *Of the Russé Commonwealth, chap. iii.*

a wood near enough at hand, the expence of boiling and separating the saltpetre from the salt is greater than the price of that commodity will bear. Thirty thousand puds of saltpetre are delivered annually into the imperial store-houses from *Astracan*. Between *Tula* and *Kaluga*, near a place called *Revolfski*, in *Russia*, there is an alum mine; and a lake in *Siberia*, though its water is clear and fresh, leaves an alummy salt on its shores, especially in summer. *Asphalt*, a bituminous inflammable matter, which we take to be what some *Russian* writers call *earth-oil*, is found in several parts of *Siberia*, and particularly near the river *Irtisch*.

THE author of the *Verändertes Rußland* is wrong in saying^z, that the *kamina masla*, or *stone-butter*, as we should translate it, exudes from rocks in the same condition as it is sold; b for it is in fact a vitriolic water, which forces its way through mountains of slate and clay, and others which contain a ferruginous sandy ore, and is boiled, or rather evaporated in an oven, in well luted earthen pots, till its subsiding particles are brought to the consistence of a jelly, which is afterwards taken out, and dried in the air. The *Russians* make use of this drug to dye leather black; but it is too corrosive for linen^a.

SOME pieces of amber have been found between the rivers *Chatanga* and *Yenisei*, towards the Frozen Ocean; and others in the sandy desert, between *Mungalia* and *China*.

RUSSIA has its mineral waters in several places. The emperor *Peter I.* in the latter part of his life, used to go every year to those called *Honseofkertske Wody*, about one hundred and sixty-five wersts from *Olonets*, and fifty from the *Petrowian Sawodes*, and thought c he received benefit from them. They are a strong chalybeat, and said to have no virtue at all in spring and autumn, but to be of great efficacy in summer and winter (E). Towards the Frozen Sea, there are baths naturally hot, as we observed before.

MANNA is found upon a certain grass, and in particular places of the large deserts in the country of the *Calmuks* and *Bukarians*, who call it *sberkest*, and bring great quantities of it to *Tobolsk*. It must be gathered before the sun shines upon it; for otherwise it melts away^b.

S E C T. II.

d Population, Government, Laws, Religion, Manners, and Customs.

THOUGH *Russia* contains as great a number of subjects as any one Christian state, it is far from being peopled in proportion to its extent. Lord *Whitworth*, in his account of *Russia*^c, as it was in the year 1710, when he was there, makes the highest number of its inhabitants no more than six millions five hundred and forty thousand, including all the colonies of the *Muscovites*, from *Kiow* to *China* and the *Ice Sea*: in which he was certainly misinformed. M. *Busching*^d makes them amount to ten millions, exclusive of the people of the conquered provinces. But M. *de Voltaire*^e, by a calculation founded on an actual register of the males who paid the poll-tax in 1747 (F), proves clearly, that e there cannot be less than twenty-four millions of souls in *Russia*, besides the inhabitants of the conquered provinces of *Livonia*, *Esthonia*, *Ingria*, *Carelia*, and part of *Finland*; the *Ukraine*, the *Don-Cosaks*, the *Calmuks* and other *Tartars*, the *Samoyedes*, the *Laplanders*, the *Ostiaks*, and all the idolatrous nations of *Siberia*, a country larger than *China*. These twenty-four millions, continues he, make after the rate of eight persons to every square mile; so that *Russia* is, in proportion, exactly five times less peopled than *Spain*, though it contains near four times as many inhabitants; and thirty times less peopled than *France* or *Germany*.

f THAT some of the now most desolate parts of the *Russian* empire, particularly the deserts of the *Calmuks* on each side of the river *Irtis*, and others farther on towards *China*, were once much more inhabited than they are at present, and that by people who had some knowledge of the fine arts, before the small-pox, brought from *Arabia* by *Mahomet*, and the other from *America* by *Christopher Columbus*, two scourges, which have depopulated the world even more than war, began to ravage those northern climates, where they are now

^z Page 181.

^a STRAHLENBERG, cap. 13.

^b OLEARIUS, TAVERNIER, & STRAHLENBERG.

^c Page 27.
& seq.

^d Geogr. vol. i. p. 382.

^e Hist. de Russie sous Pierre le Grand, tom. i. p. 52;

(E) The author of the *Verändertes Rußland* gives a particular account of these waters, p. 239.

(F) Neither women, nor the nobility or clergy throughout the empire (which last amount to about two hundred thousand) or foreigners of any country or profession, are liable to the poll-tax. Out of near six millions six hundred and forty thousand males who paid the poll-tax in 1747, according to M. *de Voltaire*,

about nine hundred thousand, that is to say, a seventh part, belonged to the ecclesiastics of *Russia* only, exclusive of the clergy of the conquered provinces of the *Ukraine*, and of *Siberia*. But we must not from thence infer that the clergy of this empire enjoy a seventh part of the revenues of the state, as they do at least in many other countries.

very deeply rooted, is unquestionable (G); but when, and how, they lost their ancient inhabitants, by whatsoever name they were called, whether by their own voluntary emigrations in quest of other regions, or whether driven away by invaders more powerful than themselves, is one of those points of history, which in all likelihood will never be cleared up.

Classes of
people.

As the far greatest part of the lands in *Russia* lie untilld for want of hands to cultivate them; and as the improvement of every gentleman's revenue is the number of his peasants, or subjects^f; it has long been the maxim of the officers of this nation, in all their successful wars, to carry off as many prisoners as possible, and plant them on their own estates. Several towns on the *Wolga* are the fruits of their former expeditions in *Poland* and *Lithuania*; and they have drained above one-third of the inhabitants from *Ingria* and *Livonia*, and settled whole villages of them in the southern parts towards *Woronesh* (H), where their descendants are now become, in a manner, natives of the soil; an irreparable loss to *Sweden*, if ever those provinces should return to that crown. *Ingria*, indeed, has in some measure been repeopled by colonies of *Russians*. Many, or perhaps most of the great families now in *Russia*, are of foreign extraction; as the *Galitzyns*, *Apraxins*, *Nareskins*, &c. from *Poland*; the *Czerkaskis* from *Tartary* (I); the *Miletinskis* from *Mingrelia* and

^f Lord WHITWORTH'S Account of Russia, p. 29.

(G) The author of the *Verändertes Russland* (1), *Hubner* in his *Lexicon* (2), the writer of *Das eroeffnete Ritter platz* (3), and others, but more particularly baron *Strahlenberg* (4), give the strongest proof of this fact, from numbers of medals, statues, monuments, and other remains of antiquity, found even of late years in *Siberia*, and the deserts bordering on that government. In the tombs, which are very many, discovered in those parts, says the last mentioned of our authors, are found all sorts of vessels, urns, wearing apparel, ornaments and trinkets, scimitars, daggers, horse-trappings, knives, all sorts of little idols (images), medals of gold and silver, chess-boards and chess-men of gold, and large plates of gold on which the dead bodies were laid, not unlike the *bracteæ aurei* of some others of the antients, with cloaths folded up, of the same sort as those the corps were dressed in. The sepulchres of the poorer sort have likewise the same kind of things in them, of copper and brass; arrows of copper and iron, stirrups, large and small polished pieces of metal, or mirrors, with characters upon them; earthen urns of different sizes, some almost two feet high; and, in short, a great many other curiosities, of which he gives a more particular detail, with drawings of several of them. Before the czars of *Russia* were acquainted with this matter, the governors of the cities of *Tara*, *Tomsk*, *Crasnoyarsk*, *Batsamki*, *Isetzkoi*, and others, used to give their people leave to go in caravans to these tombs, to ransack them, on condition of having an allowance, generally about one-tenth, of whatsoever things of value they found there. To this is owing that most of these antiquities, which might otherwise have been very valuable, and would perhaps have afforded great insight into the history of the country they were found in, were broken to pieces, that each might have his share by weight. As to the tombs themselves, they are of different structures: some are only of earth, raised up as high as houses, and placed so near together, and in such numbers, on spacious plains, that, at a distance, they appear like a ridge of hills. Others are set round with rough-hewn stones, and some with square stones, and are either of an oblong or triangular form. We find them called, in the antient maps of *Great Tartary*, "the pyramidal sepulchres of the *Tartarian* kings;" though in fact they are not strictly pyramids. Colonel *Kanifer*, likewise a *Swedish* prisoner in *Siberia*, who lived for several years of his captivity in the city of *Jenisei*, told our author, that the ambassadors of the *Chinese Tartars* (5), in their return from their expedition to the *Calmuk* *Ajucki Khan*, passing through that city, desired leave of the then governor to visit the graves of their ancestors; but it was refused: probably, because most of them had been opened, rifled, and demolished. *Strahlenberg*, on this occasion, refers to the antient writers, who speak of the war between *Cyrus* and the

Scythians, which last, being asked why they did not stand their ground, but always retreated, answered, that they lost nothing by giving way; but that, if they should come near the sepulchres of their fathers, their enemies might then chance to see whether they could fight or not. *Arunkiel* proves clearly (6), that the *Cimbri* did not take the custom of burning their dead from the *Greeks*, but from *Olinus*; and *Torseus* likewise shews (7), that he first introduced into the northern regions the use of urns, the custom of burning the dead, of putting the most valuable effects of the deceased into the grave with their ashes, and of erecting monuments to the most eminent persons, and laying stones over their sepulchres. This is also confirmed by the author of the *Remarks on the Cimbrian Antiquities in Holstien* (8). Some antient records in *Tanguthian*, *Mungalian*, and *Calmukian* characters, found in the time of *Peter I.* not near *Samarcand*, or the *Caspian* sea, as the author of the *Verändertes Russland* (9), and others, who have copied him, pretend, but brought from the upper parts of the deserts of the *Calmuks*, on the river *Irtis*, from pagan tombs and temples there, and sent by that inquisitive emperor to the academy of sciences at *Paris*, where nobody could make any thing of them, were upon a thick paper, made of cotton or silk, done over with black and blue varnish, and rolled up, according to the custom of the antients. The characters or letters upon them, which were partly of a yellow or gold colour, and partly of a white like silver, were not written, but printed, as we print linen or callico. A proof that that great prince was very right in saying that the sciences have made the tour of the world. Should we, without such demonstrations as these, have dreamed that the art of printing was known to the once inhabitants of what is now one of the most savage parts of the whole universe, probably before we had any idea of it? Besides these characters, which have been published by the learned *M. Mencke*, in the *Acta Eruditorum Lips.* others of a different kind, unintelligible to several *Russians*, *Tartars*, and *Calmuks*, to whom baron *Strahlenberg* shewed them, but which *M. Kobr*, professor of the oriental languages at *Leipsig*, has explained, were found towards the source of the river *Jenisei*, near the spot where the little river *Kentschyk* falls into it, and where was formerly a temple. These last were impressed on fine white linen.

(H) Lord *Whitworth*, *M. de Voltaire*, and several other writers call it *Veronis* and *Veronitz*; but the *Russian* name is *Woronesh*.

(I) Prince *Sunfalei Jacolowitz Zercaskoi*, from the *Circassian* *Cabarda*, came to the czar *Fedor Iwanowicz*, and assisted him in conquering the country of *Circassia*, and the city of *Terki*. It is the chief *Circassian* family, and almost the richest in *Russia*, having near seventy thousand peasants. *Strahlenberg*.

(1) Page 124, 125 (2) Second edit. p. 1081.

(3) Page 76.

(4) Chap. 13.

(5) Men-

tioned in the *Verändertes Russland*, p. 9.

(6) In his *Funeral Rites of the Cimbrian Pagans*, part ii. p. 35.

(7) *Scr. Dynast. Reg. Dan.* cap. vi. p. 130 & 144, 3^{vo} edit.

(8) Page 154, 155.

(9) Page

124, 125.

a Georgia; with numbers of others: and even the czars have prided themselves in a *Prussian* original (K).

THE *Russians*, in point of rank, are divided into three classes; the nobility, called *kneas*; the gentry, called *duornins*; and the peasants.

THE *kneas*, or dukes were anciently heads of the little governments into which this country was divided; but they were all subdued in time by the princes of *Volodimer*, who translated their residence to *Moscow*, and took the title of *weliki kneas*, or *great-dukes*. The descendants of these families still retain their ancient title; and several *Poles*, transplanted thither, as they became considerable, assumed the same marks of distinction, on pretence of being descended from their waiwodes, or palatines. This title is differently
b respected, according to the revenue or employment of the person; for those dukes who submitted on condition, and received estates in exchange for their petty sovereignties, still continue in some splendor; and others again have raised themselves by their civil or military service, while the rest are reduced to the lowest poverty and contempt. In the year 1708, there were near three hundred *kneas* & common soldiers in prince *Menzikoff's* regiment of dragoons. To remedy the confusion of this title, *Peter the First*, after his return from his travels, introduced into *Russia*, as an additional distinction, the dignities of count and baron. His prime minister and great-chancellor *Golowin*, and general *Gordon*, were made counts by the emperor of *Germany*, and his favourite *Alexander Menzikoff* was created prince of the empire. But the czar's ambition increasing with his
c success, he resolved to bestow his own honours, and soon after created prince *Menzikoff* duke of *Ingria*, and *Golowin*, his high-admiral *Apraxin*, and his lord privy-seal *Sotoff*, counts, without having recourse to the imperial court. After this, he introduced the title of baron, instituted an order of knighthood in honour of St. *Andrew*, distinguished by a blue ribbon and star, in imitation of the garter; and, in 1714, ordered that the estates of the nobility should not be divided, and that the proprietors of them should be at full liberty to leave them to whatever child or heir they should think most worthy of the inheritance. But this law was repealed in 1731. *Bojar* is not a title of nobility, but antiently denoted a post or office in the state; nor indeed does any birth or title give a person rank, according to *Peter's* wise regulation, unless he likewise merits it by his service and abilities: by which
d means many foreigners, of mean extraction, have risen to very great honours in *Russia*. In regard to unlimited subjection to their sovereign, the nobility are on a level with the rest of the people. Even the greatest of them used to glory in styling themselves the czar's *goly* or *slave*, when they either spoke or wrote to him; but *Peter I.* abolished that harsh expression, and ordered them to use, instead of it, the word *raab*, subject.

THE *duornins* are country gentlemen, most of whom, and particularly the *sunbojarskoys*, or sons of *bojars*, who are ranked in this class, hold their lands by knights-service, to appear in war on horse back. Formerly it was sufficient to send a man well armed and mounted; but *Peter I.* made them or their sons, serve in person, unless they found ways to make interest enough with his ministers to be excused. When they appear in the field,
e they are not allowed a servant, though they be masters of ever so many peasants, and are obliged to do all the duties of common soldiers: but their greatest mortification is, that such of their peasants as will lift volunteers, are immediately declared freemen, and in equal consideration with their masters. The point of honour has, indeed, not yet prevailed so far as to give many instances of this nature. Such of the *duornins* as live on their estates, and are far from the capital, give themselves great airs; though they are, on the other hand, as humble and submissive to their chief nobility and officers: for in this country, as lord *Whitworth* observes, every one has his share of slavery and worship; except

THE peasants, who are perfect slaves, absolutely subject to the arbitrary power of their
f lords, who may treat them as they please, provided they do not kill them, and liable to be transferred, with goods and chattles, from one master to another. They can call nothing their own; which makes them so lazy, that when their master's task is done, and a little bread and firing provided for the year, they think the great business of their life over, and idle and sleep away the rest of their time; and yet they live content. A couple of earthen pots, a wooden platter, a spoon, and a knife, are all their household goods; their drink is water; their food oatmeal, bread, salt, mushrooms, and roots; on great days, a little fish, or milk, if it be not a fast; but flesh very rarely. Thus mere custom in them, shames the pretended austerities of philosophy and false devotion, and fits them admirably for the fatigues of war; which, if once rendered familiar by use and discipline, will cer-

& Lord WHITWORTH.

(K) *Fletcher*, chap. v. mentions particularly of the *John Basflowitz*, of the house of *Beala*, that he declared he was no *Russian*, but of *Hungarian* extraction.

tainly advance far in a people, who go as unconcerned to death or torments, and have as much passive valour, as any nation in the world. Professor *Busching* says^b, that the *Russian* peasants are so far from being dull or stupid, as many have thought them, that they are remarkably acute, and do not want for natural parts.

GOVERNMENT.

THE government of *Russia* is absolute in the last degree; not restricted by any law or custom, but depending solely on the will of the sovereign, by which the lives and fortunes of all the subjects of that country are decided; the common compliment, even of the greatest of the nobility, to him, being, *I am thy slave, take my head*; and every class of *Russians* frequently saying, even in common discourse, that *all they have belongs to God and the czar*. When puzzled about any thing, and at a loss to find it out, nothing is more usual with them than to say, *Only God and the czar knows it*: and when banished, or in disgrace at court, their greatest complaint is, that they are deprived of *the honour of seeing the brightness of the eyes of his czarish majesty*^c. *John Basilowitz* first reduced them to this extreme submission; and his successors have not only continued them in it, but effectually rivetted their slavery, and deprived them of the means of forming any idea of the liberty which other nations enjoy, by absolutely forbidding their subjects, on pain of death, ever to go out of their dominions; nor are the nobility allowed to retire from court, without the czar's express permission. However, such as are employed in the state, have their share of arbitrary power, their proceedings being without appeal, all in the czar's name, which they often abuse to satisfy their avarice, revenge, or other guilty passions. For right between private men, they have precedents and written laws, particularly a code called *Subornoe Uloshenie*, "An Uniform and Universal Law," drawn up by order of *Alexis Michaelowitz*, and enlarged by new edicts of the succeeding czars (L). The process, especially in criminal matters, is short enough, when their justice is proof against the temptation of a bribe; but that it seldom is: and their punishments are very severe; though not quite so rigorous as formerly. The *battogen*, *kutze*, and *knute*, are now deemed infamous (M).

TILL

^b Geograph. vol. i. p. 383.

^c OLEARIUS, lib. iii.

(L) Heretofore, in disputes between private persons, where the parties were not agreed as to the matter of fact, and had no evidence on either side, the judge asked the plaintiff, whether he would take his oath, that the matter was as he alleged, or refer it to the defendant's oath. He who offered to take his oath, was, once a week, for three weeks running, brought before the judge, who, every time, represented to him the importance of an oath, and the sin he would be guilty of, if he swore falsely. If, after this, he still persisted in his readiness to take his oath, though he swore nothing but the truth, the people looked upon him as an infamous person, would spit in his face and turn him out of church, into which he never was received afterwards, and much less admitted to the communion, unless it were at the point of death. Now they do not proceed with so much rigour, but only bring him who is to take his before a picture of one of their saints, where he is asked whether he will swear upon the salvation of his soul? If he persists, they give him a little crucifix to kiss, and afterwards the picture of the saint, which is taken down from the wall for that purpose. Though the oath be indisputably true, the person who took it is not admitted to the communion for three years; and though he be not treated as an infamous person, yet those of any rank will not easily suffer him in their company. A perjured person is most severely whipped, and then banished. The *Russians* therefore endeavour as much as possible to avoid taking an oath; though, upon any trivial occasion, especially in their dealings, they make no scruple of swearing at every word, and have incessantly in their mouths their *Po Chrestum*, "by Christ," making the sign of the cross at the same time. They permit strangers to take their oaths, according to the rules of their several religions. *Olearius*, lib. iii. and *Fletcher*, chap. 14.

(M) They were not so formerly, according to *Olearius* (1); for not only those who had passed through the executioner's hands were admitted into the best companies, but likewise the executioner himself, whose profession was accounted so honourable, that sometimes even merchants quitted theirs, to serve the magistrate

at executions, and would buy that employment as a lucrative post, the profits of which arose partly from their stipend, partly from what was extorted from the criminal under pretence of gentle treatment, but most of all from a clandestine sale of brandy and spirits to the prisoners. The *Russians* have now learnt another way of thinking from their more civilized neighbours: the executioner is looked upon as infamous, and is no longer permitted to sell his office; but it must continue in his family: on failure of which, the butchers are obliged to chuse one out of their own body.

The ordinary punishments in *Russia* are slitting the nostrils, whipping, and the *battogen*, which is inflicted thus: he who is to receive this chastisement, is stripped to his shirt, and laid upon the ground on his belly; when two men, sitting cross-wise upon him, one upon his neck, and the other upon his feet, beat him on the back with little wands or little switches, during the time ordered by the judge. Slitting the nostrils used to be inflicted on those who had taken tobacco in snuff, contrary to an old idle prohibition.

Whipping, or the *knute*, as it is given in *Russia*, is one of the most barbarous punishments ever heard of. *Olearius* relates thus (2) the manner of its being executed, in his presence, on eight men and one woman, for selling brandy and tobacco without a licence. The executioner's man after stripping them down to the waist, took them up one after another, upon his back, with their feet tied together with a cord, which passed between his legs, and was held by another servant of the executioner, so fast that they were not able to stir. The executioner stood three paces off, with a bull's pizzle, having fastened to the end of it three straps or thongs of an elk's skin, not tanned, and consequently exceeding sharp, with which, springing forward whenever he struck, he laid on their backs with all his strength, so that the blood gushed out at every blow. The men had twenty-five, or twenty-six lashes each, till an officer, who had in writing what number of stripes they were to receive, cried *Polno*, "enough." The woman had only sixteen, but fainted away. After their backs were thus shockingly mangled, they were all tied together by the arms, two and

(1) *Lib. iii.*

(2) *Ibid.*

two

- a. Till Peter the Great set about taming his savages, and reforming their barbarous customs, a work which will justly render his memory immortal, the vast dominions of Russia were divided into four parts, called *chetfirds*, each of which was named from its particular office or department. The first of them was called the *posolsky-chetfird*, or jurisdiction-office of embassies and foreign affairs. The second was called the *roseradny-chetfird*, because it belonged to the *roserade*, or high-constable. The third was the *pomeslenoy-chetfird*, in which a register was kept of all the lands given by the prince for service, to his nobles, bojars, and others. The fourth was called the *cofsansky-dowertz*, and had the jurisdiction of the kingdoms of *Astracan* and *Casan*, with the cities and towns on the *Wolga*. A few places only, not exceeding thirty-six towns, with their territories, which were the
- b. czar's inheritance, or *vochin*, as it is termed, were exempted from the jurisdiction of these *chetfirds*, the heads of which resided commonly at court, and carried their offices with them wherever they went. They were generally lords of the greatest families in Russia, who were favourites of the czar, and acted as sovereigns under him, in all the provinces they were to govern. An appeal lay to them from all the districts in their department; but there was no appeal from their decision. They had liberty to use the czar's name for their authority in issuing out their orders, and had an absolute power over the lives and fortunes of those within their department. Under them a bench of *diacks*, or secretaries, sat as judges in each of these principal offices or courts at *Moscow*, who were to hear and determine matters relating to the treasury, as well as all civil and military affairs,
- c. and to report their proceedings to the principal lords under whom they acted, who seldom went themselves to hear any cause.

Ancient administration of justice by *chetfirds*.

- THESE lords had also the sole power of appointing and sending governors to each province, which were subdivided into smaller districts; and every governor had under him a *diack*, or secretary, who was a kind of petty-chancellor, and an office or court of justice called *pricase*, where they sat as commissioners for the czar's revenues, and likewise as judges, with an absolute power to determine all causes, without even counsel to plead for the unhappy persons brought before them. Only in cases of life they were obliged to make a representation by letter to the lord of the province in *Moscow*, before any man could be executed; but that was done in such a manner, that the decision was always such
- d. as they desired.

and *pricases*; under the direction of the governors of provinces.

THE governors of provinces were, generally, appointed for three years, in which time, if their enormous rapine suffered them to continue so long in place, they made great fortunes; by which we may judge of their equity; especially as they had no sort of salaries allowed them, but only a present of three or four thousand rubels, according to the

two together, those who had sold tobacco having a little horn full of it, and those who had sold brandy a little bottle about their necks, and whipped through the city, for about half a league, after which they were brought back to the place of their first punishment, and there dismissed. This is so cruel a punishment, that many die of it. Some, after having undergone this dreadful scourging, wrap themselves up in the skin of a sheep newly killed. But even this horrid flagellation is, according to M. de la Motraye, only what is called the moderate *knute*. When the sentence orders it between the moderate and the severe, pieces of flesh are taken off at every stroke of the executioner; and when it is ordered to be given with the utmost severity, the executioner striking the flank, under the ribs, cuts the flesh to the very bowels.

Another kind of chastisement is sometimes given to a most unmerciful degree, on the soles of the offender's feet, with a stick about the thickness of a man's finger.

Even the *holy* inquisition cannot exceed the horrid refinements of cruelty formerly practised by these barbarians, and, we fear, too often practised even now, to force people to confess by torture. One of the most terrible of these excruciating torments, called the *strapado*, is executed thus (1). The malefactor, having his hands tied behind him with a rope, is hoisted up into the air by that cord, with a great beam fastened to his feet, upon which the executioner jumps up, from time to time, to augment the pain, and farther the dislocation of the members whilst a smoke and fire, which are made under his feet, burn and stifle him. Sometimes they cause the malefactor's head to be shaven, and, as he is hanging, pour cold water drop by drop upon his crown, which occasions such anguish as is not to be equalled even by whipping,

and then clapping a red-hot iron upon the stripes, as is often done; or by tying to a spit, and roasting at a fire.

Thieves are tortured to make them discover their accomplices, and confess their other crimes. If it be the first offence, they are whipped from the prison to the market-place, where the offender hath an ear cut off, and is sent back to prison for two years. If he offends a second time, he is punished as before, and kept in prison, till there be a number of them to banish into *Siberia*. Theft is never punished with death in *Russia*: but the receivers and concealers of stolen goods are punished equally with the thief. Murder, committed without any necessity of defence, is punished with death. The criminal is kept six weeks in a very close prison upon bread and water only; after which he receives the communion, and is beheaded.

But even all these cruelties fall short of those which are inflicted on such as cannot satisfy their creditors. He who does not pay at the time agreed on, is put into the house of an officer, appointed for that purpose, and has a certain farther time allowed him to make satisfaction. If he fails therein, he is carried to prison, from whence he is brought every day to a place before the chancery, where the common executioner beats him upon the shin-bones with a wand about the bigness of a man's little-finger, for an hour together. That done, he is returned to prison, unless he can find security for his appearing again the next day at the same hour, to be treated in the same manner, till he has made satisfaction. This is executed rigorously upon all sorts of persons, of whatever condition or quality they be, subjects or foreigners, men or women, priests or laymen: and if, at last, the debtor cannot find wherewith to pay, he, his wife, and children, are sentenced to be bond-slaves to the creditor.

(1) *Id. ibid.*

abilities of the people in their department, when they first entered on their government. But besides the great article of bribery in all causes that came before them, they had other opportunities of enriching themselves; one of which was, their power of assessing the taxes, nominating their own collectors, or *challavolniks*, to receive the czar's revenues, and return the sums collected into the grand *pricase*, or proper office of each bojar at *Moscow*; where what account they thought fit was made out, of the money received, and the expences attending it, and the remainder was paid into the czar's treasury. The same abuses still subsist in a great measure: besides which, these governors have the disposal of all employments, civil or military, in their departments; but they have no power over the regular troops, who are never to be under their jurisdiction, nor paid by them, though quartered in their jurisdiction; but are to receive their orders immediately from the czar and his generals. a b

THE czars used formerly to keep up the veneration of their subjects by appearing very rarely, except in public acts of ceremony and devotion, and then with a solemnity suitable to the occasion; while the *bojars*, or privy-counsellors, disposed of the empire at their pleasure: but *Peter the Great* missed no opportunity of exposing them and their abuses. Till his time these *bojars* had the chief direction of all the *pricases*, or offices, for their superiors never minded business, and were assisted by the *ocolnitzen*, a lower sort of privy-counsellors, who were admitted only on extraordinary occasions. The *dumnoi* are the judges of all processes, and the *diacks* the secretaries. Every *pricase* was composed of these officers, and had, as we have just observed, a sovereign jurisdiction of life and death, independent of each other; which often caused no small confusion. They were above thirty in number, for the several provinces of the empire; and though they are still kept up, yet their once acting officers, such as *bojars* and *ocolnitzen*, have been dropped by degrees, only the *diacks*, or secretaries, being retained; and, in consequence of the regulations of *Peter I.* the affairs of the *Russian* empire, in general, are now managed by the following colleges, or chanceries, as they are called. c

THE senate, or directing-council, is the supreme court of judicature, to which all processes are brought by appeal, in the last resort. The senate takes care of all domestic affairs, receives accounts from all the colleges, excepting the holy synod, and issues out orders to them all accordingly. In the reign of the empress *Catherine*, the privy-council used to send orders to the senate; but in the reign of the empress *Anne* such orders were issued only by the cabinet-council, which consisted of two ministers of state. The present empress has entirely abolished the cabinet-council, and, by an edict of the 12th of *December*, 1741, restored to the senate the same power which it had in the time of *Peter the Great*. d

THE holy synod, or ecclesiastical council, instituted by *Peter I.* when he suppressed the patriarchate, regulates all affairs relating to the church.

THE war-college has the care of recruiting and exercising the whole *Russian* army, except the guards, who are under the immediate direction of the sovereign. This office likewise receives the taxes appointed for the maintenance of the troops, and nominates the officers as high as the rank of lieutenant-colonels. Under the war-college are the office of the general-commissary at war, the office of ordnance, that of the under-commissary at war, the military-chest, the office for cloathing the army, the victualling office, and the accomptant's office. e

THE admiralty-college manages all naval concerns without exception; and such forests as lie near navigable rivers, are under the inspection of this college; subordinate to which are the office of the general-marine commissary, which pays the navy, has the care of victualling the fleet, and keeps the monies assigned for those services; the store-office, which has the direction of the magazines, and every thing belonging to the equipment of ships of war; the office which directs the construction of ships, provides the necessary materials for that purpose, and has also the inspection of the forests; and the artillery-office. f

THE college for foreign affairs pays the salaries of the *Russian* ministers at foreign courts, pensions, and the expences of foreign envoys, which are always defrayed. This college also makes out passports, and decides all difficulties and disputes relating to foreign ministers. The members of this college are the chancellor of the empire and the vice-chancellor, who, upon any momentous affairs, are assisted by some of the counsellors of state.

THE college of justice at *Moscow*. Under this is the *sudnoy pricase*, some of the members of which constitute a college of justice at *Petersburg*, which determines suits brought thither by appeal from the conquered provinces, and has likewise a consistorial jurisdiction over the protestants and papists in that city; but, on this occasion, the minister of the church to which the plaintiff belongs, is summoned to attend. g

THE

a THE *wolschnoi* college, or feudal chancery, is held at *Moscow*, and has the care of every thing relating to the estates of private persons, and their boundaries or limits.

the feudal
chancery,

THE college of the treasury has the direction of levying all the public revenues, except the poll-tax and the produce of the salt-works. The office which has the care of the monies arising from the conquered provinces, is now held at *Petersburg*; but all the other departments belonging to the treasury, are at *Moscow*.

the college of
the treasury,

THE state-office issues out the public money, and gives the necessary directions to the chamber of accompts. The revenue chambers at *Petersburg* and *Moscow* are accordingly dependent on this office.

the state-office,

b THE revision-college is a sort of check on the other colleges, and receives their accounts in order to examine them.

the revision-
college,

THE colleges for trade, mines, and manufactures, are distinct offices; and besides the departments from which they take their names, they have also the management of the naval customs or tolls, and decide all commercial disputes between merchants and traders.

the colleges for
trade, mines,
and manufact-
ures,

THE confiscation-chancery directs the sale of all forfeited estates, and the levying of all fines imposed by the other colleges.

the confisca-
tion-chancery,

THE salt-office has the direction of the revenues arising from the salt-works, which are appropriated for the sovereign's privy-purse.

the salt-office,

c BESIDES these, there is a college of the magistracy, as it is called, to which all the magistrates in the empire are accountable for their conduct; and a privy-chancery, which takes cognizance of all hospitals, dispensaries, medicines, &c.

the college of
the magistracy,
and the privy-
chancery.

d THE *Russians* profess the religion of the *Greek* church, which is said to have been first embraced by the great-duchess *Olga*, or *Olga*, in the year of *Christ* 955, and afterwards by her grand-son, the great-duke *Wolodimir* in 988, whose example was followed by his subjects: but their ignorance and superstition have greatly corrupted even that. They hold three sacraments, baptism, the Lord's supper, and extreme unction; which last they look upon as extremely conducive, but not absolutely necessary to salvation. Without baptism, administered according to the rites of their communion, they think none can possibly be saved; and therefore they rebaptize all proselytes from other Christian churches, just as they do converts from paganism. They hold transubstantiation, and receive the eucharist in both kinds (N), observe four lents, and have service daily in their churches. They use auricular confession, and think they are cleansed by it from as many sins as they confess by name, and in particular to the priest (O). The *Atbanasian* Creed is their rule of faith.

Religion of the
Russians.

(N) The consecrated bread is put into the wine, and a little of both is taken out of the chalice with a spoon, and given to the communicants. The wine is red, and mixed with warm water, the better to imitate the blood and water which issued from our Saviour's side. The communion-bread, or wafer, as the *Romanists* call it, is about twice as big as a crown-piece, and somewhat thicker: but the priest breaks it into as many pieces as there are communicants. It must be leavened, and have been kneaded and baked by the widow of a priest. This they think so essential to the sacrament, that one of the principal causes of the schism between the *Greek* and *Latin* church, is, that the latter makes use of unleavened bread, contrary to the express institution of *Christ*, who, to abolish the ceremony of the *Jews*, who made use of unleavened bread, was pleased to take common bread. In the middle of this wafer is the figure of a crucifix, which the priest, after he has consecrated it, takes off with an instrument like a lancet, and puts into a *pyx* or, or wooden box, suspended over the altar. When the communion is to be administered to a sick person, a little of this consecrated bread is taken out of the *pyx*, mixed with three drops of wine and a drop or two of water, and given in a spoon: but if, through weakness, or otherwise, he be not able to swallow the bread, only a little consecrated wine is given. At the administering of the sacrament, the priest says, "This is the true body and the true blood of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, which he hath given for thee, and for many more, for the remission of thy sins; which thou shalt take in the remembrance of him. God bless thee." The more devout fort sleep after they have received the communion, that they may not sin that day. What remains of the bread after consecration, serves for holy-bread, which they call *kutja*: and on the *Sunday* following, the priest gives a morsel of it to each of those who had commu-

nicated the week before. Formerly the consecrated bread used not only to be sent into the country, to places where there was no priest, but also to be given to travellers or persons going to the wars, who made their confession before they set out, and were to communicate themselves if they were in any danger of death. The custom of receiving the consecrated wine in the church, and carrying away the bread, to be taken at home; as also that of the anchorites, who carried away both to the places of their retirement, is so ancient, that *St. Cyprian*, and even *Tertullian*, speak of it as a thing commonly done in their times. But this kind of communicating is now absolutely abolished in *Russia*, as well as elsewhere. There is scarce a *Russian* but communicates at Easter, after an extraordinary mortification, for eight days together; during which they eat nothing but a hard kind of bread, and drink only water, or *quas*, which is so sour, that it sometimes brings them almost to death's door. They generally receive the communion upon Easter-eve, and hold that it must at least be upon a fasting day; a circumstance which they observe so strictly, that if any one communicates on a *Sunday*, he is not to eat any flesh on that day. They give the communion to infants, when sick, be they ever so young, but only in one kind, till they are seven years of age; after which they are communicated like grown persons, because, says the *Greek* church, one begins to sin mortally at that age. Agreeable to this was the practice of the third century, when, as we learn from *St. Cyprian*, children were communicated immediately after baptism; a custom which continued till *St. Augustine's* time. The *Russians* also give the communion to distracted persons; but they only touch their lips with the bread, after it hath lain a while in the wine.

(O) Those who are come to years of discretion are obliged to go to confession before they communicate.

faith. They believe in God the Father as Creator of all the world; in God the Son, as Sanctifier and Redeemer of all mankind; and in the Holy Ghost, as Sanctifier of all the faithful: but they maintain that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father only. The Bible, of which they will not suffer the books of *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Numbers*, and *Deuteronomy* to be so much as carried to church, for fear of polluting that place of worship by some not over-modest passages; they say the Levitical law is translated from the version of the *Septuagint* into the *Sclavonian* tongue, which very few if any of the congregation understand; when the priest reads any part of it to them; even if he can read it. They are, however, permitted to have the whole Bible in their houses; but they set little value upon any part of it, except the *New Testament*, the prophets, and some verses out of the *Psalms*; nor have they yet the Scriptures in their own language (P). They hold tradition to be of equal authority with the written word of God; and think to satisfy the second commandment by allowing no carved images: but their churches are filled with miserable paintings, without shade or perspective; and even some of those dawblings, as well as the finer strokes of the *Italian* pencils, are said to be the work of angels: particularly a celebrated piece of the virgin *Mary* with three hands, which is preserved in the monastery of *Jerusalem*, about thirty miles from *Moscow* (Q).

THE respect paid to these pictures is the grossest kind of idolatry. To them they bow and cross themselves; and all the religious instruction they give their children, especially those of the lower sort, is to reverence and say their prayers before those vile representations of their saints, to whom, and to the apostles, and the Virgin *Mary*, the ignorant among them apply, not only as to intercessors, but as to immediate causes and co-operators of their salvation. Every room has its guardian picture of this kind in a corner, the *Russian* place of honour, to which strangers pay their reverence on coming in, before they begin their business; or take any notice of the company; or if the visitor does not immediately see the saint, he turns round and asks, *Jessi le Bog?* "Where is the God?" the name they give to these wretched paintings; before which it is another great part of their devotion to light up wax-candles, at the hazard of setting fire to their houses, as they often do, and to repeat frequently the words *Gbospodî pomilui*, "Lord have mercy upon me;" without any farther attention. They refrain scrupulously from certain meats, and think it particularly a great crime to eat a pigeon, because the Holy Ghost is painted in the shape of a dove. That the Gospel was first preached to the *Russians* by St. *Andrew*, as some of their chronicles pretend, is, at best, a very improbable story. But, as it is not our business here to write an ecclesiastical history, we shall content ourselves with noticing such particular religious ceremonies and customs of the people we are speaking of, as may help to throw a light upon their character and manners.

Fasts.

THEIR private devotion consists in fasting and prayer; in the former of which they greatly exceed the papists. *Wednesdays* and *Fridays* are stated fasts all the year round. In

municate. They make their confession standing, in the middle of the church, and before the picture of some saint, on which they keep their eyes fixed as long as the confession lasts, making a very particular recital of all their sins, and at every sin expressing their remorse, and promising amendment. The priest, with the absolution, enjoins them a penance, which generally consists in repeating several times the words *Gbospodî pomilui*, or in making a number of reverences before the pictures of saints, abstaining from women for a certain time, standing at the church-door; or if the sins be very heinous, he orders them to use a holy-water, which is consecrated on Twelfth-day, and kept by the priests all the year long for this purpose, and not to be had of them for nothing. They think that that water has the virtue to purify them of their sins, and restore them to a state of grace.

(P) In the explication of the Bible they pay great regard to St. *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, who lived towards the end of the fourth century, St. *John Damascene*, St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, St. *John Chrysostom*, and *Ephraim*, deacon of the church of *Edessa* in *Syria*; of which last they relate, as does also *Gerard Vossius*, who translated his works into *Latin*, that an angel having presented to him a book written in gold characters, which nobody could open, he immediately derived from it those illuminations, which are at this day apparent in his writings. Another of their great doctors is *Nicholas Sudanavoritz*, their own countryman, and author of several spiritual treatises. Their veneration for his memory is such, that, not long ago, wax-candles were lighted up before his picture, for which a particular chapel

was built in the great street of *Moscow*, leading to *Tower* gate; but both were destroyed by fire. A *Sclavonic Bible* used formerly to cost between twenty-five and thirty rubels; but a new edition of that book was published in 1751, from the *Moscow* edition of 1663, with annotations, and may be had for five rubels. The *New Testament* and *Psalter*, in the *Sclavonian* language, in quarto, is sold at a moderate price in *Russia*.

(Q) The *Russians* relate very gravely, and deem those atheists who doubt the truth of their account, that the painter who drew this picture of the Virgin *Mary*, with our Saviour in her arms, having sketched out his piece so as to make both her hands appear, was surprized to find, when he went next to look at it, three hands regularly disposed about the child: upon which, thinking that some other person of the trade had slipped privately into his room, and done this to put a trick upon him, he took his pencil, and in a kind of passion, rubbed out the third hand, finished the picture, locked the door, and put the key in his pocket. The next morning he found a third hand painted again as before. Astonished and amazed, he crossed and blessed himself: but still concluding, upon reflection, that some wag had found means to get into his apartment, he again effaced the supernumerary hand, and then locked and sealed his doors, and secured his windows, with the utmost care. The next morning he found the third hand painted a third time, and was going to alter it again, when the Virgin *Mary* appeared in person, and bid him forbear; for that it was her pleasure to be so drawn.

^a Lent they neither eat flesh, milk, eggs, or butter; but confine themselves wholly to vegetables, bread, and fish fried in oil. The butter-week, as it is called, when eating of flesh is forbidden, and butter is allowed, is the week immediately preceding the great feast of Lent, which is regulated by the moveable feast of Easter, and lasts till that festival. St. Peter's Fast, as they term it, always begins on the first *Monday* after Whit-sun-ide, and lasts sometimes six weeks, and sometimes but eight days, as Easter happens to fall early or late. The Fast of the Blessed Virgin begins annually on the 1st of *August*, and continues to the 15th of that month. St. Philip's Fast, which is likewise immovable, begins on the 15th of *November*, and lasts till the 25th of *December*.

^b THEY are indeed less rigid in their fasts now than they used to be, the more frequent travels of their young gentry having helped to enlighten them: and the czar *Peter* himself set them an example, by eating flesh on all their fast days, in private houses, though he refrained from it in public.

^c THE eighth week before Easter, which, as we observed before, is called the butter-week, may be looked upon as the *Russian* carnival, and is spent in all kinds of entertainments and licentiousness. *Carnival.* Among the diversions exhibited during this time, one of the most singular is that of riding in sledges down a steep declivity of twenty ells in height, which is made with boards and covered with ice, by throwing water to freeze on it. At this time of public diversions they make up for the scantiness of their diet, by a copious use of spirits or brandy; and on Easter-day, most of them eat to such excess, as to throw themselves into a fit of sickness by overloading their stomachs. On that joyful festival, they kiss one another in the most friendly manner, presenting an egg coloured over, or sometimes curiously painted, with the salutation used by the primitive Christians on the same occasion, "Christ is risen;" to which the answer is, "he is risen indeed."

^d IN their private devotions they kneel before a picture, for they will by no means allow of images, of our Saviour, the Virgin *Mary*, St. *Nicholas*, who is their great patron, or some other saint, to which they bow several times, making the sign of the cross with their thumb, fore-finger, and third-finger, on the breast, forehead, and shoulders, at the same time repeating in a low voice, the Lord's Prayer, and some other short ejaculations, particularly the words *Ghospodi pomilui*, "Lord be merciful unto me." They seldom pass by a church but they utter these words, bowing and crossing themselves, without paying any regard to any persons who may happen to be present: they also look towards a church when they are at a distance from it, and practise the same bowing and crossing. Many, and sometimes even persons of distinction, by way of penance, or from other motives of humiliation, prostrate themselves on their faces at the entrance of the churches; and those who are conscious of having contracted any impurity, forbear going into the church, but stand at the door. Their churches, as has been observed, are very numerous; some of stone, but most of wood, and all built in the form of a cross, with five little cupolas. Every nobleman's seat has one; to build a church being thought a meritorious act, and laying a sort of obligation on heaven. It is remarkable, that all the old churches in *Russia* have a crescent, or half-moon, under the cross erected on the top of the steeples. The church-bells are often rung; and as ringing is accounted a branch of devotion, every town is provided with a great number of bells, which make an almost perpetual jingling. *Private devo-*
tions.

^e THEIR church-service, which is recited in the *Sclavonian* tongue, unintelligible at least to the common people, consists of abundance of trifling ceremonies, long masses, singing, and prayers; all which are performed by the priests, the congregation in the mean time saying *Ghospodi pomilui*. A lecture from one of the antient fathers is sometimes added. Sermons are preached but in few churches; and even there but very seldom (R). There are no seats whatever in the *Russian* churches; but the whole congregation perform their devotions standing. On festival days the people go thrice to church; first in the morning, before day, to *mattins*, which they call *fasterim*; at noon, to the *obedny*; and in the evening to the *wadschemi*, or *vespers*; and the clergy are then dressed in very rich vestments, not unlike those of the Levitical priests described in the *Old Testament*. The word of God is but little known among the *Russians*; for it is not yet translated into their language; nor have proper measures yet been taken for the instruction of young people, especially among the vulgar, in the principles of religion. The *Russians* never *Public wor-*
ship.

(R) Towards the beginning of the last century, the proto-pope, or parish-priest of *Morum*, taking upon him to preach, and making use of the word of God to exhort the people to piety, the patriarch deposed him, together with all the other priests who would have followed his example, excommunicated them, and banished them into *Siberia*. Only the bare text of the *Bible* was then allowed to be read, with certain homi-

lies: and the reason given for it was, that the Holy Spirit having grounded the church upon the pure word of God, without any explication, they were not to trouble themselves about any, as the different interpretations of the Scriptures are, in a great measure, the cause of the errors and heresies which divide the church.

sing hymns, nor keep any hymn-books in their houses; and none but the choiristers sing Psalms in the churches; that office being looked upon as their peculiar province, for which they are held in some esteem. As for instrumental music, it is not allowed in the *Russian* churches. The czar *Feodor*, brother to *Peter the Great*, was the first who introduced chanting among them.

BESIDES the festivals ordained by the *Russian* church, there are also, every year, some holy days appointed by the civil power, when all public business and trades are suspended with greater strictness than even during the former: such are the anniversary of the birth, inauguration, and coronation of the present empress, and of the saint's day whose name she bears; and likewise the festival of the birth and name-day of the great-duke, and his consort the great-duchess; that of St. *Alexander Newski*, and the anniversary of the battle of *Pultawa*.

Sectaries.

THE *Russians*, like other people, have had their sectaries ever since the institution of Christianity among them; for sects are often the fruit of ignorance as well as of pretended knowledge. But *Russia* is the only great Christian state in which religion has not occasioned civil wars; though it has, indeed, produced some tumults there. The oldest of these separatists, established in the twelfth century by a set of zealots who were just able to read the *New Testament*, are termed, by way of contempt *roskolniki* or *roskolshtshicken*, heretics; but they call themselves *starowierzi*, or old believers. Their chief peculiarities are founded on the interpretation they give their own books; the most essential of which was written, say they, by *Cyril of Jerusalem* (S). According to them, it is a great sin to say *halleluja* three times; it should be repeated but twice; nor should the sign of the cross ever be made, or the benediction given, but with the fore and middle-fingers (T); whereas the clergy of the established church in *Russia* use the thumb as well as those two fingers. They let their beards grow to their full length, and pay a high tax for that privilege, besides double taxes for all other things. They totally abstain from spirituous liquors, and account other *Russian* priests unworthy of administering the sacraments, because they drink brandy: neither will they eat or drink out of a vessel that hath been used by a *Russian* of the national church, or have any sort of intercourse or society with them. They are strictly regular in their lives, and say, with *Jesus Christ*, that there is neither first nor last among the faithful. They hold civil government to be no Christian institution; for that all men ought to be upon an equality, and to live as brethren; and they maintain, that a man may, not only lawfully, kill himself for *Christ's* sake, but that therein consists a high degree of spiritual happiness. The other *Russians* charge them with the same abominations as the pagans did the first *Galileans*; these, the gnostics; and the papists, some years ago, the protestants: that after putting out the fire and lights, they intermixed without distinction of kindred, age, or even sex: that if, through such chance-medleys, a maiden proves with-child, and brings forth a girl, they let it live; but if a boy, they kill it and drink its blood. Some attempts were formerly made to bring them over by persecution; but they then shut themselves up in their houses and barns, set fire to them, and burnt themselves alive. *Peter I.* took the only prudent method with them, that of letting them live unmolested. Their number now scarcely exceeds two thousand males^k in *Russia Proper*: but their opinions have spread greatly in *Siberia*, and prevail much among the inhabitants of *Tomsk* and *Tara*.

THE inhabitants of the provinces conquered from *Sweden* profess *Lutheranism*: and the protestants, of whom there are great numbers among the *Russians*, as also the papists, enjoy a full liberty of conscience, and the public exercise of their religion; so that they have churches and priests or ministers at *Petersburg*, *Cronstadt*, *Moscow*, *Archangel*, and *Astracan*: but the papists have no longer the privilege of hanging up bells in their churches. *Feodor*, and more particularly *Peter the Great*, admitted indifferently into their armies and councils, those of the *Greek*, *Latin*, *Lutheran*, and *Calvinistical* persuasions, and allowed them to serve God after their own way, provided the state was well served. There was not indeed, in the beginning of the reign of *Peter*, one *Latin* church in all his vast empire. Only when that prince established new manufactories at *Astracan*, about sixty *Roman catholic* families settled there, under the spiritual jurisdiction of a few capuchins:

^k VOLTAIRE, Hist. de Russie sous Pierre le Grand, tom. i. p. 70. p. 386.

^l BUSCHING, Geogr. vol. i.

(S) Which is most manifestly spurious, and was, in all probability, written by some *Russian* monk in the fifteenth century; for in this book, among many other inconsistent passages, *Cyril*, as he is called, is made to relate several absurd stories relating to *Luther* and *Calvin*, who did not live till ages after the real *Cyril of Jerusalem*.

(T) The end of the ring-finger, should be joined, say they, to the end of the thumb, and the first and middle-finger held strait: the signification of which, according to their opinion, is, that the first three represent the Holy Trinity, and the other two *Christ* in both natures, as God and Man.

but

a but when the jesuits attempted afterwards to glide into his dominions, he banished all these by a public edict in 1718. The capuchins were suffered to stay, as monks of no consequence; but the jesuits were looked upon as dangerous politicians.

THE Jews never had any settlement in *Russia*, as they have in so many other states of *Europe*, from *Constantinople* to *Rome*. The *Russians* have always carried on their trade themselves, with the assistance of the nations settled among them. Of all the *Greek* churches, theirs is the only one that does not see synagogues erected near its temples.

A CONSIDERABLE number of the *Russian* subjects profess the *Mahometan* religion; and still greater numbers are yet pagans. In order to promote their conversion, the synod has instituted a society for the propagation of Christian knowledge; and some accounts say, b that many thousands of them have been converted to Christianity. But it appears too plainly from M. *Gmelin's* journey through *Siberia*^m, that great constraint and violence have been used to bring them over; and that the people, most of whom are baptized against their will, have but a very imperfect, and even a contemptible idea of the Christian religion.

THE *Russian* bishops and archbishops are called *archierei*. The metropolitans, of whom there are but two, one at *Kiow* and the other at *Tobolsk*, differ from the bishops only in their title. The first *Russian* metropolitan, whose name was *Michael Cyrus*, was ordained by the celebrated *Photius*, patriarch of *Constantinople*, who deputed a prelate to baptize *Volodimer*. Formerly, the primate, or supreme bishop of the *Russian* church, was a suffragan to the patriarch of *Constantinople*; but the czar *Fedor Iwanowitz* made the *Constantinopolitan* patriarch, c *Jeremias* (V) install *Hiob*, or *Job*, patriarch of all *Russia*, in the year 1588. These prelates assuming by degrees an exorbitant power, which at last became dangerous even to the czars themselves (W), *Peter I.* on the death of the patriarch *Adrian*, in 1701, suppressed the patriarchate, and declared himself head of the church of *Russia*: but it is not true that he ever officiated in that character. He committed the spiritual administration to the archbishop of *Rezan*, and the management of temporal affairs to a lay-commission, with the disposal of the abbey lands and revenues, which he found a fine opportunity to sequester; for the abbots, on his enquiring into their circumstances, pretending great poverty, and alleging that they were scarce able to maintain their monks, though they confined them- d selves to the poor pittance of fifteen rubels a-year for each of them; *Peter*, in a seeming compassion, told them, he would take care of their revenues, and double that allowance; which, in fact, he did, and thereby added to his revenues the value of an hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling a-year; besides breaking the formidable power of the clergy, who have now no more freehold left; and their peasants, or subjects, depend immediately upon the officers of the crown. In the year 1719, the same prince instituted a council, which now has the direction of ecclesiastical affairs, and is stiled *the most holy synod*. The archbishop of *Moscow* has been president of this synod ever since the year 1750. Subor- dinate to it are, the *aconomie*, as it is called, which has the management of all the eccle- siastical lands and revenues; and the *roskolniki-privase*, which has power to execute the e regulations made concerning the separatists called *roskolniki*, and levies the tax imposed on them for leave to let their beards grow. Under the present government, the holy synod is held in great veneration. All the ecclesiastics are permitted to wear their beards and their own lank hair. Their dress is a sort of long cloak; and on their head they wear a

Hierarchy and clergy.

^m Vol. i. p. 257, 334, 335, &c.

(V) *Strahlenberg* (1) says this *Jeremias* came to *Rus- sia*, in order to collect money, to spend at the *Turkish* court, to have the patriarch *Mitriphan*, who was an Unitarian, deposed; and that, the better to succeed in this, he the more readily consented to the installation of *Hiob*, as patriarch of *Russia*. Perhaps, adds he, this is the same *Jeremias* who corresponded with the *Lutheran* divines, particularly those of *Tubingen*, concerning the *Greek* and *Lutheran* religions, and whose letters, in *Greek* and *Latin*, have been printed at *Wit- temberg*. *Fletcher* (2), who was minister from the court of *England* at *Moscow*, in the year 1588; when this *Jeremias*, or *Hieronymo*, as he calls him, arrived there, says, he had been either banished by the *Turks*, or deposed by the *Greek* clergy; and that, after visiting *Rome*, as was thought, he applied to *Fedor Iwanowitz*, a very superstitious and devout prince, with political projects, chiefly of making war against the *Turks*, which, however, weak as the czar was, did not suc- ceed.

tion of the highest respect paid them by their sove- reigns, which was such, that the czar, once every year, on *Palm-sunday*, walked bare-headed before the patri- arch, leading his horse by the bridle; *Nicon*, whom the monks look upon as a saint, and who was patriarch of *Russia* in the time of *Alexis*, father of *Peter the Great*, endeavoured to set his chair even above the throne; and not only usurped the right of sitting in the senate next to the czar, but pretended that neither peace nor war could be made without his consent. His autho- rity, backed by his riches and intrigues, by the clergy and the people, kept his master in a kind of subjection. He even dared to excommunicate some senators, who opposed his ambitious projects; and at last *Alexis*, finding he was not powerful enough to depose him by his own authority alone, was obliged to convene a sy- nod of all the bishops. *Nicon* was accused of having received money from the *Poles*; and, in consequence thereof, deposed, and confined in a cloister for the rest of his days, and the prelates elected another patri- arch. *Voltaire*.

(W) Not satisfied with the most public demonstra-

(1) Chap. 9.

(2) Chap. 21.

high stiffened black cap, from which a piece of the same stuff hangs down on their backs, and a large flapped hat. Secular priests, when they are out of the church, generally wear a blue or brown long coat. The proto-popes, or parish-priests, and chaplains, are of the meanest people, *husbands of one wife*, in a literal explication of the Scripture; being obliged to marry, but to a maiden only; and when she died, the priest was formerly excluded from all farther service, and obliged to turn monk, or be degraded, and take up some sorry trade for a livelihood; in which last case he was allowed to marry again: but, in consequence of the regulations of *Peter I.* they are now permitted to be continued in the under-offices of the church. Hence it is observed, that, in *Russia*, no wives are better treated than those of the ecclesiastics. From the lowness of their origin, it is no wonder they are very ignorant, their utmost education being to repeat the service with a musical accent, and read a chapter in the *Bible*, which, being in the *Slavonian* language, is understood by very few of them. Their regular monks, and dignified clergy, though almost equally ignorant, except some few educated at *Kiow*, are in much greater esteem: their habit and fasts, for they never eat flesh, together with their gravity; and continual devotion, draw upon them the veneration of the people.

In the thirteenth century, several popes laboured hard to put the great-dukes of *Russia* out of conceit with the *Greek* religion, by recommending to them that of *Rome*; but without success. The doctors of the *Sorbonne* at *Paris* made the same attempt of late years; endeavouring, at the suppression of the patriarchate by *Peter I.* to bring about an union of the *Russian* church with that of *Rome*; but they were not able to carry their point. The members of the *Greek* church, whose tenets are embraced in an empire of near six thousand miles, whilst the *Roman* has not half that extent in *Europe*, have always been bent upon maintaining at least an equality with those of the *Latin* communion; and have ever feared the zeal, or, as they not improperly call it, the ambition of the church of *Rome*, which, limited as it is in our hemisphere, styles herself universal, and has tried but too much to realize that great title.

VAST as the *Russian* empire is, there are but twenty-eight episcopal sees in it: and in the time of *Peter I.* there were only twenty-two. *Voltaire* shrewdly observes, that the *Russian* church may possibly owe the peace she has enjoyed, in some measure, to her not having more prelates.

Convents.

IDLENESS, ignorance, indigence, age, infirmities, domestic discontent, violence, and, sometimes, the overflowings of a misguided devotion, fill the numerous convents of *Russia*, as they do those of other countries; notwithstanding the care of *Peter I.* to stop this evil, by wisely ordering that no man should be permitted to embrace the monastic life before the age of thirty, or any woman to take the veil under fiftyⁿ; nor even, without the express approbation and licence of the holy synod; a care well worthy the legislator of a vast empire, one of whose greatest wants is an increase of population; still the number of religious, of both sexes, cloistered up in *Russia*, and lost to society and the state, amounts to thirteen thousand, according to the calculation of an accurate observer (X): and these thirteen thousand useless people have no less than seventy-two thousand vassals, or slaves, to cultivate their lands: so difficult is it to root out old abuses. Formerly, the more superstitious sort of those who thus retired from the world, as it is called, used to make over all they had to the convent that received them; and this extravagance was carried to such a height, that the monks would soon have been masters of the best part of *Russia*, if their encroachments had not been wisely checked in time. Those who now become monks or nuns, are allowed to take with them, into the monastery, only a small part of their fortunes, by way of making their lives somewhat more comfortable; but are obliged to leave the remainder to their heirs. Almost all the religious of this empire follow the rule of *St. Basil*, with such austerity, that they never so much as taste any kind of flesh, but live entirely upon salt-fish, honey, milk, cheese, herbs, and pulse, especially cucumbers, both fresh and pickled, which they mince very small, and eat with a spoon in some of their *quas*. They have this in common with most of their countrymen, that they can hardly write or read. Not one of them in ten can say the Lord's Prayer, and much fewer are acquainted with the Creed and the Ten Commandments^o. They have set hours for their service, and say their prayers by beads. These monks, however, do not lead so retired a life, but that they are seen in great numbers, both in cities and all over the country, where their employment, if they have any, is the same with the peasants, from whom they are distinguished only by their habit. Till the time of the czar *Peter*, there used also to be in *Russia* numbers of *anchorets*, who built themselves chapels near the highways, and lived in

ⁿ CONSETT.

^o OLEARIUS, lib. iii.

(X) M. de *Voltaire*, who reckons seven thousand four hundred monks, and five thousand six hundred nuns in *Russia*. *Hist. de Russie*, &c. tom. i. p. 59.

a woods, like hermits, subsisting only by the charity of travellers; but there are now much fewer of them. The *Russians*, indeed, if they have not many other shining virtues to boast of, are very ready to give alms; because they look upon that as an atonement for almost every sin.

THE *Troitzkoi-monastir*, or monastery of the Trinity, distant from *Moscow* sixty wersts, and about fifty-six from *Perislaw-Saleski*, is the largest and richest in the whole *Russian* empire, having twenty thousand peasants under its jurisdiction^p. There were formerly seven hundred monks in it; but that number has been considerably lessened, in consequence of the emperor *Peter's* ecclesiastical regulation, and the surplus of the revenues is appropriated for the maintenance of schools and the support of disabled soldiers.

b THE abbot, or head of a monastery, is called *archimandrite*; and the prior of a convent, *ingumen*. An abbess, or head of a nunnery, is stiled *ingumenia*. Deacons, popes, or papas as they are sometimes called, and proto-popes, who are priests that belong to the cathedral and principal churches, are exceeding numerous in *Russia*. Every large village there has a church, and a priest to officiate in it; and in the towns, almost every street has its church or chapel, and frequently both.

THE *Russians* baptize their children as soon as they are born. If the child be very weak, or in danger of death, this ceremony is performed immediately, at home, though never in the room where the mother lies-in: but if well, it is carried to church by the God-father and God-mother^q. The priest receives the infant at the church-door, and there exorcises it, by laying his hands upon it, saying, "Get out of this child thou unclean-spirit," and make way for the Holy Ghost;" and by blowing three times, cross-wise, upon the child, to drive away the devil, by whom the *Russians* believe children are really possessed before baptism, and who, they think, would profane the church, were he to be ejected in it. This done, the child is carried into the church, where the sponsors present to the priest nine wax candles, which he lights, and sets up round the font. He then incenses the sponsors, makes a procession with them three times round the font, all having lighted candles in their hands, and being preceded by the clerk, who carries a picture of St. *John*. The water is then consecrated with great ceremony: and when the sponsors, after they have given in writing the intended name of the infant, are asked, among the other usual questions, whether the child forsakes the devil, whether he forsakes his angels, and whether he forsakes his works? they immediately turn their backs to the font, answer to each question, yes, and spit each time upon the ground, to shew their detestation of the infernal spirit. The priest then cuts off a little of the child's hair, which he puts into a book, and, after asking the sponsors whether they bring that child to be baptized, takes the infant, quite naked, into his arms, and dips him three times in the water, pronouncing the ordinary words of the sacrament, "I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." After the baptism, he puts a grain of salt into the child's mouth, makes the sign of the cross on its forehead, hands, breast, and back, with an oil consecrated for that purpose; and putting a clean shirt about it, says, "Thou art as clean and as clear from thy original sin, as this shirt." The ceremony is concluded with a small cross of gold, silver, or lead, according to the abilities of the parents, which the priest hangs about the child's neck, with so strict an injunction to wear it all his life, that if it be not found about him at his death, the *Russians* would not bury the carcase, but drag it to a dunghill. The priest likewise assigns the child a particular saint, whose picture he delivers to the sponsors, charging them to oblige the new-made Christian, when he comes to years of discretion, to have a particular devotion for that his patron; and enjoining them to love one another, but to take especial heed not to intermarry after the spiritual alliance they have contracted. If more than one child is to be baptized at the same time, the font is emptied after each christening, and the new water is consecrated; the former being defiled, say they, with the impurity of the original sin of the child that was baptized before, and therefore not fit to cleanse a second. They will not by any means, heat the water intended for christening, with fire; but, when it is very cold, they put it into a warm place till the chill is taken off. Adults, who are baptized, whether pagans, Mahometans, or Christians of another communion, who embrace the religion of the *Greek* church, receive their baptism in a brook or river, where they are plunged over head and ears, be the weather never so cold: nay, sometimes, the ice is broke to get them into the water (Y). The latter

^p STRAHLENBERG, cap. 13.

^q OLEARIUS, lib. iii. and FLETCHER, chap. 23.

(Y) In this manner are treated those in particular whom the *Russians* call *Chaldeans*; a set of vagabonds, who used to get leave of the patriarch, while there was one, to put on vizards, and run up and down the streets, from the 18th of *December* till Twelfth-day,

with combustibles, with which they set fire to the hair and beards of all they met, particularly the peasants, whom they forced to give them a copeik before they would let them go. *Olearius* says he saw them practise this with such insolence, as not only to burn the beards

latter of these converts, in particular, are obliged to go, for six weeks, into a monastery, where the monks instruct them in the *Russian* manner of honouring the saints, of doing reverence to their pictures, and of making the sign of the cross. They are afterwards brought to the place of baptism, where they are obliged to abjure their former religion, to detest it as heretical, and to spit as often as it is named.

Marriages.

TILL the time of *Peter I.* who rectified many strange customs and abuses among the *Russians*, the young men and maids of that nation were not permitted to see, or have any discourse with each other before marriage; and much less to make one another any promise to that effect, by word or writing. When those who had children marriageable, especially daughters, and found out a match they liked, they used to speak to the young man's parents, and declare their desire of making an alliance with them. If the girl was handsome, or rather if she was not deformed, the mother of the intended husband, or some other woman related to him, was allowed to visit her, and the friends on both sides afterwards settled the match. When all things were agreed on, the young man went from his own house, on horseback, though the way was ever so short, preceded by the priest who was to marry him. At the bride's door, he was met by all her friends, who received him and his retinue, and desired them to sit down at a table, on which three dishes of meat were served up; but no-body ate of them. Upon the bridegroom's seating himself, in a place left purposely for him, at the upper-end of the table, the bride were brought in, richly dressed, if she belonged to people of any fashion, in a robe embroidered with gold and pearls, and seated by him; but with a veil over her face; and still more effectually to prevent his seeing her, a piece of crimson silk was held up between them. The bride's *suacha*, or chamber-maid, then came in, painted her, tied up her hair in two knots, and placed on her head a crown of silk, gilded with leaf-gold or silver, and adorned with five or six rows of pearls, which hung down on her breast. In the mean time, another *suacha* painted the bridegroom; and while this was doing, the women that were present got upon the benches in the room, and sung songs. After this came in two young lads, richly clad, carrying between them a large cheese and some loaves, upon a kind of bier, upon which hung several martin skins. The same was brought in on the bride's part: and a bason was then set on the table, filled with little bits of silk, about big enough to make pin-cushions of, small square pieces of silver, hops, barley, and oats, all mixed together. The *suacha*, having now finished painting the bride, and covered her face again, took out of this bason a certain number of handfuls of the mixture, and threw it among the company, who, renewing their singing, picked up what they found on the ground. This done, the priest led the young couple to church, where the spot on which the bride and bridegroom were to stand was covered with a piece of crimson taffeta; another piece of the same kind of silk being held over them. The priest then, taking the man by the right hand and the woman by the left, asked them three times, whether they came thither to be married with their own free consent, and whether they could love one another as they ought? When both had answered in the affirmative, all the company joined hands, and sung, in alternate verses with the priest, the CXXVIIIth psalm, dancing all the while. The psalm ended, the priest put upon the heads, or over the shoulders of the bride and bridegroom, a garland of rue, saying, "Increase and multiply;" and then concluded the ceremony with the wedding-ring, as among us, and the words, "Whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder." While the priest pronounced these words, those who were invited to the wedding, lighted their candles, and presented him a glass of red wine, in which the married couple pledged him three times; after which the bridegroom threw the glass upon the ground, and he and the bride trod it to pieces, saying, "May they thus fall at our feet, and be trod to pieces, who shall endeavour to sow division or discontent between us." Then the women strewed flax and hemp-seed over the young couple, and made a shew of attempting to pull away the bride, who thereupon clung close to her new husband. The ceremony being thus ended, the bride was put into her sledge, surrounded with six torches, and the bridegroom returned on horseback to his own house, where the wedding was kept.

As soon as they were arrived there, the bridegroom, with his kindred and friends, sat down at a table plentifully furnished with meat; but the women carried the bride to her

beards and faces of the poor country people, but even to set fire to loads of hay, if they made any sort of difficulty to give it them. These russians are indeed treated as profane persons, by the more sober part of the *Russians*; and deemed to be in such a state of inevitable damnation, as to render it necessary for them to be reconciled to God, and enter into the church, by baptism; to which end they generally pitch upon Twelfth-day, as that on which the great vocation of the gen-

tiles happened; and afterwards, they think themselves as clean and holy as the best of Christians, who are generally baptized but once; whereas many of these have been baptized ten or a dozen times. The *Russians* used to say, that these men represented those who heated the fiery furnace, into which *Shedrach*, *Meshek*, and *Abednego*, were cast by the command of *Nebuchadnezzar*.

apartment

a apartment, where they undress her, and put her to bed. The bridegroom was then fetched away from table, and six or eight young men, with lights in their hands, conducted him to the chamber, where they sat down their candles, in barrels of wheat and barley, placed round the room for that purpose; and, after receiving a present of two martins skins a-piece, immediately retired. In the mean time the bride, perceiving the bridegroom coming, got out of bed, slipped on a loose gown lined with fur, and received him with a submissive inclination of the head; and this was the first time of his seeing her face. They sat down together and supped, after which they went to bed; all withdrawing except one of the old servants of the house, who, while the relations and friends of the new married couple were busied, partly in practising charms and incantations, which they thought might be advantageous to them, and partly in feasting and regaling themselves, walked before the chamber door, and asked, from time to time, whether they were ready. As soon as the bridegroom answered that they were, the trumpets and trimbrels, which only expected the word, began to play, and continued till the baths were prepared, into which the new married couple were put, but a-part. They were then washed with water, mead, and wine; and the bride sent the bridegroom a shirt, embroidered with gold and pearls at the collar and extremities, and a rich habit. The nuptial bed (for persons of quality) was made by the direction of the two *suachas*, attended by an hundred men servants, upon forty sheaves of rye, ranged in proper order, and encompassed with barrels of wheat, barley, and oats.

c PERSONS of meaner condition were married with less ceremony. The night before the wedding, the young man used to send his intended bride some cloaths, a furred cap, a pair of buskins, a cabinet with certain trinkets, a bag for night-cloaths, a comb, and a looking-glass. The next day, the priest was sent for, and came with a little silver cross, with which, on entering into the house, he gave the benediction, first to the messengers who brought him, and afterwards to the guest that were invited. The young couple were then sat at table, but with a piece of silk between them, till the *suacha* had dressed the bride's head; when a looking glass was brought, and the intended bride and bridegroom were permitted to lay their cheeks together, and see each other in it; the two *suachas*, in the mean time, casting hops upon them. This done, they were led to church, where the ceremonies were the same as for persons of higher rank.

d THIS way of marrying, without the man's ever seeing the person he is contracted to till it is too late to recede, may do, as *M. de Voltaire* observes, in *Turky* or *Persia*, where polygamy is established, and the women are locked up: but it is bad for countries where only one wife is allowed, and where divorces are rare. The remedy of this abuse was therefore a care well worthy of *Peter the Great*.

e THE sovereigns of *Russia* have declined matching with foreigners ever since the year 1490. Since their possessing *Casan* and *Astracan*, the customs of the *Asiatics* seem greatly to prevail among them, and particularly in their marrying none but their own subjects. The manner too in which the four last czars chose their wives, resembles still more strongly that of ancient *Asia*. The finest maidens in the empire were sent for to court, when the monarch thought of marrying. The great-mistress of the court received them in her house, and lodged them separately, but made them all dine together. The czar saw them, either under a borrowed name, or without disguise. The day of marriage was fixed, and the sovereign's choice not yet declared; when a wedding garment was presented to the lady in whose favour he had secretly determined. The rest were sent back, with handsome presents. Thus it was that the czar *Michael Romanow* married *Eudoxia*, the daughter of a poor gentleman called *Streshneu*, who was tilling his land with his own domestics, when the chamberlains sent to him by the emperor, with presents, informed him that his daughter was on the throne. The name of that princess is still dear to *Russia*.

f If the custom of raising subjects to the throne was favourable to the fair sex; a very hard one prevailed, at the same time, in *Russia*. The daughters of the czar seldom married then: most of them passed their lives in a convent.

OLEARIUS¹ gives the following account of the ceremonies used by the *Russians*, in his time, at their funerals. As soon as a person expired, notice was sent to his relations and friends, who thereupon repaired to his house, stood round his corpse, excited one another to bemoan him, as if they intended purposely to heighten the lamentations of the women, and asked the deceased, Why he would die? Whether his circumstances were not good? Whether he wanted meat and drink? Whether his wife were not handsome and young enough? Whether she had been inconstant to him? and many other such questions.

g A present of beer, brandy, and mead, was then sent to the priest, that he might pray for the soul of the deceased, who, after being well washed, was laid in a coffin scooped out of

Burials.

¹ OLEARIUS, lib. iii. and FLETCHER, chap. 24.

² VOLTAIRE.

³ Lib. iii.

the trunk of a tree, with his arms across over his breast, a clean shirt or a shroud about him, and a pair of new shoes, of very thin *Russia* leather, on his feet. The coffin was covered with a cloath, or sometimes with a coat which the defunct had worn, and carried to church; preceded by a priest bearing a picture of the saint assigned to the deceased for his patron, at his baptism, and by the four nearest unmarried female relations, as chief mourners, who filled the air with howling cries, measured in such exact time, that they all ceased, and all began again together. Other priests walked round the coffin during this procession, and incensed it all the way. If the deceased was a rich man, and the season of the year premitted it, he was kept above ground eight or ten days, during which the priest incensed the corpse, and sprinkled it with holy water every day. When the ground was frozen so hard that a spade could not enter it, the bodies of the poorer sort were laid up in dead-houses, which they call God's houses, till graves could be dug for them. At the grave, the coffin was opened, and a picture of the deceased's saint held over him, while the priest recited the funeral service; after which the kindred and friends took leave of the dead person, by kissing either him or the coffin; and then the priest put between his fingers a piece of paper, signed by the bishop or other principal ecclesiastic of the place, and the confessor, certifying that the deceased died in the true faith, and recommending him to suitable treatment in the other world (Z). The coffin was then put into the grave, with the face of the deceased turned towards the east; and the mourners returned home together, to drown their sorrow in mead and brandy. Their mourning used to last forty days; and it was customary for the next of kin to build over the grave a hut lined with matting, where the priest prayed for the soul of their departed friend, morning and evening, for six weeks together: for though the *Russians* do not believe in purgatory, they hold that there are two several places to which the souls of men retire after the separation from the body, there to wait the day of judgment; some in a pleasant and delightful abode, where they enjoy the conversation of angels; others in a dark and dismal valley, where they see nought but devils: and that while the soul is yet on its way, it may be diverted from the evil road by the prayers of priests and monks. The *Russians* had also a tradition, which was generally received, that that whosoever was buried in the monastery of *Petersky* at *Kiow*, would be saved, even though he died without repenting of his sins. But *Peter I.* took care to abolish, as far as he could, these, and many other superstitious abuses, when he settled the national synod.

Holy-water,
and hallowing
of rivers.

THEY have such veneration for holy-water that they not only make whole tubs full of it at once, but all the rivers used formerly to be hallowed once a year, by their bishops, with great pomp and solemnity. Twelfth-day was the time fixed for performing this ceremony at *Moscow*, where the czar and all his nobility used to be present at it^u. The procession was opened by the inferior clergy, marching two and two, with banners and pictures of saints, at the head of which were those of the Virgin *Mary*, and St. *Michael* fighting the dragon: next went the priests and bishops, in the same order; then the monks and abbots; after them the patriarch, richly attired, with a globe on the top of his mitre, to denote his universality over that church; and last of all came the czar and his court. A hole being made in the ice, the patriarch recited several prayers, conjuring the devil to come out of the water, into which he dipped his cross, and threw a handful of salt; ending the exorcism with a profusion of frankincense. The morning before, all the *Muscovites* use to chalk crosses over every door and window of their houses, lest the devil, when conjured out of the water, should fly in at them. The moment the ceremony was over, all the people pressed forward with pails and buckets, to take the holy-water for drink and other uses: mothers plunged their children into it over head and ears; numbers, as well women as men, leaped into it, some naked, some with their cloaths on, though so intensely cold, that one less heated with devotion would have been afraid of being instantly frozen to death; and many brought even their horses to drink of the sanctified stream; which was also frequently given to sick persons, in their greatest extremity, as a means of either recovering them, or sanctifying them to God.

^u FLETCHER, chap. 25.

(Z) The form of this passport runs thus: "We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, the patriarch, or metropolitan, and priest of the city of N. do make known and certify, by these presents, that the bearer of these our letters, hath always lived among us like a good Christian, professing the *Greek* religion; and though he hath committed some sins, yet that he hath confessed the same, and thereupon received absolution, and taken the communion for the remission of his offences: that he hath honoured God

and his saints; that he hath said his prayers; that he hath fasted on the hours and days appointed by the church; and that he hath demeaned himself so well towards me, who am his confessor, that I have no reason to complain of him, nor to deny him the absolution of his sins. In witness whereof we have given him the present testimonial, to the end that, upon sight thereof, St. *Peter* may open unto him the gate of eternal bliss."

BEFORE

a BEFORE the time of *Peter I.* the *Russians* were, not undeservedly, looked upon as mere savages. But that wise and great emperor, by incredible application, and a proper temperament of severity and mildness, brought about by degrees, such an alteration in their manners, as set them upon a kind of level with some of the civilized nations in *Europe*, at least whilst he lived; for they seem now to be retrograding apace. The work which he begun would have required a succession of princes, animated with the same spirit. The *Russians* are ingenious, implicitly obedient to the will of their superiors, and especially of late, good soldiers, when properly commanded: but they are distrustful, immodest, quarrelsome, insolent in prosperity, abject in adversity, and excessively deceitful in their traffic. Persons of distinction among them are very fond of state and splendor.

Manners and customs.

b THE insatiable eagerness of their common people after spirituous liquors, especially in the carnival time, may in some measure be imputed to their rigorous fasts; and the slender diet they live upon throughout the year: for though provisions of all kinds are extremely cheap in almost every part of *Russia*, their food chiefly consists of turneps, cabbages, peas, large cucumbers, onions, garlic, and coarse ill-tasted fish. Their usual drink is *quas*, which is a kind of small beer; and *braga*, brewed of oatmeal and hops: that of their gentry is mead, and, of late, wine; though even with them, brandy always makes a part of every repast. Among the lower sort, in particular, the men are those who give themselves up most to excessive drinking, which they do to such a degree, as to pawn every rag upon their backs at ale-houses, and go home stark-naked, if we may credit *Olearius*^w, who indeed gives more than one instance of their bestiality in this respect: nor is it at all uncommon to see their women drunk, staggering along the streets.

Fondness of drink.

c THE ancient dress of the *Russians*, consisting of a long robe lined with fur, a vest enriched with jewels on days of ceremony, and a high turban of fine sable or other skins, was perhaps more noble, and certainly better suited to their climate, though it might be less convenient for war, or any active employment, than a short coat and waistcoat, like ours, which the czar *Peter* obliged them to wear, at the same time that he made them cut off their beards; of which, and of prominent bellies, they were great admirers. Their women, looking upon a ruddy complexion as the very essence of beauty, are so extremely fond of paint, that even the poorer sort among them will beg money to buy red. Both sexes wear a cross on their breasts, which is put on when they are baptized, and is never laid aside as long as they live. The peasants crosses are of lead; but those of a higher class are of gold or silver. If any one were to be found dead, without a cross, the corpse would be thrown upon a dung hill, or cast into a ditch.

Dress.

d THE women of fashion in this country live extremely retired, seldom going out of their houses; and receiving the visits of their friends and relations much oftener than they return them. As those of this rank are not much brought up to housewifery, they give themselves but little trouble about it, especially after they are married. Their chief employment is sewing, embroidering of silk handkerchiefs, and making little purses and toys. Their dress within doors is generally made of some common stuff of little value; but when they go to church, or their husbands would honour a friend with their presence, they are clad magnificently. In visits of ceremony, it is usual for the men and women to salute each other with a kiss, if they are nearly of equal rank: but those of the lowest class prostrate themselves on the ground before persons of high distinction, in order to shew their profound respect. *Olearius*, and other writers, some of whom seem to have been too much prejudiced against the *Russians*, tell us strange stories of their unaccountable brutality to one another in the usual intercourse of life: but *Busching* says, that even the common people among them salute each other with great civility when they meet. However, that most of them are brutal enough, is very certain.

Domestic life.

e THE *Russians* seldom fail of bathing twice a week; for which purpose almost every house is provided with a bath; and he that has none of his own goes to the public baths. They often fall out naked from the warm bath, run about in the cold, roll themselves in the snow, and then plunge again into the bath; looking upon this vicissitude of heat and cold, as beneficial to the constitution, by rendering them hardy and robust; but many are of opinion that it helps to give them a fallow swarthy complexion; though it must at the same time be owned, that they are extremely subject to the scurvy, especially in the northern provinces, where few escape without visible marks of that raging distemper. Another disorder, peculiar to those who live in the farthest parts of *Siberia*, between *Tömsk* and *Kustnetsk*, is very singular. The tip of the tongue begins to rot, without any pain, and this mortification runs gradually till it gets into the throat, and they not knowing any remedy to stop the evil, at length kills them^x. The coldness of their climate preserves them from pestilential distempers.

Baths.

^w Lib. iii.

^x STRAHLENBERG, cap. 13.

Houses.

SOME of the principal people have handsome houses of stone; but the most usual way of building in *Russia*, both in the towns and country, is to lay one beam or log of wood upon another, fastening them at the four corners, and filling up the crevices with moss. The house is afterwards covered with shingles, and holes are cut in it for doors and windows. There is commonly a brick stove or large oven in every room in the house of a peasant, which takes up a fourth part of the area, and is flat at the top, and boarded. On this, and a kind of shelves round the room, the whole family sleep, without beds. Their habitations look like so many chimnies; the fire-place, which is the stove or oven, having no vent for the smoke, but into the room. As soon as it is dark, they swarm with insects called *tarakans*, which are a species of goat-chaffers. The houses in most villages are built contiguous, as they are in the towns: so that when a fire breaks out, as very often happens, through the reigning vice of the *Russians*, drunkenness, or their negligence in putting out the many tapers which they stick about the pictures of their saints, it spreads with vast rapidity. Luckily, those who can afford it, have only to go to market, where they may immediately suit themselves with other houses, or even single apartments, ready made, which want only being tacked together. The loss of the furniture is easily replaced; that of the common people, in particular, seldom exceeding three benches, an oblong table, and a picture of a saint or two.

S E C T. III.

Language, Learning, Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce of Russia.

Language.

THE *Russian* language, which is remarkably soft, derives its origin from the *Sclavonian*, though it differs greatly from it at present, and with regard to religious subjects is intermixed with numbers of *Greek* words. The alphabet consists of forty-two letters, most of which are *Greek* characters, as they were written in the ninth century, when the knowledge of letters was first introduced into *Russia*. But as those letters did not express every particular found in the *Sclavonian* tongue, recourse was had to several *Hebrew* letters, and some arbitrary signs. The *Muscovite*, *Novogrodian*, and *Ukrainian* dialects, are the most used in *Russia*, together with that of *Archangel*, which greatly resembles the *Siberian*.

Learning.

THE several branches of learning were but little known in *Russia*, before the reign of *Peter the Great*, who, sparing neither pains nor expence, to dispel the clouds of ignorance in which his subjects were involved, and to inspire them with a taste for arts and sciences, founded an academy of sciences, an university, and a *gymnasium* or seminary at *Petersburg*, besides other schools in the different parts of his empire; invited persons of distinguished abilities from other nations, to come and settle at *Petersburg*; collected a great number of books; and, contrary to the mistaken policy of his predecessors, encouraged his subjects to travel into those countries where arts and sciences were known to flourish. These wise and laudable measures are still continued, and have been the means of cultivating, among the *Russians*, some geniuses, who have made no inconsiderable figure in the republic of letters. Since the time of *Peter I.* the empress *Elizabeth* has also erected an university and two seminaries at *Moscow*. However, the number of *Russian literati* is as yet but small: and as there are only three universities in that vast empire, which are those of *Petersburg*, *Kiow*, and *Moscow*, learning may still be said to be only in its infancy in *Russia*: nor must we judge of the state of literature in the whole empire, from the present appearances at *Petersburg*; though the *Russians* are far from wanting natural talents. Their studies are chiefly directed to history, genealogies, and the mathematics: but they make a great mystery of the description and history of their own country.

THE members of the academy of sciences at *Petersburg*, not only publish collections of their own memoirs; but compose books for the instruction of youth in the sciences, besides translating several useful works published in foreign countries.

Arts, manufactures.

FORMERLY the *Russians*, like all other people in their first state, were wholly employed in agriculture, feeding of cattle, hunting, and fishing. What they chiefly excelled in, was making of *yachte*, or *Russia* leather, which had been a secret of long standing among them; but they were entirely unacquainted with the more ingenious mechanic arts. However, numbers of excellent artificers having been invited to *Petersburg* by *Peter the Great*, the *Russians* shewed, that, with proper instructions, they did not want capacity for all kinds of handicraft trades; for they have now flourishing manufactories of velvet, silk, woollen stuffs, linen, copper, brass, iron, steel, and tin; and make great guns, fire-arms, wire, cordage, sail-cloth, paper, parchment, glass, gun powder, &c. Though it must be observed, that these manufactures are not brought to such perfection as to be carried on without foreign hands, and additional supplies of those commodities from abroad. What is wrought

- a wrought by *Russian* workmen, is sold for one half, or a third part less than what is made by foreigners at *Petersburg* and *Moscow*; and the former does not do half the service as the latter. Ship-building is now carried to great perfection in *Russia*: and as to the peasants of that country, they are so far their own artists, as to make almost every utensil they have occasion for. *Peter the Great* first established the art of printing in *Russia*. His types, and other implements for that purpose, were brought from *Holland*. A press, with letters, had been sent from *Poland* to *Moscow*, and a printing-house erected, by the approbation of one of the former czars; but the building was set on fire in the night, and burnt to the ground, by the procurement, as was generally supposed, of the priests, who looked upon all books, and especially such as treated of their own history, and the miracles of their saints, to be
- b as dangerous as witchcraft.

RUSSIA affords a variety of commodities which are of great use to foreigners; and as the exports of this country far exceed its imports, the balance of trade is considerably in its favour (A). The *Russian* home commodities are fables and black furs; the skins of blue and white foxes, ermines, hyenas, linxes, squirrels, bears, panthers, wolves, martens, wild cats, white hares, &c. Likewise *Russia* leather (B), copper, iron (C), a transparent fossil, called *Marienglass*, or *Muscovy* glass, tallow, wax, honey, pot-ash, tar, linseed-oil, rosin, pitch, train-oil, caviar (D), salt-fish, castor, ising-glass, hemp, flax, thread, *Russia* linnen, sail-cloth, callimanco, matts, *Siberian* musk, *mamonts* teeth and bones, as they are called, soap, feathers, hogs bristles, timber, &c. to which may added the *Chinese* goods, rhubarb (E), and other drugs, with which the *Russians* partly furnish the rest of *Europe*. Furs are so far from being cheap at *Petersburg*, that they may be bought for the same price at *Dantzic*, *Hamburg*, and *Leipsic*, and sometimes even cheaper; the reason of which is, that incredible quantities of them are clandestinely carried out of the country without paying any duty. The goods imported into *Russia*, are silks, chints, and cotton, cloth and other woollen stuffs, fine linen, toys, *French* brandy, wines, herrings, and other fish, spices, hardware, &c.

In 1749, the value of the goods exported from *Petersburg*, amounted to 3,184,322 rubels; and that of the imports to 2,942,242 rubels (F). Of these were exported to *England* to the value of 2,245,573 rubels; and the value of the commodities imported from thence, amounted to 1,012,209 rubels.

The goods chiefly imported from *England*, are all sorts of woollen manufactures, lead, tin, dying-woods, indigo, pewter, olibanum, brimstone, lignum vitæ. The *Hollanders* and *Hamburgers*, besides these, bring wines, paper, allum, glass-wares, spices, dollars, plate, gold and silver lace, brocades, *Silesia* cloth, and all sorts of gallantries.

The exports of the *English* from *Russia*, are hemp, flax, train-oil, linen, pot-ash, rhubarb, ising-glass, wax, tar, red-hides, and caviar; the two last for *Leghorn*. The *Hollanders* and *Hamburgers* carry out farther, wood-ash, matts, hides dried and salted, tallow, fables, hemp-seed, mats, and hogs bristles.

The fishery of *seals*, or sea-dogs, of which about ten thousand are taken every year, yields five thousand measures of oil. The skins and oil is sent to *England*. *Morses*, or

(A) In order to give the reader some idea of the yearly exports of *Russia*, we shall transcribe the particulars collected by Dr. *Busching*, from authentic accounts, according to which the following quantities of the commodities here mentioned, are annually exported from *Petersburg*, viz.

	Arshines.
Callimanco	1,214,000
Linen	4,000,000
Table ditto	600,000
	Puds.
Bees-wax	22,000
Ising-glass	1,500
Flax	65,000
Hemp	1,000,000
Tallow	100,000
<i>Russia</i> Leather	200,000
Pressed caviar	20,000
Hogs bristles	6,500
Hare-skins	400,000
Pieces of fur, &c. &c.	70,000

(B) The red and black *yuchte*, or *Russia* leather, cannot be equalled in any other part of the world for colour, smell, or softness. The best sort of it is dressed at *Jaroslow*, *Rostrom*, and *Pleskow*. One may judge of the genuineness of *Russia* leather, not only by the colour and softness, but also by its fuming and smelling

like burnt leather, when rubbed hard. The word *yucht*, or *juchte*, signifies a pair; two skins being always put together.

(C) The quantity of bar and other unwrought iron, annually exported from *Russia*, amounts, one year with another, to 300,000 puds; and the *Russian* iron is little if at all inferior to that of *Sweden*.

(D) *Caviar*, or *caweer*, is made of the roes of the fish called *beluja*, and the sturgeon. The best is made of the *beluja* roes, and is of two sorts; namely, the granulated, and the pressed *caviar*. The former, which is most valued, is prepared in autumn and winter, but the latter is made in summer; and both sorts are exported to the southern parts of *Europe*. The granulated sort is first salted, and then put into kegs for exportation. *Caviar* is most palatable when fresh, and spread on bread, with salt, leek, and pepper: but as it soon becomes tainted by warmth, it cannot well be exported fresh. The *Russians*, in their language, call it *ikra*.

(E) No greater quantity of rhubarb is exported from *Russia*, than what is allowed by the empress, who also fixes the price of it.

(F) Lord *Whitworth* (1), in the year 1710, reckoned the yearly balance of trade in favour of the *Russians*, to be only near two thousand rubels: from whence we may judge how much their commerce has increased since that time.

sea-horses, from *Nova Zembla*, as it is corruptly called, used to load thirty boats a-year with a blubber. Their teeth are esteemed next to ivory : but this trade being monopolized by a company, decays daily. Of cod and stock-fish, about three ships lading are sent yearly to *Denmark* : of salmon salted and dried, a ship's loading to *Bilboa*. These with the cod, are taken in the north sea, about *Kilduin* and *Cola* ; but the ships that go for them carry salt from *St. Ubes*.

To enter more particularly into the commerce of *Russia*, it will be proper to divide it into land or domestic, and naval or foreign trade. The land-trade principally consists of

THE trade to *China*, which at present, is carried on by caravans, and partly by private adventurers. The greatest in quantity, and the most valuable commodities which the *Russians* carry to *China*, are furs : in return for which they bring back gold, silks, cotton, tea, &c. (G). This trade, if rightly managed, would bring into the *Russian* government a yearly profit of at least three hundred thousand rubels^x.

THE trade with the *Calmuks*, which is intirely in private hands, and of no great importance. They exchange with these people all sorts of iron and copper utensils, for cattle and provisions, and sometimes for gold and silver.

THE trade to *Bugbar*, or *Bochara*, one of the chief cities of *Ussbec Tartary*, near the river *Oxus*, which brings in ready money, or by bartering of goods, curled lamb-skins, *Indian* silks, and sometimes gems ; which are brought to the yearly fair at *Samarkand*.

THE trade to *Persia*, by the way of *Astracan* and the *Caspian* sea, which is considerable, and brings in raw silk and silken stuffs.

THE traders in the *Ukraine* carry provisions to the *Crim-Tartars*, and traffic with the *Greek* merchants at *Constantinople*.

THE inhabitants of *Kiow* trade to *Siberia*, in cattle and *Russia* leather ; and, notwithstanding the severest prohibitions, great quantities of goods are smuggled from the government of *Smolensk*, to *Koningsberg* and *Dantzic*.

THE naval commerce of *Russia* owes its origin to the *Hanse* towns, which formerly carried on a considerable trade with *Revel*, *Novogrod*, and *Pleskow* ; till, about the middle of the sixteenth century, some *English* traders, of whom captain *Chancellor* was the first, found the way to *Archangel*, which afterward became the principal mart.

MONEY was formerly so very scarce in this country, that foreigners were obliged, when they bartered their goods for those of *Russia*, to give specie with them to the *Russians*, who had no idea of any commercial course of exchange till the year 1670. Most of the foreign merchants used to reside at *Moscow*, and went in the summer to *Archangel*, where they had their warehouses and factors. This practice continued till the year 1721, when the seat of commerce was transferred from *Archangel* to *Petersburg*, by order of *Peter the Great*, and the foreign traders were, in consequence thereof, obliged to remove their factories to the latter. At the same time also, among other regulations, a tariff was settled : but this was abolished in 1733, and the old *Russian* rubel was restored, by which the customs and duties are computed to this day. That rubel, before the present century, was only an imaginary piece, containing an hundred silver copeiks of those times, the only real current coin formerly known in *Russia*, which, however, were as large and heavy as those coined since (H). Fifty such copeiks were valued at one specie or *Holland* rix-dollar, which is equal to four shillings and four pence farthing of our money, and one hundred of those rubels were supposed to weigh fourteen pounds of fine silver. They still compute by rubels of this value in commercial affairs : but the duty for all merchandise imported and exported, is paid in alberts, or new *Holland* rix-dollars, and not in *Russian* money. Fourteen such rix dollars are valued at a pound weight of fine silver, which must be paid either in coin or bullion^z. The first real rubels, half rubels, &c. were coined in 1703^a. Their standard should be of the same goodness with *Lyon* dollars, viz. twelve ounces fine silver, and twelve ounces alloy to the pound weight : but most of the bullion that is carried into the mint, is not above ten ounces fine silver ; and being seldom tried when melted, the *Russian* coins are of different

^x Lord WHITWORTH, p. 90.

^z BUSCHING.

^a Lord WHITWORTH.

(G) This caravan sets out from *Moscow* in the winter, and is three years before it returns. *Chinese* commissaries receive it on the borders of *Chinese Mungalia*, and conduct it, at their expence, to *Pekin*, where the *Chinese* maintain both the people and camels for three months, within which time the *Russians* are obliged to sell or barter their goods. At the expiration of this time, the caravan is again conveyed to the borders, at the charge of the *Chinese*. Those who advance their money in traffic, frequently double it in three years.

(H) 3 copeiks make an *altine*.
10 copeiks a *greiven*.
25 copeiks a *popoltine*.
50 copeiks a *poltime*.
100 copeiks a *rubel*.

The *copeik* is divided into *denushkas* and *polushkas*. The *denushka*, which *Consett* takes to have been the first coin of the country, because the *Russian* word for money in general, is *denga*, from whence, according to him, the diminutives *denushka*, is half a *copeik*, and the *polushka* is half the *denushka*.

intrinsic

a intrinsic value, as the run happens to be good or bad; plate, dollars, and old copeiks, which last are received in the treasury at an allowance of fifteen *per cent.* discount, being all melted together, with an additional alloy of brass. The silver chiefly used in the *Russian* coinage, is cross-dollars and *Albertus* dollars, with unwrought plate, brought from *Holland*, *Hamburg*, and *Bremen*; partly to clear the merchants customs; and partly in return of brass money, which the treasury often advances to foreigners, to be paid in dollars at the end of two years.

b In 1702, the first ducats were coined with the czar's stamp, at twenty-six carrats, which is the finest of *Holland* ducats: but the direction of the mint being taken, the next year, from the foreigners who had before had the management of it, *Chinese* gold, of only twenty or twenty-one carrats, and from one to three grains, being used, without refining it, those ducats were utterly decried, and very few have been coined since the year 1706. The gold is imported in ingots from *China*, about three hundred, and sixty pounds weight *English*, yearly; besides what is brought every summer from other parts, often in specie, by the ships which trade to *Russia*.

c In 1705, the czar *Peter* begun to coin brass copeiks, halves, and quarters. Thirty-six pounds of brass, *English* weight, which are bought in *Moscow* for seven rubels, produce twenty when coined. About ten thousand of these copeiks are given out monthly; but no one is obliged to receive them in payment, except such as are in the service of the crown. They may be negotiated against silver at two *per cent.* loss. The brass used to come by the fleets to *Archangel*.

d THE merchants and traders at *Petersburg* consist of natives and foreigners. The former may sell by wholesale or retale; but the latter by wholesale only, and that to none but the natives: for foreigners are not permitted to have any commercial dealings with one another in *Russia*, nor are they allowed to keep the goods consigned to them in their own warehouses; but are obliged to deposit them in magazines, built by the government for that purpose, and to pay rent for warehouse-room in proportion to the quantity of goods they are possessed of^b. They also pay five *per cent.* for all goods bought and sold by weight, and four *per cent.* for those by tale or measure; besides the duties on importation or exportation, which ever mount highest at the end of the trade time: for they do not actually pay for both these last^c. Whatever goods they send to *Moscow* or any inland towns, are subject to a duty of ten *per cent.* in dollars, and five *per cent.* where they are bought or sold, in brass money. The *Russians* pay five *per cent.* where they sell or buy in the country, and five *per cent.* at the general custom-house. Wine pays a particular rate of five dollars a hoghead.

e Most of the foreign traders at *Petersburg*, are only factors^d: the rest who trade on their own bottoms, deal chiefly in toys and grocery. The factors are intrusted with very large capitals, and may get handsome fortunes without engaging in any commerce for themselves. The native *Russian* traders, who bring goods from different places to *Petersburg*, and carry foreign commodities up into the country, do not reside at *Petersburg*, but in various parts of the empire. In *May* or *June* they carry their goods to *Petersburg*, annually, by water; and in the months of *September*, *October*, and *December*, after they have disposed of them, they return to their respective homes with foreign commodities. The wealthiest of these traders save themselves the fatigue of travelling, by sending their factors to *Petersburg*.

f ALL foreign merchandize is generally sold at a year's credit: but the *Russian* commodities must be paid for on delivery, unless the owners of them find a difficulty in selling their stock; in which case they deal by way of exchange: though even then they will not barter goods for goods, but commonly insist on a fourth, a third, or half of the value of the whole in specie. Of late, foreign merchants deal for the *Russian* commodities by contract, and even advance the money to the *Russians* in winter, upon condition that they deliver in the goods, at a settled price, in the ensuing summer; and for the greater security, these contracts are entered in the custom-house books. To this unreasonable partiality in favour of the natives, and against foreign traders, to the large credit given by the latter to the former, and sometimes to the misconduct of the factors, may be chiefly imputed the great losses sustained by foreign merchants in *Russia*, which amount to some millions of rubels since the removal of the seat of trade from *Archangel* to *Petersburg*: so that the remarkable increase of foreign commerce in *Russia*, amidst such discouraging checks on trade, is very surprizing. In the year 1744, the number of ships which came into the port of *Petersburg* from *England*, *Holland*, *France*, *Norway*, *Denmark*, *Lubeck*, *Hamburg*,
g *Stettin*, *Rostoc*, *Kiel*, *Prussia*, *Sweden*, *Dantzic*, &c. amounted to two hundred and sixty-four; and in the following year only to one hundred and ninety five. But in 1750, the

^b BUSCHING.^c LORD WHITWORTH, p. 85.^d BUSCHING.

number increased to two hundred and seventy-two; and in 1751, to two hundred and ninety.

THE *English* enjoyed considerable privileges in their trade to *Russia*, so early as the year 1553, when the czar *Iwan Basilowitz* was on the throne, as we observed before. These privileges were renewed by *Peter I.* who gave them great encouragements; but permitted them to send their goods only to *Moscow*. In 1752, a treaty of commerce was concluded betwixt *Russia* and *England*, by which it was stipulated that the *English* should be allowed to send goods through *Russia* into *Persia*: but captain *Elton*, a *Scotchman*, having entered into the service of *Shach Nadir* in 1746, and built ships for him on the *Caspian* sea, the *Russians* put a stop to this trade to *Persia*. However, the *English* still have a more considerable trade to *Russia*, than any other nation.

NEXT to them, the *Dutch* carry on the greatest trade with the *Russians*. Bills of exchange are drawn at *Petersburg*, on *Amsterdam* only: so that the traders of other countries, who give orders for buying *Russian* commodities at *Petersburg*, are obliged to procure credit, or to have proper funds at *Amsterdam*.

SUCH foreigners as settle at *Petersburg*, without actual commissions, and a sufficient credit in exchange, run a great risk of becoming bankrupts; of which there have been too many instances. There is not a nation in the world more inclined to commerce than the *Russians*: but they are so full of chicanery and finesse, that a stranger cannot be too cautious in his dealings with them.

As we gave in our last note, some account of the money of the *Russians*, our commercial readers, in particular, if any such we have, will perhaps not be displeased at our subjoining here, in another, their weights and measures (I).

S E C T. IV.

Of the Coronation, Titles, Court, Revenues, Expences, Forces, &c. of the Czar.

Ceremonies of
the czar's co-
ronation.

AT the accession of a new czar, all the metropolitans, archbishops, bishops, nobility, and principal merchants throughout the whole empire, are summoned to *Moscow*, against the day of the coronation; when the officiating prelate, which used to be the patriarch, while there was one, but now is the archbishop of *Moscow*, conducts the new great-duke to the church of *Precheste*, or our lady, within the *Kremlin*, where a scaffold is erected three steps high, and covered with rich *Persia* tapestry, on which are set three chairs, at equal distance one from the other. One of these is for the great duke, another for the archbishop, and the third for the ducal cap and robe. The robe is of purple satin, lined with fable; and on the top of the cap, which is embroidered with jewels, is a little crown, set as thick as possible with diamonds, and said to be the same which the great-duke *Demetrius Monomach* took at *Cassa* in *Tartary*, and immediately destined for the coronation of his successors.

As soon as the czar enters the church, the clergy begin their hymns, after which the archbishop prays to God, to St. *Nicholas*, the great patron of the *Russians*, and to the other saints, desiring their presence at that day's solemnity. The prayer being ended, the chief counsellor of state takes the great-duke by the hand, presents him to the archbishop, and says to him; "The *knez* and *bojars* acknowledge the prince here present, to be lawful heir to the crown; and desire that, as such, you immediately crown him:" Upon which the archbishop leads the prince up to the scaffold, seats him on one of the three chairs, touches his forehead with a little cross of diamonds, and blesses him. Then one of the metropolitans reads the following payer. "O Lord our God, king of kings, who didst chuse thy servant *David*, by the prophet *Samuel*, and didst cause him to be anointed king over thy people *Israel*, hearken to our prayers, which, though unworthy, we offer up unto thee. Look down from thy sanctuary upon this thy servant, whom thou hast chosen and exalted for king over these thy holy nations: Anoint him with the oil of

^c BUSCHING.

^f Idem.

^e OLEARIUS, lib. iii. and FLETCHER, chap. 6.

(I) The weights peculiar to *Russia* are (1),
A *solotnick*, which is the sixth part of an ounce, and is divided into halves, quarters, and eighths.
A *pound*, which is equal to ninety-six *solotnicks*.
A *pod*, which is forty of their pounds, and thirty-six of ours.
A *berkozvitz*, which is equal to ten *pods*.
The *Russian* measures of length are (2),
The *arsbine*, which is equal to twenty-eight inches and one tenth, *English* measure.

The *werschock*, which is a tenth of the *arsbine*. And
The *fajchen*, or fathom, which contains three *arsbines*.

Among the measures of capacity are (3),
The *galenok* or *kruschka*, a measure for liquids, eight of which are equal to a *vedro*, which last contains about twenty gallons *English*, and answers to the *German cymmer*.

The *chetwerick*, a dry measure, reckoned equal to three hundred and twenty *Russian* pounds.

(1) *Busching*.

(2) *Idem*.

(3) *Strahlenberg*, cap. 13.

"gladness;

- a " gladness; protect him by thy power; set upon his head a precious diadem; grant him
 " a long and happy life; put into his hand a royal scepter, and make him sit upon the throne
 " of justice; make subject to him all barbarous nations; let his heart and understanding
 " always continue in thy fear. In all the course of his life, let him be constantly obedient
 " to thy commandments; suffer not any heresy or schism to come near his person or
 " government; but shew him the salvation of thy holy and universal church; that he may
 " judge thy people with justice; protect the children of the poor, and finally attain ever-
 " lasting life: for thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory. God the father, God
 " the son, God the Holy Ghost, be with us, and remain with us".

- After this prayer, the archbishop orders two metropolitans to take the cap and robe;
 b and some of the bojars, whom he directs to come upon the scaffold, to put them on the
 great-duke, whom he blesses a second time, by touching his forehead with the little cross
 of diamonds. The ducal cap is then delivered to them, and they set it upon the prince's
 head, while the archbishop says, In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and
 blesses him the third time. That done, the archbishop bids all the prelates approach, and
 each of them gives the great-duke his benediction; but only with the two fore-fingers.
 The great-duke and the archbishop then sit down: but rise again immediately, to order
 the singing of the Litany, every verse of which ends with *Gospodi pomilui*, "Lord have
 " mercy upon us," and is frequently intermixed with the great-duke's name. After the
 Litany, they sit down again, and one of the metropolitans goes up to the altar, and says,
 c singing, "God preserve in health our czar and great duke of all the *Russias*, whom he
 " hath of his love bestowed upon us, and grant him a long and happy life." The words
 are echoed round for some time, by every one present; after which the archbishop alone
 goes up to the prince, and tells him, "That since, through the providence of God, all
 " the estates of the realm, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, have established and crowned
 " him great-duke over all the *Russias*, and entrusted him with a government of so great
 " importance, he ought to apply all his thoughts to love God, keep his commandments,
 " administer justice, and protect and maintain the true *Greek* religion." He then bows
 himself down to the ground before the czar, even touching it with his forehead, as a
 token of his homage; and all the rest, ecclesiastics, nobles, and others, in their respective
 d ranks, do the same. They then go to the church of St. *Michael the Archangel*, and after-
 wards to that of St. *Nicholas*, both within the walls of the palace, as well as that of *Pre-
 cheste*, and, after singing in each of them the same Litanies as before, conclude the cere-
 monies with dining in the great hall of the *Kremlin*.

- THE sovereign of *Russia* was formerly stiled *Weliki Knez*, *Grand Prince*, *Great Lord*, *His titles*,
 or *Great Chief*, which we render by the words *Great Duke*. The title of *Czar*, which
 in the *Sclavonian* language, signifies *King*, and likewise *Emperor*, was first assumed
 by *John Basilowitz*, surnamed the *Great*, grand-father of *John Basilowitz the Tyrant*,
 in the beginning of the sixteenth century, upon his being crowned in *Casan*; and
 therefore is more probably derived from the *Tzars* or *Tchars* of that kingdom, or
 e the *Tshas* of *Persia*, than from the *Cæsars* of *Rome*, whom, in all likelihood, the *Siberian*
Tzars had never so much as heard of on the borders of the *Oby*¹. *Basilius*, son of *John*
Basilowitz I. lost the newly acquired title and kingdom: but his son *John Basilowitz II.*
 recovered both, with the addition of *Astracan*; and accordingly stiled himself *Czar of*
Casan, *Astracan*, and *Siberia*, *Grand Prince (K)* of *Moscow*, *Wolodimer*, and *Novogrod*, *Lord of*
Plescow, &c. and *Powelitel*, which signifies *Imperator*, *Commander* and *Samoderschitz*, *Self-
 preserver*, or *Sovereign*, of all the *Russias*. These titles remained undisputed till the year
 1721, when the archbishop of *Novogrod*, to curry favour with this prince, persuaded *Peter*
the Great to change the *Russian* word *Powelitel*, into its equivalent in *Latin*, and call himself
 f *Imperator*. This occasioned some altercations, arising from difficulties in point of ceremo-
 nial and rank, with the other courts of *Europe*; but at length the title of *Emperor* was
 universally allowed (L).

¹ VOLTA RE.

THE

(K) This proves that *Strahlenberg* is right in say-
 ing (1) that the title of *Czar*, and that of *Grand Prince*,
 are as different as those of *Roman Emperor* and *Archduke*
 of *Austria*, or *King of Poland* and *Grand Prince* of *Li-
 thuania*. That the title *Czar*, in the *Sclavonian* tongue
 signifies *King*, and also sometimes *Emperor*, is evident
 from all the books in that language, as well sacred as
 profane, where those monarchs are constantly called
Czars. In the *Sclavonian Bible*, which was translated
 from the *Greek* version of the *Septuagint*, above seven
 hundred years ago, long before the *Russian Grand*
Princes took the title of *Czar*, *Pharaoh*, *Saul*, *David*,
Solomon, and *Alexander the Great*, are called *Czars*;
 and that there is no difference in that language between

the titles of *Emperor* and *King*, appears from this pas-
 sage in St. *Matthew*, chap. xii. Give unto *Cæsar* the
 things that are *Cæsar's*, and unto God the things that are
 God's; which is rendered in the *Sclavonian*, *Dasch'd*
Zariu Zariewo a Bogu Boschie. But when, in the same
 chapter, the question is, Whose is this image? and the
 answer is, *Cæsar's*: then, in the *Sclavonian*, it is said,
Cæsar. Likewise, in another place we find *W'zaarsz-
 two Augusta Cæsarea*, or, *In the reign of Cæsar Augustus*;
 where, in the *Sclavonian* tongue, the name *Cæsar* is
 taken for a proper or family name.

(L) The title of the *Russian* sovereign, at full length,
 runs now as follows:

and power. THE *Russian* empire has been an undivided inheritance ever since the time of *John Basilowitz* I. and females are not excluded from it. In 1722, the emperor *Peter the Great* published an ordinance, by which the succession was wholly to depend upon the will and pleasure of the reigning sovereign: and this is the only written fundamental law relative to the succession in *Russia*, where the power of the emperor is quite absolute and unlimited. The now reigning princess, *Elizabeth*, who is stiled empress and sole sovereign of all the *Russias*, was the youngest daughter of *Peter* I. and ascended the throne in 1741, on the deposition of *John* III. and his mother, who was regent. Upon the treaty which she concluded with *Sweden* in 1743, at *Abo*, this czarina gave the title of great-duke of *Russia* to her eldest sister's son *Charles Peter Ulrick* duke of *Holstein*, after he had embraced the Greek religion, and taken the name of *Peter Feodorowitz*. a

Court, and attendants. THE *Russian* court has always been very numerous and magnificent, being filled, particularly on solemn occasions, by the bojars, or privy-counsellors, with all the officers of each pricase; by the nobles and gentry, who are obliged to constant attendance, by titles of honour and distinction, without any salary; such as the *krapshacks*, or carvers, who are always two of the first nobility, and whose employment is held in high estimation; the *solnicks*, or sewers, who are also used to carry any message of importance, to receive ambassadors, &c. and the *spalnicks*, or gentlemen of the bed-chamber; which two last titles are in great number, and descend from father to son, though generally confirmed by the prince; and lastly, by the *gosts*, or chief merchants. On public feasts or ceremonies, all these received rich gowns of brocade, lined with furs, from the treasury, which they returned as soon as the appearance was over: but the czar *Peter* I. abolished these formalities, without settling any other court; some said, to save the expence during the wars he was engaged in; others, from his particular temper, which was averse to such constraintsⁱ. On any ceremony, he was attended by the the chief officers of his army, and only some of his nobility. However, the former pomp has since been restored, and heightened by the addition of three orders of knighthood, created by the prince we have been speaking of^k. b

Orders of knighthood. THE first, and most honourable, is that of *St Andrew*, or the *blue ribbon*, instituted by *Peter the Great* in 1698, in honour of *St. Andrew* the patron of *Russia*. The empress *Catharine* gave the statutes, and assigned proper habits for this order, which has its ensigns, motto, and collar. c

THE second is the order of *St. Alexander Newski*, or the *red ribbon*, which was indeed instituted by *Peter* I. but the czarina *Catharine* first conferred it in the year 1725. This order has also its badge and motto. d

THE third is a female order which *Peter the Great* founded in 1714, in honour of his consort *Catharine*; and from her name he called it the order of *St. Catharine*.

THESE honours, as *Voltaire* observes, command respect, cost the sovereign nothing, and flatter those who receive them, without adding to their power.

FORMERLY, the chief dignity in *Russia*, next to the great-duke, was that of *sunderstravoi conische*, or lord-high-steward; but that officer was suppressed when *Zuiski*, who had it, was raised to the crown^l. The greatest now, is that of *dowretzkoi*, or chancellor; after whom come grand-master of the household; the *orushnitschei*, or master of the horse; the treasurer; comptroller, chamberlain, tasters, harbingers, &c.^m e

Table. AN hundred and fifty tables are now spread twice a-day at the *Russian* court, and served with eighteen hundred dishes. The court-purveyor receives for this purpose, two thousand rubels every three days, exclusive of the produce of the crown-estates, and the proper quantities of wine, sugar, and spices. The daily consumption of coffee is a pud, or thirty-six pounds of our weight; and seven thousand puds of salt are expended there every monthⁿ.

Revenues. THE revenues of the *Russian* empire are variously computed. The author of the *Anmerkungen über die Moscovitischen briefe*, or "Observations on the *Moscovite* letters," pretends that they amount to sixty millions of rubels; but this is certainly exaggerated. Some compute them at twenty millions of rubels, which is still beyond the mark; and others f

ⁱ Lord WHITWORTH, p. 62.
chap. 27.

^k BUSCHING.

^l OLEARIUS, lib. iii.

^m FLETCHER,

N. N. Emperor and sole sovereign of all the *Russias*, sovereign lord of *Moscow*, *Kiow*, *Woldomiria*, *Novogrod*; czar in *Casan*, *Astracan*, and *Siberia*; lord of *Pleskow*; great-duke of *Smolensko*; duke of *Esthonia*, *Livonia*, and *Carelia*; of *Tweria*, *Ingoria*, *Pernia*, *Wiatkia*, *Bulgaria*, and lord of several other territories; great-duke of *Novogrod* in the low country of *Tsbernickow*, *Resan*, *Rostow*, *Jareslaw*, *Biel-Osero*, *Uldoria*, *Obdoria*, *Condinia*; emperor of all the northern parts; lord of the territory of *Iweria*; of the *Carthalianian*, *Greuzinian*, and *Georgian* czars; of the *Kabardinian*, *Circassian*, and *Gorian* princes; and lord and supreme ruler of many other countries and territories (1).

(1) *Busching*, p. 399.

- a on the contrary (M), reckon them to be but eight millions, which is too little (N). M. *de Voltaire* says^o, that according to a state of the *Russian* finances in 1725, they amounted to thirteen millions of rubels, reckoning only the taxes and duties that were paid in money, and excluding what was paid in kind: to which he adds, that this sum was then sufficient to maintain 339,500 soldiers and sailors; and that both the revenues and troops have increased since. M. *Busching*^p agrees with him as to this augmentation, which he estimates at near a fifth part, in consequence of an imperial *ukase*, or edict issued in 1752 by the present empress *Elizabeth*; but at the same time he assures us, from an authentic account of the empress's whole revenues, lying before him at the time of his writing, that they amount to only ten millions of rubels. Which ever of these authors is right, it is very certain, that the imperial revenues are not proportionate to the vast extent of the *Russian* dominions; that they do not all consist of ready money, the country in many places furnishing recruits for the army in lieu of it, and most of the inhabitants of *Siberia* paying their tribute in furs; and that they are sufficient to answer the exigencies of the state.

THEY arise from the annual capitation or poll-tax, to which the vassals of noblemen pay seventy copeiks, the burghers one hundred and twenty copeiks, and the *Tartars*, *Tschermishes*, and other nations in the territory of *Casan*, together with the vassals of the khan, one hundred and ten copeiks a man. This tax, according to M. *Busching*, amounts to five millions of rubels; but as it is not duly paid by a great number, the arrears remaining every year are very considerable. At the close of the year 1752, the present empress of *Russia*, considering the situation of her subjects, freely remitted all the arrears of this tax from the year 1724 to 1747, which amounted to no less than 2,534,000 rubels.

FROM the demesne lands, occupied by 360,000 peasants, each of whom pay one hundred and ten copeiks a-year; amounting in all to 396,000 rubels.

FROM the revenues of the *cabaques*, or inns and drinking-houses, which are in all about two millions; the privilege of selling beer, mead, and spirits distilled from corn, being monopolized by the crown.

FROM the tolls and customs by sea and land, which produce about 1,150,000 rubels; though it is to be observed, that all the inland duties, throughout the whole empire of *Russia* were abolished in the year 1754.

- d FROM the continual trade carried on by the crown, in iron, pot-ash, ashes of the willow-tree, rhubarb, tar, and train-oil (O).

FROM the salt-works, which bring yearly in to the crown 700,000 rubels.

FROM the duty on stamp-paper, amounting to 120,000 rubels.

FROM a tax on all law suits, which pay ten *per cent.* of the value contested; from oven or chimney money; from all hackney horses and carriages; and likewise all bath-stoves, of which every village has one in public, and every fashionable house one in particular, taxed at a rubel a piece yearly.

FROM the abbey-lands, since their being managed by a secular commission for the benefit of the crown.

- e FROM the caravans to *China*, at least 100,000 rubels: though the revenue arising from this article is not every year equal; for it sometimes amounts to more, but is never less than that sum.

FROM the exportation of sail-cloth; which trade, however, is in private hands. The revenue from coining and the mint is likewise very considerable. The uncertain and casual sums arising from confiscations and mines, do not properly come in here, as they are generally given away to favourites.

THE ordinary expences of the *Russian* court, though very large, are no more, as we have elsewhere observed, than what the revenues can sufficiently defray.

- f THE annual charge of the fleet, and the canal of *Cornstadt*, amounts to 1,200,000 rubels, for which part of the *cabaque*, or revenue arising from the sale of liquors, is appropriated.

^o Hist. de Russie sous Pierre le Grand, p. 60.

^p Geogr. vol. i. p. 402.

(M) Among which number are the author of *Das Verändertes Rußland* (1), and the writer of the remarks upon *l'Histoire généalogique des Tartaires* (2). *Strahlenberg* says (3) they amounted to five millions of rubels in the time of the czar *Alexis*.

(N) Lord *Whitworth* (4) reckons them at only about seven millions of rubels in the year 1710.

(O) The crown exports yearly about 40,000 puds of iron, which produce 240,000 rubels; and private persons, who have also iron-works, sell annually as great

a quantity. The profits arising from pot-ash are computed at 40,000 rubels a year. The ashes of the willow-tree bring in 30,000 rubels; and the rhubarb, of which both the quantity to be exported and the price, are regulated by the government, 200,000 rubels. About 80,000 barrels of tar are exported from *Archangel*, at a rubel a barrel; and the profits arising to the crown from train-oil amount yearly to 24,000 rubels.

(1) Page 34.

(2) Page 724.

(3) Chap. 10.

(4) Page 87.

THE charge of maintaining the army is about 4,000,000 rubels, which is defrayed by the poll-tax. The two regiments of guards are paid out of the profits arising from the cabages. The *Ismailow* regiment is maintained by the produce of the salt-works, and the horse guards by the *Siberian* prikaze or college of judicature.

THE corps of cadets, of which we have spoken in our account of *Petersburg*, stands the government in 65,000 rubels a-year, which arise from the capitation, and the general commission of war. The expence of the train of artillery amounts yearly to 300,000 rubels.

THE annual charge of the civil list, in the time of *Peter I.* did not exceed 50 or 60,000 rubels; but in the reign of the empress *Anne*, the salaries of the court-officers alone, amounted to 120,000 rubels. In the present reign, they are not less than 190,000 rubels; and the total of the annual expences of the crown is about a million of rubels.

THE great-duke, or heir apparent, is allowed 200,000 rubels a-year, for the maintenance of his household.

THE annual allowance to the *Russian* ministers at foreign courts, is about 800,000 rubels. Those from foreign courts, to the *Russian*, are defrayed at the expence of this last.

THE academy and university at *Petersburg* receive annually from the treasury, by warrant of the state office, 53,928 rubels.

THE court allows 110,000 rubels for the support of public dispensaries; and the deductions from the pay of the officers and soldiers for that purpose, make about 40,000 rubels; so that the whole expence amounts to 150,000 rubels. We pass over several less considerable sums annually paid by the *Russian* court.

THE produce of the public shews of tumbling and rope-dancers, of which multitudes are exhibited at *Easter* for the diversion of the people, who are passionately fond of them, is allotted for paying the expence of the police, paving the streets, &c. Besides this, every house-keeper pays an assessment for his house and court-yard, according to the extent of ground he occupies, which is applied to the same purposes. The salaries of all civil officers are paid out of the monies received by the chanceries or officers belonging to their departments; and those of the governors, by the prikazes or offices of their respective governments. A senator, as such, receives no pension or salary. The surplus remaining in the inferior offices, is transferred to the state-office.

Army.

By the indefatigable care of *Peter the Great*, the military establishment of *Russia* has been entirely new modelled. Before his time, the greatest part of the infantry consisted of *Strelitzes*, who, being honoured with particular privileges, as the czar's body-guards, arrogated to themselves a power which often proved dangerous even to the emperor's life. But *Peter I.* suppressed both the name and the corps. The *Russians* at present are good soldiers, especially if they be well disciplined: but the infantry far surpasses the cavalry. Both are now on the *German* footing. The army is clothed once in two years. The crown finds the arms and horses of the common troopers; but the nobility are obliged to furnish horses for the dragoons, which often cost them ten or twelve rubels a piece, while the treasury allows them only seven. Most of the dragoons are gentry, and obliged to appear by the tenure of their lands.

THE *Russian* land-forces may be ranked under the general division of regular and irregular offensive, and regular and irregular defensive troops.

THE offensive regulars, in time of peace, are quartered in the several provinces, where every company build their barracks in vacant places; three single men, or one that is married, being allowed a room and a garden; and the common soldiers may work for the country people for wages: but no soldier is suffered to go into the villages or farmers houses, without permission of his officer. They are exercised three days in every month; and to keep them from falling into idleness, they are obliged to repair the canals and roads, throughout the empire, every three years.

THE offensive irregulars are, gentlemen volunteers, the *Don* and other *Cosaks*, the *Calmuks*, and sixty thousand *Tartars*. The rest of these are reckoned among the defensive troops belonging to each government, because they cannot be used in war, in remote countries, without great difficulty; and besides, being continually annoyed by their neighbours, they are almost always obliged to be on duty, to watch their motions.

THE regular defensive troops, commonly called the black regiments, and computed to be generally 96,000 men, are in garrison, some in the midst of the empire, to prevent insurrections and civil broils, and some in the frontier towns.

THE defensive irregulars consist of the nobility throughout the whole empire, with their vassals; the country militia in every government; and those of the *Cosaks*, *Calmuks* and *Tartars*, who are not ranked among the offensive troops. All these have neither pay, pro-

a visions, nor cloaths of the crown, but only arms and ammunition. They have their own officers, and are dependent on the governor-general in each province.

The artillery of *Russia*, when lord *Whitworth* was in that country, in the year 1700, was mostly of metal, generally from three to thirty-six pounders, new cast since the beginning of the reign of *Peter I.* either from old pieces which had been heaped up by that prince's predecessors, without any just regard to the *calibre*, or from the bells which every church or cloister was obliged to furnish to the foundery, after the battle of *Narva*, according to their largeness and income. In 1708, a thousand pieces of cannon, from one to sixty pounders, were found in the city of *Moscow* alone: the arsenals of *Plescow*, *Smolensko*, and *Kiow*, were filled in proportion. Besides the field artillery, every battalion has always

Artillery,

b two long three pounders of metal, and an hundred charges. The mortars are of brass, or *Siberia* iron, of all bores. The field artillery is lodged, in time of peace, partly in *Moscow*, from whence it can easily be conveyed, by water, to *Smolensko*, *Casen*, and other places; partly in *Great Novogrod*, on account of *Livonia*, *Ingria*, and *Carelia*; and partly in the city of *Seofsk* or *Scheoski*, on account of *Kiow*, the *Crim*, and *Azow*. With each of these divisions there is always a regiment of artillery, with proper waggons, ammunition, and a third part of the horses necessary for the train; the rest being dispersed in the country, but near at hand, in case of need.

According to the state of the *Russian* forces drawn up by M. *Van Hoven* in the year 1746, the army then consisted of two hundred and forty-six thousand four hundred and

and navy.

c ninety-four regulars, and one hundred and twenty thousand irregulars. The fleet was composed of twenty-four ships of the line, seven frigates, three bomb-ketches, and two *praams* or flat-boats; besides the galley-fleet at *Petersburg*, consisting of one hundred and two galleys. The complement of the whole fleet amounted to ten thousand five hundred and seventy men, of whom seven thousand seven hundred and one were sailors. The fleet has continued pretty nearly the same since that time: for if some ships have been built yearly, others have become unfit for service. The men of war are laid up at *Revel* and *Cronstadt*, and the galleys at *Petersburg*. The *Russians* cannot as yet be said to have a complete good harbour in the *Baltic*, the water at *Cronstadt* being too fresh, which does considerable damage to the ships that lie there: the mouth of the harbour being also too narrow, and surrounded with rocks and dangerous sands; and the ice remaining there too long, the sea being seldom clear of it before the end of *May*. Neither have they now any constant fleet in the *Caspian* sea, where, in the time of *Peter I.* they had some galleys and other vessels, on account of his war with *Persia*; nor on the *Black* sea, where, upon the surrender of *Azow* to the *Turks*, some of the ships in those parts were sold to them, and the rest laid up at *Stavror*, on the river *Don*. Some sea-officers and ship-carpenters have of late been sent to the eastern parts of *Siberia*, towards *Japan*, to look out for good havens, and convenient places to build ships: but we have not yet heard of any progress they have made.

d THE *Russian* fleet, in general, is divided into three squadrons, and commanded by an admiral-general in the center, who bears a white flag, with a crimson cross. The van has an admiral, who bears a blue flag, with a white cross; and the rear has another admiral, who bears a red flag, with a white cross. Each of these three squadrons have a vice-admiral, a rear-admiral, and three commodores. The galleys are commanded by an admiral, two vice-admirals, three rear-admirals, and three commodores. Their flags are of the same colour as those of the squadrons they belong to, but of a different form. When the czar commands his fleet in person, his ship bears the royal standard of the empire, which is yellow, and in the middle of it are the arms of the empire.

e THE high-admiral of *Russia* has the rank and pay of a general-field-marshal, of which last there are two; one of whom commands the whole army, whilst the other presides in the council of war; and they exchange their post every three years: an admiral has the rank of a general in chief; a vice-admiral, of a lieutenant-general; and a rear-admiral, of a major-general. A captain of a man of war has the same pay, and ranks with a colonel, a lieutenant-colonel, and a major of a marching regiment; and a sea-lieutenant with a captain (P).

f

CHAP.

* Lord WHITWORTH, p. 107. * STRAHLENBERG, chap. 11.

(P) According to the account drawn up by M. *Busching* of the annual pay of the generals, officers, and private men in the *Russian* service, they have the following yearly allowance.

	rubels.	rations.		rubels.	denstbeks or servants.
A general-field-marshal	7000	200	valued at	1140	and 16
A general in chief	3600	80		456	12
A lieutenant general	2160	50		285	10
A major-general	1800	40		228	8
A brigadier	840	20		171	7

C H A P. III.

Of the Sovereigns of RUSSIA, and their Actions, from the earliest Accounts of that Empire, to the present Time.

S E C T. I.

From the Commencement of the Russian Monarchy, to the Death of the Czar Theodore Iwanowitz, in whom the Lineage of Ruric became extinct, after having reigned upwards of six hundred Years.

Origin of the Russians.

SCYTHIANS, Huns, Massagetes, Sclavonians, Cimbrians, Getes, Sarmatians, with their various tribes and subdivisions, were the ancient inhabitants of the several countries now united under the dominion of the czars of Russia. Of them, and of their origin and actions, so far as any knowlege of those matters has been transmitted to us, we have spoken in former parts of this work, to which the reader is referred (A); it not being our province here to enter anew into mazes of antiquity, from whence little instruction, or even amusement can be derived; but only to give the best account we can of the people now called Russians. The annals of barbarism, could we recall them from oblivion, would be of little service to us.

THOUGH the origin of the Russians be not prior to the ninth century, an impenetrable obscurity still covers even that not distant period; partly owing to the extreme ignorance and barbarism which then, and indeed till of very late years, prevailed among them; and partly to their unaccountable unwillingness to let strangers become acquainted with their history and country (B).

THE use of letters was entirely unknown to them before their conversion to Christianity; and the most ancient of their chronologers, whose works are now extant in manuscript, is Theodosius, abbot of the convent of Petshow at Kiow, who lived in the beginning of the twelfth century (C).

* PETREIUS, part ii. STRAHLENBERG, cap. 4.

In the marching regiments they have for their yearly allowance as follows :

	rubels.	rubels.	copeiks.	servants.
A colonel	600	pay, and 96	and 90	for rations, and 6
A lieutenant-colonel	360	62	70	4
A major	300	62	70	3
A captain	180	28	50	2
A lieutenant	120	22	80	1
A second-lieutenant	84	17	10	1
An ensign	84	17	10	1
A quarter-master of a regiment	84	22	80	1
An adjutant	120	22	80	1

A private man is allowed ten rubels and ninety-eight copeiks a-year, besides three barrels of meal, a certain quantity of grotes or coarse oat-meal, twenty-four pounds of salt, and flesh to the value of seventy-two copeiks. All these last articles are computed at five rubels and seventy-four copeiks. But six rubels and thirty-five copeiks are deducted from the pay of every private man, for cloathing, medicines, flesh, cartridges, and flints for their firelocks. His whole cloathing, from head to foot, costs near twelve rubels.

The *dentshiks*, or servants, are taken out of the recruits, to attend the officers; and for the support of every one of these, eight rubels and sixty-five copeiks are paid annually out of the military chest; but their masters are obliged to clothe them.

The officers and common men receive four months pay, and one month's provisions, always before-hand (1).

(A) They will be found under their respective heads, in the general index annexed to the twentieth volume of what is called the *Antient Part of the Universal History*, to distinguish it from this continuation, which is termed the *Modern*.

(B) That the Russians, out of a strange mistaken

kind of policy, or perhaps from a desire to conceal their former excessive barbarism, do still make a secret of the history and antiquities of their country, even since arts and sciences have been introduced among them, is attested by many writers, and particularly by baron *Strahlenberg* (2) and professor *Busching* (3), two of the latest authors who have treated of them: and as a farther confirmation of this truth, we may instance the prohibition of the dissertation intended to be published by the learned M. *Muller*, now professor at *Peterzburg*; *De originibus gentis & nominis Rufforum*: perhaps an irreparable loss!

(C) He begins his annals from the coming of the *Waregers* into *Russia*, and those chronicles have been continued down to the year 1206, by an anonymous writer. Professor *Muller* of *Peterzburg*, who is certainly much better qualified to write a history of *Russia*, than any other author now living, were he but allowed to do it, has given us, in the first volume of his *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte*, or Collection of *Russian Transactions*, an abridgment of this *Russian* manuscript, in *High Dutch*, with notes, wherein he corrects, in some places, the errors of the annalist, to whom he gives the name of *Nestor*. M. *de Voltaire* calls him *Constantine*.

(1) *Strahlenberg*, cap. 11. (2) *In the Introduction to his Account of Siberia*, &c. (3) *Geograph. vol. i.*

a THE *Russians*, properly so called, are certainly colonists in the territories they now inhabit^b; and derive their origin from the *Slavians* or *Slavonians*, corruptly called *Sclavonians*, who first settled along the banks of the *Volga*, and afterwards near the *Danube*, in the countries now named *Bulgaria* and *Hungary*: but being driven from thence by the *Wolechers* or *Wolotaners*, as the *Russian* writers call them, meaning the *Romans*, they first removed to the river *Borysthenes* or *Dneiper*, over-ran *Poland*, and, as it is said, built the city of *Kiow*. Afterwards they extended their colonies farther north, to the rivers which run into the *Ilmen* lake; confined the *Fins* within narrower limits, and laid the foundation of the city of *Novogrod*. The towns of *Smolensk* and *Tsernikow* appear also to have been built by them; though the dates of these events cannot be easily ascertained (D).

b IN the ninth century the *Scandinavians*, who were *Danes*, *Normans*, or *Norwegians*, and *Swedes*, emigrated from the north, and, crossing the *Baltic*, went to seek for habitations in *Russia*^c. They first subdued the *Courlanders*, *Livonians*, and *Esthonians*; and extending their conquests still farther, they exacted tribute from the *Novogrodians*, settled kings over them, and traded as far as *Kiow*, and even to *Greece*. These new intruders were called *Waregers*, which, according to professor *Muller*, signifies *sea-faring people*, or, if derived from the old northern word *war*, *warlike men*; and probably was first used by the *Scandinavians*, afterwards by the *Russians*, and, in time, came to pass for a proper name. To these *Waregers* the name of *Russes* or *Russians*, which was entirely unknown before the ninth century, owes its origin, as several eminent writers have proved (E). They first used

c it, according to the *Russian* annals; and the *Fins*, to this day, though they can assign no reason for it, give the *Swedes* the name of *Russes*, or rather *Rossa-Laine*, and stile themselves *Suoma-Laine*, that is, people living among fens or morasses. From them the *Novogrod Sclavonians* seem to have borrowed the name of *Russes*, which they give to all foreigners that come into their country from the north, and which they gave to the *Waregers*: and when these last afterwards became tributaries to the former, they themselves were also included under the name of *Russians*; as the *Gauls*, when conquered, were called *Franks*; and the ancient *Britons* changed their name into that of *Angles* or *Englishmen*^d. Those who deduce the origin of the *Russians* from the ancient *Scythians* and *Sarmatians*, or *Sauromatians*, a point which some writers have laboured greatly, give no farther proof of it, than that

d they possess the country formerly inhabited by those nations; which nobody disputes: but they should have considered, that as no family on earth knows its first author, so no people can know its first origin. The etymology of the word *Russia* is uncertain; for it is neither derived from *Rosch*^e, a dispersed people, as some have thought, nor from an imaginary prince of the name of *Rus*, the brother of *Zech* and *Lech*, &c. as others pretend. Nor are the *Russians* so called from *Rus*, an ancient city; for the latter rather derived its name from the former, by whom it was inhabited. To give *Russia* the name of *Moscovy* from its capital *Moscow*, is as improper as if we should term it the *Petersburgian* empire; or call *France* the *Parisian* monarchy, from *Paris*, the capital of that kingdom.

e It might be worth a critic's while to enquire, whether the *Waregers*, or *Waregi*, may not possibly have been *Franks*, who emigrated from the northern part of *Europe*, called *Scandinavia*: for though they at first differed much from the *Sclavonians*, in their language, customs, and manner of living; yet the two nations, by degrees, became so connected and blended together, as not to be distinguished in succeeding times; and to this day the *Asiatics* call the *Europeans*, *Parengi Franks*. We shall find the formation of most states to have been nearly the same. *France*^f is peopled by a mixture of *Goths*, of *Danes* called *Normans*, of northern *Germans* stiled *Burgundians*, of *Franks*, of other *Germans*, and of some *Romans* blended with the ancient *Celts*. *Rome* and *Italy* are full of families which came originally from northern countries, whilst they know not one descended from the ancient *Romans*. The sovereign pontiff is frequently the offspring of a *Lombard*, a *Goth*,

^b BUSCHING, vol. i. and STRAHLENBERG, Introduction. ^c BUSCHING. ^d Idem. ^e Ezekiel, chap. xxxviii. ver. 2, 3. and chap. xxxi. ver. 1. ^f VOLTAIRE.

(D) The *aborigines*, or ancient inhabitants, not only in *Russia*, but all over *Siberia*, quite to the borders of *China*, are called *Tshudi*: for professor *Muller*, upon inquiring in those parts, by whom the ancient buildings and sepulchral monuments there, were erected, and whether they were the works of the *Russians*? was every where answered by the inhabitants, that those monuments, &c. were set up by the *Tshudi*, who, in ancient times, had lived in that country. Now these *Tshudi*, who, as the *Russian* history informs us, inhabited the north part of *Russia* antecedently to the present possessors, are properly the *Fins*, *Carelians*, and *Finnean Esthlanders*: for the adjective *Tshudski* is still retained in the *Russian* language, as in *Tshudskoi-Osero*,

which is the name they give to the *Peipus* lake; and *Tshudskoi-Jafick*, by which they mean the *Finnean* or *Esthonian* language.

(E) T. S. Bayer, *De Veragis*, tom. iv. *Comment. Acad. Scient. Imp. Petrop.* p. 275. *Eriki Jul. Bioerner, Sched. Hist. Geograph. de Varegis heroibus Scandianis, & primis Russiae dynastis*, Stocklomiæ, 1743, quarto. *Arvid Mollerus, de Varegia*, 1731. *Algot Scarinus, De originibus prisce gentis Varegorum*. And professor *Muller*, in the manuscript of his curious and elaborate work *De originibus gentis & nominis Russorum*, of which the publication has been unfortunately prohibited as we observed before.

^a Teuton,

a *Teuton*, or a *Cimbrian*. The *Spaniards* are a race of *Arabians*, *Carthaginians*, *Jews*, *Tyrians*, *Visigoths*, and *Vandals*, incorporated with the natives of the soil. The *English* are a compound of many nations. When different people are thus intermixed, it is a long while before they become civilized, or even form their language. Good order and the arts are established with such difficulty, and revolutions so frequently defeat the very best attempts to introduce them, that if any thing is to be wondered at, it is, that most nations do not live like *Tartars*.

THAT *Russia*, and particularly that part of it which is properly so called, was divided into a great number of petty principalities and lordships, in the dark ages we are speaking of, is certain; but for want of records relative to those times, either in the *Russian* writers, or in historians of other nations; we cannot pretend to say; nor indeed is it of any consequence to us to know what were those several districts, what were their boundaries, nor how, or by whom they were governed. Their princes, as despotic as their power would suffer them to be, were continually at war, either to defend themselves, or to invade their neighbours. The most horrid rapine, cruelty, and devastations attended the triumphs of the inhuman conquerors, and all were plunged in the utmost misery and distress, when *Gostomisel*², a principal man among the *Novogrodians*, by whom he was highly revered for his prudence and understanding, pitying the unhappy fate of his countrymen, and seeing no other probable way to remedy their calamities, advised them, he himself having no male heirs, to apply to their most potent neighbours, the *Waregers*, and offer them the government of their country. The proposal was readily accepted; and three princes, of known abilities and valour, named *Ruric*, *Sineus*, and *Truwor* (F), who are generally supposed to have been brothers, were sent to govern them. The first of these took up his residence at *Ladoga*, which some writers call *Garderyk*, in the principality of *Great Novogrod*; the second at *Bielo Osero*, or the *White Lake*; and the third kept his court at *Isborfk*, or, according to *Petreius*, at a small town then called *Twertzog*, in the principality of *Pleskow*.

Ruric, Sineus, and Truwor elected for their chiefs.

They die, and are succeeded by

THE three brothers reigned amicably, and made considerable additions to their respective territories, all of which at length devolved to *Ruric*, by the death of *Sineus* and *Truwor*, who left no issue: but, for want of records, we cannot say what these additions were, nor the exact time when the three brothers were invited to *Russia*.

A. D. 878. Igor,

RURIC died about the year of *Christ* 878^h, and left his dominions to his son *Igor*, a minor, whom he committed to the care of a relation, named *Olech*, who governed with great integrity, during the young prince's minority, enlarged his possessions by the conquest of several towns and countries, particularly towards the south; undertook an expedition against *Constantinople*, which he besieged, but in vain; and, in his return home, lost his life by the bite of a serpent¹.

who marries Olga,

IGOR then returned to *Pleskow*, where he married *Olga*, a lady of the best family in that city (G), and had by her a son called *Swetoslav*. Going to demand tribute of the *Drewenses*, or *Drewliani*, as some writers call them, a people bordering on the *Wolga*, he was murdered by them. His widow *Olga* revenged his death: after which she went, for what reason we know not, to *Constantinople*, where she was baptized, and received the name of *Helena*.

and is killed.

Olga becomes a Christian.

THE emperor *John Zimisces* was her god-father, and fell in love with her, we are told: but she, alleging their spiritual alliance, refused to marry him. Her example made some impression upon her subjects, several of whom became converts to Christianity: but none upon her son, who reigned for a long while after her death, which happened at *Pereslaw*, in the eightieth year of her age, and fourteen years after her baptism^k. The *Russians* to this day rank her among their saints, and commemorate her festival on the 11th of *July*.

Swetoslav so-vereign.

SWETOSLAW was a great warrior, and enlarged his dominions by the acquisition of several new territories; but embarking in an expedition against the *Greeks*, at the head of a numerous army, he was defeated, and forced to fly to the *Peucingians*, or, as some *Russian* writers call them, the *Petschenesians*, whose prince *Malditto* killed him treacherously, and made a drinking-vessel of his skull (H). *Petreius*, indeed, says¹, that this was done by the *Greek* general, after *Swetoslav* had been killed in battle.

² History of Kiow, and PETREIUS: BERG, cap. 8.

¹ Part ii.

^A Chron. Kiov.

ⁱ PETREIUS.

^k STRAHLEN-

(F) *Petreius* (1), to shew that these three princes were probably of *Swedish* extraction, derives the name of *Ruric* from *Eric*; that of *Sineus*, from *Sigge* or *Swen*; and that of *Truwor*, from *Tur*, *Trotte*, or *Trufwe*. The first of these etymologies is natural enough; but the two last seem forced.

(G) *Reutensels* (2) calls her the niece of *Gostomisel*.

(1) Part ii.

(2) Cap. 5.

(3) Cap. 8.

(H) *Strahlenberg* (3) takes these *Peucingians*, or *Petschenesians*, to be the same with the *Drewliani* mentioned before, who dwelt upon the borders of the *Wolga*; and infers from their making a drinking vessel of *Swetoslav's* skull, which was customary among the ancestors of the *Mungals* and *Calmuks*, that they were probably of *Hunnian* extraction.

a *SWĘTOSŁAW* left three sons, *Jaropolck*, *Olech*, and *Wolodimir*, among whom his inheritance was divided. *Jaropolck* had the province of *Kiow*; *Olech*, the country of the *Drewliani*; and *Wolodimir* had *Novogrod*. *Jaropolck* raised an army, with the help of which he killed his brother *Olech*; and *Wolodimir*, in his turn, killed *Jaropolck*. The two former were legitimate; but *Wolodimir* was born of a concubine, named *Malischa*^m.

INHERITING his father's valour, and now sole possessor of a vast dominion, by the murder of his brothers, *Wolodimir* curbed all the neighbouring princes, awed the factious at home, extended his frontiers, and, through the terror of his arms, founded on their rapid success, made his subjects enjoy the sweets of peace, which they had never tasted before. During this happy calm, setting himself above the barbarous custom of his country, he demanded in marriage the princess *Anne*, sister to the Greek emperor *Basilus Porphyrogenitus*. His suit was granted, on condition that he should embrace Christianity; to which he agreed; and the *Constantinopolitan* patriarch *Photius*, so famous for his immense erudition, his quarrels with the church of *Rome*, and his misfortunes, rejoiced at the opportunity of adding this part of the world to his patriarchate, ordered *Anastasi*, bishop of *Corfun*, to baptize him. *Wolodimir* received the name of *Basilus*; and twenty thousand of his subjects, say the *Russian* annals, were christened the same day. To this epocha of the year 987, *Russia* owes the first effectual introduction of the Greek religion, to which it has adhered ever since. *Michael Syra*, or *Cyrus*, a Greek, sent by *Photius*, was received as first metropolitan, or patriarch, of the whole country. *Wolodimir*, at the same time, put away all his then wives and concubines; of the former of which he had six, according to *Petreibus* and other writers; and of the latter upwards of eight hundred. By those wives he had twelve sons, who were baptized with him. The idols of paganism were thrown down; churches and monasteries were erected; towns built; and the arts, children of plenty and repose, began to flourish under the auspices of a prince willing and able to protect them. The *Sclavonian* letters were now first introduced into *Russia*: and *Wolodimir* sent missionaries to convert the *Bulgarians*, but only three or four of their princes came to him, and were baptizedⁿ.

A. D. 976.
Wolodimir:

A. D. 987.
He embraces
Christianity.

THIS dawn of happiness seemed to presage a lasting series of blessings. But *Wolodimir*, forgetting what he had himself experienced in his own brothers, imprudently divided his dominions among his twelve sons. Sovereign power seldom admits of such a distribution. The rival brothers became mortal enemies, and, as soon as he was dead, replunged their country into all the horrors of murders, massacres, and civil wars. After a long and prosperous reign, he died in the city of *Wolodimir*, which he had built, and made his principal residence. He was called, whilst living, the *Apostle and Solomon* of the *Russians*, who, to this day, honour him as a saint.

Divides his
dominions among his
twelve sons.

GREAT part of *Lithuania*, *Podlachia*, *Red Russia*, *Upper and Lower Podolia*, the duchies of *Smolensko*, *Potoczko*, *Witepsk*, *Novogrod*, *Twer*, *Muscovy*, *Severia*, *Czernicow*, and all the countries between the *Wilia* and the *Pripeck*, became subject to him.

THESE extensive regions, formidable whilst they were united under one sovereign, became weak and defenceless, when divided among many. The rage of ambition soon rendered them the alternate theatres of every crime. *Suetopolk*, one of *Wolodimir*'s sons, lord of the province of *Twer*, caused two of his brothers to be assassinated, and seized on their duchies. *Jaroslav*, to whose share *Novogrod* had fallen, either from a desire to revenge the murder of his brothers, or willing to make that a pretence for enlarging his own territories, attacked the usurper, and forced him to fly for refuge to *Boleslaus I.* king of *Poland*, who, less animated, in reality, by any motive of regard or friendship, than glad of the opportunity of retaliating upon the *Russians* the miseries they had formerly made the *Poles* suffer, received the fugitive prince, espoused his cause, crossed the river *Bog* at the head of a powerful army, and defeated *Jaroslav*. *Kiow* became the victor's reward, and the new ally of *Poland* was re-established, but subjected to a tribute^o. *Suetopolk*, forgetting the service done him, proved perfidious, as soon as he thought he could be so with impunity; and, arming his subjects, endeavoured to destroy his benefactors: but the hand that had raised him, defeated his designs. The perjured *Russian* received the just punishment of his treachery; his principal cities were delivered up to the *Poles*, and he himself was obliged to fly from their pursuits, and from those of his family.

A. D. 1008.
who destroy
one another.

JAROSLAW recruited his forces, and attacked his other brothers, all of whom he dispossessed of their dominions, which he seized (I). He then turned his arms against the *Cosaks*, over whom he gained several advantages; and, encouraged by the rapidity of his

Jaroslav becomes
sovereign.

^m PETREIUS, *ibid.*

ⁿ STRAHLENBERG, cap. 8.

^o PETREIUS.

(I) *Boris* and *Chlieb*, two of those brothers, who reckon them among the saints and martyrs, and invoke lost their lives in these commotions, were so esteemed them as such; the former by the name of *David*, and for their piety and moderation, that the *Russians* now the latter by that of *Romanus* (1).

(1) *Petreibus*.

successes, resolved once more to try his fortune against the *Poles*: but he was again obliged to yield to the valour of *Boleslaus*, and to the discipline of troops more experienced than his own. The conqueror contented himself with imposing a new tribute upon *Russia*, restored to *Jaroslav* the prisoners of war without ransom, confirmed him in his possessions, and reduced, by his generosity, a rival, whose miscarriages had served only to render him the more enterprising. The *Russian* prince continued quiet during the remainder of the reign of *Boleslaus*; but shook off the yoke under his successor, *Mieslaus* II. a weak and indolent king, who saw his enemies ravage his country, without daring to oppose them. *Casimir*, more politic than warlike, on his accession to the crown of *Poland*, prevented the evils with which *Jaroslav* still continued to menace that kingdom, by giving up to this last the conquered places then possessed by the *Poles*, and offering him a lasting friendship, which he proposed to confirm by a marriage with his sister, the daughter of *Wolodimir*. The offer was gladly accepted, and *Jaroslav* continued faithfully attached to the interests of his new ally and brother-in-law, and was of singular service to him in all his wars.

A. D. 1052.
Divides his dominions among his five sons.
Their quarrels.

THIS structure of power, which had cost so many crimes, murders, and battles, was again overthrown by *Jaroslav*'s dividing his dominions among his five sons, whom he named his successors. The horrors of civil war were soon renewed under princes equally able to hurt each other, and equally ambitious. Neither party was weak enough to be forced to submit, nor strong enough to command respect. *Izaslav*, prince of *Kiow*, the eldest among them, distinguished himself by the blackest treachery. Surprising unawares his brother *Wzeslaw*, duke of *Poloczka*, and his sons, he put them in irons, and threatened them with immediate death, if they did not renounce all their rights in his favour. The people, incensed at his behaviour, took up arms against him; and at the same time *Wzewold* and *Swetoslaw*, two of the other brothers, joined to oppose an enemy, from whose cruelty and injustice they themselves had no less to fear. *Izaslav* was defeated, and *Wzeslaw* reaped the fruits of the victory; his brothers putting him in possession of the principality of the rival who would have deprived him of his inheritance. *Izaslav*, vanquished and pursued, sought refuge in *Poland*, from *Boleslaus* II. whom he easily engaged in his interests; that monarch wanting only a pretence to foment the divisions in *Russia*. *Wzeslaw* marched a numerous army of *Russians* and *Walachians*, to defend the frontiers of his dominions: but the resolute appearance of the *Poles*, with the good order and regularity of their disciplined troops, struck him with such terror, that he shamefully fled, and was followed by his soldiers. The king of *Poland* reinstated the prince his ally in his own duchy, and in that of the cowardly *Wzeslaw*, who continued to retreat as fast as the enemy advanced. *Boleslaus* treated *Russia* like a conquered country, draining it by enormous exactions, and still more by the excessive profusions instigated by his propensity for pleasures, and the unbounded licentiousness which he tolerated in his army. He took possession of the district of *Perzemyslia*, which he pretended to claim in right of his wife, who was a princess of *Russia*: but he soon quitted it again, and left there only a few troops, not sufficient to keep the inhabitants in subjection. This was, doubtless the effect of policy; that he might have the plea of revenge to return again into a country, which he was endeavouring to weaken by frequent invasions. What he foresaw, happened: the *Poles* had no sooner retreated, than the *Russians* revolted; *Izaslav* was driven out of his dominions by his brothers; and all *Russia* was again involved in civil broils, to which *Boleslaus* quickly added the miseries of a foreign war. Putting himself at the head of a numerous army, he engaged and defeated the confederate princes, and penetrated as far as *Kiow*, to which he laid siege. This place was well defended, and held out so long, that the enemy began to despair of taking it, when an epidemic distemper broke out in the city, and made greater havock than all the ravages of war. *Boleslaus* then offered his assistance to its distressed inhabitants, and won them by his well-timed care. The *Russians* looked upon him as their protector rather than their conqueror. He made this country tributary to his crown; re-established *Izaslav* in his duchy, rather in quality of governor under him, than as sovereign; divided among the sons of *Izaslav*, the dominions which belonged to their uncles; and married his own son *Mieslaus* to the princess *Eudoxia*, daughter of *Swetopolk* duke of *Novogrod*.

Policy of the Poles to weaken Russia.

They become masters of Kiow.

The Russians invade Poland and are defeated.

THE severity of the *Polish* government, and the disgrace of bearing a foreign yoke, roused the *Russians* again to arms. Their sovereigns formed four armies, with which they invaded *Poland* on different sides, and afterwards assembled on the banks of the *Vistula*, in order to return in a body into their own country, and by that means preserve their booty and prisoners. But *Boleslaus* III. duke of *Bohemia*, and afterwards king of *Poland*, cut off their passage, defeated them, and took from them all the fruits of their depredations.

WHEN

a WHEN foreign nations suffered *Russia* to enjoy tranquility, its own sovereigns were continually raising intestine commotions. One of these, more fortunate and more enterprising than the rest, *Wolodimir II.* nephew to *Izaslav*, possessed himself of the greatest part of these countries, and caused himself to be declared *monomach*, or sole universal monarch^p. He transferred his whole power to his son *Wsewold II.* but this last plunged the state into fresh disorder, by dividing his dominions amongst his children, who set up so many separate states, incessantly employed in destroying each other. These rival princes renewed the horrid scenes of treachery, assassinations, domestic animosities, and fratricides. The *Tartars*, a people who live by rapine, availed themselves of these divisions to make incursions into *Russia*, and glut themselves with carnage, of which they are as greedy as

A. D. 1106.
Wolodimir II.
sole sovereign
of *Russia*.

Wsewold II.
divides his do-
minions among
his children.

The *Tartars*
invade *Russia*.

b of plunder.

THE principalities of *Wolodimir*, *Halitz*, and *Kiow*, though considerable when united, were not able separately to resist the frequent incursions of the *Poles*. However, *Jaropolk*, duke of the last of these places, collecting all his forces, resolved to make an effort to retaliate upon *Poland* the injuries he had sustained from that kingdom. The storm was ready to break out under the direction of this active prince, when the *Polish* count *Wlosczowiez*, formed and executed alone a scheme for preventing the calamities which threatened his country. Under pretence of being dissatisfied with his court, he desired the *Russian* prince to afford him an asylum, and promised to devote to him his abilities in the art of war. The duke of *Kiow* gave too easy credit to the counsels and pretended friendship

Jaropolk me-
ditates re-
venge against
the *Poles*.

A. D. 1135.

Is betrayed and
taken prisoner.

Wasilkon re-
venges his fa-
ther *Jaropolk*.

c of the perfidious *Pole*, who seized him, and carried him away prisoner through by-roads into *Poland*. *Wasilkon*, son of *Jaropolk*, had likewise recourse to artifice, to revenge his father. He prevailed on an *Hungarian* lord to repair to the court of *Poland*, and solicit a government. The stratagem took, and the *Hungarian* was put in possession of *Willisca*, an important place in the palatinate of *Crasovia*, which he immediately delivered up to the *Russians*, and even put himself at their head to destroy it by fire and sword, after having first loaded the inhabitants with chains. Not satisfied with this, *Wasilkon* laid a still more fatal snare for *Poland*. He deprived *Jaroslav*, the ally of that crown, of his duchy of *Halitz*, and drove him from his dominions. The dispossessed prince implored the assistance of *Boleslaus I.* upon which *Wasilkon*, who expected that he would take that step, and had laid his plan accordingly, bribed some of the principal inhabitants of the duchy of *Halitz*, and prevailed upon them to go to the court of *Poland*, and represent to *Jaroslav* and the king, that their presence, with a few select *Polish* soldiers, would be sufficient to effect the conquest of the duchy of *Halitz*; that the inhabitants of that country, and almost all *Russia* would second them; and that their enemy was also engaged in a foreign war. These deputies could not be suspected, and what they said bore an air of truth. *Boleslaus*, desirous to take advantage of these favourable circumstances, hastened away with only a small body of troops, and marched to *Russia* as to a sure conquest. *Wasilkon*, who waited for him with a great army, suffered the *Poles* to entangle themselves in the defiles, and then fell upon them. *Boleslaus*, for the first time, was forced to seek his safety in flight, with the shame and grief of having been imposed upon, and of having seen his bravest warriors perish ingloriously, without being able to defend themselves.

e THE hostilities between *Russia* and *Poland* continued with the same violence under *Boleslaus III.* and *Casimir II.* which last made an irruption into the duchy of *Halitz*, to re-instate his nephew *Miecslaus*, who had been driven from thence: but the *Russians*, hating a master not of their own chusing, poisoned him, and offered his dominions to *Wladimir*, another nephew of the king of *Poland*. *Wladimir*, to strengthen himself, sought the assistance of the *Hungarians*, whose friendship he had experienced before. But *Bela*, king of *Hungary*, instead of helping his ally, put him in chains, and took possession of his territories, into which he sent his son *Andrew*, in quality of viceroy. The captive prince, however, escaping from his prison, applied to the *Poles*, always ready to take up arms against the *Russians*, and with their assistance defeated the *Hungarians*, and recovered the duchy of *Halitz*, which he rendered tributary to his late benefactors.

A. D. 1182.
Contentions
for the duchy
of *Halitz*.

f THE death of *Wladimir* occasioned fresh feuds and contentions. The greatest part of the *Russian* princes asserted, sword in hand, their right to the duchy of *Halitz*. *Romanus* duke of *Lucko*, took possession of it with the help of *Poland*, and afterwards became a most implacable enemy to that power, whose vassal he disdained to be. But fortune did not second his high sentiments. *Lesko*, then general, and afterwards king of *Poland*, killed him in battle on the banks of the *Vistula*, and made a dreadful slaughter of his numerous army.

g THE *Russians* were reduced to a most deplorable situation, perpetually distressed by their own sovereigns, harrassed by their neighbours, and exposed to all the calamities of

A. D. 1237.

Russia subjected by the Tartars.

war; when, to complete their misery, the *Tartars*, still greater savages than themselves, poured in upon them with irresistible fury, and actually made a conquest of their country. History does not inform us of the particulars of this remarkable event, any farther than that innumerable multitudes of those barbarians headed by their khan *Batto*, or *Battus*, after ravaging great part of *Poland* and *Silesia*, broke suddenly into *Russia*^a, and laid every thing waste before them, marking their steps with every act of cruelty. Most of the *Russian* princes, among whom was the great-duke *George Sevoloditz*, were made prisoners, and racked to death: in short, none found mercy, but those who voluntarily acknowledged the *Tartars* for their lords. The relentless conqueror imposed upon the *Russians* every thing that is most mortifying in slavery; insisting that they should have no other princes than such as he approved of; and that they should pay him a yearly tribute, to be brought by their sovereigns themselves, now his vassals, on foot, who were to present it humbly to the *Tartarian* ambassador on horseback. They were also to prostrate themselves before the haughty *Tartar*, to offer him milk to drink, and if any drops of it fell down, to lick them up: a singular mark of servility, worthy of the barbarian who imposed it, and which lasted near two hundred and sixty years.

GEORGE SEVOLODITZ was succeeded by his brother *Michael Sevoloditz Zernigouski*, who opposed the *Tartars*, but was defeated by them, and lost his life. He left three sons, *Feodor*, *Alexander*, and *Andrew*, whose wars with each other, but none for the public good, ended in the murder of them all. A son of *Alexander*, and of the same name, was then placed on the throne by the *Tartars*; and his son *Danilow*, or *Daniel Alexandrowitz*, removed his court from *Wolodimir* to *Moscow*, where he first assumed the title of *Great-duke of Wolodimir and Moscow*. *Daniel Alexandrowitz* left two sons, *Gregory* and *John*; the former of which, surnamed *Kalita*, from a purse he used always to carry about him, filled with money for the poor, ascended the throne; but he was soon assassinated by another prince, named *Demetri Michaelowitz*, who was himself put to death for it by the *Tartars*; and *John*, likewise surnamed *Kalita*, was then made czar. This *John* left three sons, *John*, *Simon*, and *Andrew*; and the eldest of these, commonly called *Iwan Iwanowitz*, was made czar, with the approbation of the *Tartars*, on whom he was dependent.

Attacked by the Livonians and Poles.

Their conquests A. D. 1340.

DURING these several reigns, which fill a space of upwards of an hundred years, and which all historians have passed over as slightly as we are forced to do, for want of records concerning them, the miseries of a foreign yoke were aggravated by all the calamities of intestine discord and war; whilst the knights of *Livonia*, or brothers of the short-sword, as they are sometimes called, a kind of military order of religious, on one side, and the *Poles* on the other, catching at the opportunity, attacked *Russia*, and took several of its towns, and even some considerable countries. The *Tartars* and *Russians*, whose interests were in this case the same, often united to oppose their common enemies; but were generally worsted. The *Livonians* took *Pleskow*, and the *Poles* made themselves masters of *Black Russia*, the *Ukraine*, *Podolia*, and the city of *Kiow*. *Casimir the Great*, one of their kings, carried his conquests still farther. He asserted his pretensions to a part of *Russia*, in right of his relation to *Boleslaus* duke of *Halitz*, who died without issue, and forcibly possessed himself of the duchies of *Perzemyslia*, *Halitz*, and *Luckow*, and of the districts of *Sanock*, *Lubackzow*, and *Trebowla*; all which countries he made a province of *Poland*.

THE newly-conquered *Russians* were ill-disposed to brook the government of the *Poles*, whose laws and customs were more contrary to their own than those of the *Tartars* had been. They joined the latter, to rid themselves of the yoke, and assembled an army, numerous enough to overwhelm all *Poland*, but destitute of valour and discipline. *Casimir*, undaunted by this deluge of barbarians, presented himself at the head of a few troops, on the borders of the *Vistula*, and obliged his enemies to retire.

Demetrius Iwanowitz endeavours to shake off the yoke.

DEMETRIUS IWANOWITZ, son of *Iwan Iwanowitz*, who commanded in *Moscow*, made frequent efforts to rid himself of the galling yoke. He defeated, in several battles, *Maymay* khan of the *Tartars*; and, when conqueror, refused to pay them any tribute, and assumed the title of *Great-duke of Muscovy*. But the oppressors of the north returned in greater numbers than before; and *Demetrius*, at length overpowered, after a struggle of three years, perished with his whole army, which, if we may credit historians, amounted to upwards of two hundred and forty thousand men.

Basilus Demetriwitz.

BASILIUS DEMETRIWITZ revenged his father's death. He attacked his enemies, drove them out of his dominions, and conquered *Bulgaria*^r. Equally politic and brave, he made an alliance with the *Poles*, whom he could not subdue, and even ceded to them a part of his country, on condition that they should help him to defend the rest against any new incursions of the *Tartars*. But this treaty was a weak barrier against ambition. The *Russians* found new enemies in their allies, and the *Tartars* soon returned.

^a PETREIUS, part ii.

^r Idem.

- a All endeavours to establish a peace merely by conventions, will ever prove ineffectual: a nation is not secure, whilst its neighbours have the power of hurting it.

BASILIIUS DEMETRIWITZ had a son, who was called after his name, and to whom the crown ought naturally to have descended. But the father, suspecting his legitimacy, left it to his own brother *Gregory*, a man of a severe and tyrannical disposition, and therefore hated by the people, who asserted the son's right, and proclaimed him their sovereign. The *Tartars* took cognizance of the dispute, and determined it in favour of *Basiliius*; upon which *Gregory* had recourse to arms, drove his nephew from *Moscow* to the principality of *Uglitz*, and forcibly usurped and kept possession of his throne. Upon the death of *Gregory*, *Basiliius* returned to *Moscow*: but *Andrew* and *Demetrius*, sons of the late usurper, laid siege to that city, and obliged him to retire to the monastery of *Troitz*, where they took him prisoner, with his wife and son, and put out his eyes: hence the appellation of *Jemnoi*, blind, by which this *Basiliius* is distinguished. The subjects of this unfortunate prince, incensed at the cruel treatment he had received, forced the perpetrators of it to fly to *Novogrod*, and reinstated their lawful sovereign at *Moscow*, where he died.

Various fortune of *Basiliius* the Blind.

- c THE impenetrable darkness in which the history of the *Russians* has been hitherto involved, such as baffles all endeavours to trace either the regular succession of their sovereigns, or the several dynasties into which they were divided, from the time of their first monarch *Ruric*, down to this period, begins now to clear up a little. Their transactions become important to other nations, the historians of which, for they had not any of their own, afford us some, though still very imperfect accounts of them: but even these will soon fail us again. What time has obliterated, or what perhaps never was recorded, we cannot call back from oblivion. Perpetually exposed to the fatal vicissitudes of both foreign and domestic wars, inexpressibly distressed by the bloody contest of its own divided princes, and plunged into all the miseries of complicated slavery, *Russia* was now become a prey to the *Poles* as well as to the *Tartars*, who seemed to vie with each other which should dispose of the empire and its sovereigns. The right of conquest, which subsists no longer than whilst it is supported by power, became a title continually disputed, an inexhaustible source of cruelty and oppression.

- d In the midst of this general confusion arose one of those men, whom violent passions inspire with boldness, activity, and resolution; in whom impetuous vices sometimes produce the happy effects of heroic virtues. *John Basilowitz* I. by his invincible spirit and reined policy, became both the conqueror and deliverer of his country, and laid the first foundation of its future grandeur. Observing with indignation, the narrow limits of his power at his accession to the throne, after the death of his father *Basiliius the Blind*, he began immediately to revolve within himself the means of enlarging his dominions. Marriage, though he had in reality no regard or inclination for women, seemed to him one of the best expedients he could begin with; and accordingly he demanded and obtained *Maria*, sister of *Michael* duke of *Twer*, whom he soon after deposed, under pretence of revenging the injuries done to his father, and added this duchy to his own territories of *Moscow*. *Maria*, by whom he had a son named *John*, who died before him, did not live long; and upon her death he married *Sophia*, daughter of *Thomas Paleologus*, who had been driven from *Constantinople*, and forced to take shelter at *Rome*, where the pope portioned this princess, in hopes of procuring thereby great advantage to the *Romish* religion: but his expectations were frustrated, *Sophia* being obliged to conform to the *Greek* church, after her arrival in *Russia*. What could induce *Basilowitz* to seek a consort at such a distance, is no where accounted for; unless it be, that he hoped by this means to establish a pretension to the empire of the east, to which her father was the next heir: but however that may be, the *Russians* certainly owed to this alliance, their deliverance from the *Tartar* yoke. Shocked at the servile homage exacted by those proud victors, her husband going to meet their ambassadors at some distance from the city, and standing to hear what they had to say, whilst they were at dinner; *Sophia* told him, that she was surprized to find she had married a servant to the *Tartars*. Nettled at this reproach, *Basiliius* feigned himself ill when the next deputation from the *Tartars* arrived, and under that pretence avoided a repetition of the stipulated humiliating ceremonial. Another circumstance, equally displeasing to this princess, was, that the *Tartars* had, by agreement, within the walls of the palace at *Moscow*, houses in which their ministers resided; to shew their power, and at the same time watch the actions of the great-duke. To get rid of these, a formal embassy

A. D. 1450.
John Basilowitz, great-duke of *Muscovy*.

Shakes off the yoke of the *Tartars*.

^s PETREIUS, part ii. and HERBERSTEIN apud Script. Rer. Moscovit. p. 6. & Reb. gest. Polon. lib. xxix. apud Pist. Polon. Rer. tom. ii. p. 807.

Moscov. p. 8. and BODINUS, De Repub. lib. v. cap. i. p. 771.

ad ann. 1558. ^z P. JOVIUS, De Legat. Moscovit. inter Script. Rer. Moscovit. p. 129.

Famil. august. Byzant. p. 248.

^a HERBERSTEIN, p. 8.

^b Idem ibid.

^c PETREI

^t COMERUS, De Orig.

^u HERBERSTEIN, Com. Rer.

^v THUANUS,

^w DU CANGE,

^x PETREI

His conquests.

A. D. 1477.

was sent to the *Tartarian* khan, to tell him, that *Scphia* having been favoured with a vision from above, ordering her to build a remple in the place where those houses stood, her mind could not be at ease till she had fulfilled the divine command, and therefore his leave was desired to pull them down, and give his people others. The khan consented; the houses within the *Kremlin* were demolished, and no new ones being provided, the *Tartar* residents were obliged to leave *Moscow*; their prince not being able to revenge this breach of promise, by reason of a war he was then engaged in with the *Poles*. *Basilowitz*, taking advantage of this circumstance, and having in the mean time considerably increased his forces, openly disclaimed all subjection to the *Tartars*, attacked their dominions, and made himself master of *Casan*, where he was solemnly crowned with the diadem of that kingdom^a, which is said to be the same that is now used for the coronation of the *Russian* sovereigns. The province of *Permia*, with great part of *Lapland* and *Asiatic Bulgaria*, soon submitted to him; and *Great Novogrod*, a city then so famous, that the *Russians* used to express its vast importance by the proverbial expression of, *Who can resist God and the Great Novogrod?* was reduced by his generals after a seven years siege, and yielded him an immense treasure: no less say some writers^c, than three hundred cart-loads of gold and silver, and other valuable effects. *Alexander Witold*, waiwode of *Lithuania*, was in possession of this rich place, from which he had exacted for some years an annual tribute of one hundred thousand rubels, a prodigious sum for those days, and for that country, when it was taken by *John Basilowitz*, who, the better to secure his conquest, politicly put it under the protection of the *Poles*^f, voluntarily rendered himself their tributary for it, and accepted a governor from the hand of their king *Casimir*, a weak and indolent prince, from whom he well knew he had nothing to fear. The *Novogrodians* continued to enjoy all their privileges till about two years after; when *John*, ambitious of reigning without controul, entered the city with a numerous retinue, under pretence of keeping to the *Greek* faith some of its inhabitants, who, said he, intended to embrace the *Romish* religion^g; and, with the assistance of their archbishop *Theophilus*, stripped them of all their remaining riches^h. He then deposed the treacherous prelate, and established over *Novogrod* new magistrates, creatures of his own; destroying at once, by these means, a noble city, which, had its liberties been protected, and its trade encouraged, might have proved to him an inexhaustible fund of wealth. All the north beheld with terror and astonishment, the rapid increase of the victor's power: foreign nations courted his alliance; and the several petty princes of *Russia* submitted to him without resistance, acknowledging themselves his vassals.

THE *Poles*, however, complained loudly of his late breach of faith in regard to *Novogrod*, and threatened revenge: upon which *Basilowitz*, elated with his successes, with the riches he had amassed, and with the weak condition of most of his neighbours, sent a body of troops into *Lithuania*, and soon became master of several of its towns. *Casimir* applied for assistance to *Matthias*, king of *Hungary*; but was answered by this last, that his own soldiers were quite undisciplined; that his auxiliaries had lately mutinied for want of pay; and that it was impossible for him to raise a new army out of the neighbouring countries. The *Polish* monarch, in this distress, was obliged to purchase of *John* a cessation of arms for two yearsⁱ, during which the *Muscovite* made new accessions to his dominions.

Servia submits to the Russians.

A. D. 1490.

THE dukes of *Servia*, whose territories were about five hundred miles in extent^k, had long thought themselves ill used by the *Lithuanians*, on account of their religion, which was that of the *Greek* church, and wanted to withdraw from their subjection to *Poland*, and put themselves under the protection of *Russia*. The following accident afforded them the wished-for pretence. Their envoys arriving at *Wilna*, desired admittance to the king's presence; which being refused, one of them endeavoured to force his way in: but the porter shut the door rudely against him, and in so doing broke one of his fingers. The servant was immediately put to death for this offence: but the *Servians*, by no means satisfied with that, returned home in great fury, and prevailed upon their countrymen to submit themselves and their country to the *Muscovites*. *Casimir* made several attempts to recall them; but to no purpose.

MATTHIAS, king of *Hungary*, dying about this time, two of his sons, *Uladislaus*, then king of *Bohemia*, and *John Albert*, contended for the vacant crown. *Casimir* wanted to give it to the latter, whom he accordingly assisted to the utmost of his power; and to enable him the better so to do, though he was in great want of money as well as men, he purchased a renewal of the truce with the *Russians*, and thereby gave *John Basilowitz* time to establish himself in his now acquisitions^l.

^a HERBERSTEIN, ubi supra.^c PETREIUS, par. ii.

GUAGNINUS, Descript. Moscov. p. 163:

^f MATTHIAS de Michovia, Chron. Reg. Polon. lib. iv. cap. 72.^g RUSSOUWENS Lief. Chron. p. 50.^h GUAGNINUS, loc. supra cit. & PETREIUS, p. 73.ⁱ CROMERUS, apud Pistor. p. 806.^k PETREIUS, p. 52.

NEUGEBAUER, lib. vi. p. 424.

^l CROMERUS, lib. xxix. p. 812. NEUGEBAUER, p. 427.

- ^a *CASIMIR* died in the year 1492, and was succeeded on the throne of *Poland* by his son *John Albert*, who, totally disregarding the *Russians*, involved himself unnecessarily in a war with the brave *Stephen*, duke of *Moldavia*: and though he had, at the same time, both the *Tartars* and *Turks* against him, his propensity to pleasure, and his lascivious disposition, rendered him so indolent^m, that he not only did not so much as attempt to molest *Basilowitz* in any of his possessions, but concluded a peace with him on terms very advantageous to the latter, and even entered into a treaty by which he stipulated not to assist the *Lithuanians*, though they had chosen his brother *Alexander* for their duke, in case the *Russians* should attack them, as it was supposed they wouldⁿ. *Alexander*, thinking to parry the inconveniences of this agreement, and to guard against the designs of his enemies, demanded in marriage *Basilowitz's* daughter, *Helena*, by his second wife *Sophia*, and obtained her. The *Lithuanians* then flattered themselves with a prospect of tranquillity^o: but the ambitious czar, for *Basilowitz* had assumed that title since his conquest of *Casan*, aiming only at an increase of dominion, soon found a pretence to break with his new allies; by alleging, that *Polish Russia*, as far as the river *Berezina*, had formerly belonged to his ancestors, and therefore should be his; and that *Alexander*, by his marriage-contract, had engaged to build a *Greek* church at *Wilna* for his *Russians* comfort, which he had not done, but on the contrary endeavoured to force the *Polish Russians* to embrace the religion of the church of *Rome*^p. In consequence of this plea, he sent into the territories of his son-in-law, by different ways, three armies, which reduced several places, destroyed the country about *Smolensko*, and defeated the *Lithuanian* field-marshal *Ostrosky*, near the river *Wendrasch*, where he fell unawares into an ambush of the *Russians*^q. *Alexander* raised a new army of *Silesians*, *Bohemians*, and *Moravians*; but they came too late, the *Russians* having retired with their plunder.

John Basilowitz makes peace with Poland,

and marries his daughter to the duke of Lithuania;

with whom he seeks a quarrel. A. D. 1500. The Russians defeat the Lithuanians.

- ELATED by their success against the *Lithuanians*, they invaded *Livonia* in the year 1502, with one hundred and thirty thousand men: but *Walter Von Plettenberg*, grand-master of the knights of the cross, with only twelve thousand men, gave them a total overthrow; killing ten thousand of his enemies, with scarce any loss on his own side (K). *Basilowitz*, dispirited by this defeat, and being then engaged in a war with the *Tartars*, the *Poles*, and the city of *Pleskow*, immediately dispatched an embassy to *Plettenberg*, and concluded a truce with him for fifty years. At the same time he begged of that general to send to *Moscow*, that he might see him; one of the iron-dragoons, as he called them, who had performed wonders in the late engagement. *Von Plettenberg* readily complied; and the czar, struck with admiration, rewarded the cuirassier's extraordinary accomplishments, with considerable honours and presents^r.

A. D. 1502. Are defeated by the Livonians.

With whom they make a truce for fifty years.

- ALEXANDER* had been elected king of *Poland*, upon the death of his brother *John Albert*, which happened in the beginning of this year: but the *Poles* refused to crown his consort *Helena*, because she adhered to the *Greek* religion^s. Provoked at this affront, and probably still more stimulated by ambition, *Basilowitz* resolved again to try his fortune with them, and accordingly ordered his son *Demetrius*, who was now the eldest, to march against *Smolensko*, and reduce that city. The young prince did all that could be done; but the vigorous resistance of the besieged, and the arrival of the king of *Poland* with a numerous army, obliged the *Russians* to raise the siege, and return home^t; and the czar was glad to make a fresh truce with the *Poles* for six years, upon the easy terms of only returning the prisoners he had taken^u. Some writers say, that flying into a violent passion with his son, the moment he saw him, and imputing the miscarriage of this expedition to his want of courage or conduct, he gave him a blow which laid him dead at his feet: to which is added, that remorse for this rash action carried his father to his grave^w: but this account, somewhat very like which has been unjustly imputed to *John Basilowitz II.* as the cause of the death of his son, as we shall see, is not confirmed by authors whose authority can be relied on. Certain it is, however, that neither of them long survived this event, and that *Demetrius* died first: for *Sophia*, who had gained an absolute ascendant over her husband, and wanted to give the sovereignty to her own children, persuaded him, by various artful insinuations, to set aside and imprison his grandson *Demetrius*, the only child of the late *John*, whom he had by his first wife *Maria*, and declare her then eldest son, *Gabrie*, his suc-

John Basilowitz again attacks the Poles;

and makes another truce with them. A. D. 1503.

^m CROMERUS, lib. xxx. p. 820.

MICHOWIUS, lib. iv. cap. lxxv. p. 242.

Lief. Chron. p. 53.

PETREIUS, p. 167. & GUAGNINUS, tom. ii. Rer. Polon. p. 397.

Bell. Livon. apud Pistor. Rer. Polon. tom. iii. p. 55. & inter Script. Rer. Moscovit. p. 227.

De Mosc. Bell. tom. iii. p. 129.

MICHOWIUS, lib. iv. cap. viii. p. 49.

CROMERUS, p. 826.

cap. 81. & GUAGNINI Chron. Pol. tom. ii. p. 397.

ⁿ Idem. lib. xxxi. p. 814, 821. NEUGEBAUER, p. 429. &

^o HERBERSTEIN, p. 7. CROMERUS, ubi supra. RUSSOW.

^p SACRARIUS Elucidar. Error. in Præf. p. 185.

^q HERBERSTEIN, ubi supra.

^r TILLEMANNI BRIDENBACHII

^s STANISLAI STARNICII Annales, lib. vii. p. 273.

^t MICHOWIUS, lib. iv. cap. viii. p. 49.

^u HERBERSTEIN, p. viii. MICHOWIUS,

^w LACOMBE, Revolutions de Russie, p. 31.

(K) The Annals of *Livonia*, p. 75. say that *Plettenberg* lost but one man; which seems scarcely credible.

Declares his
grand-son De-
metrius his
successor.

His death, and
character.

cessor (L). Age and infirmities had rendered the czar so weak, that he blindly followed this iniquitous advice: but shortly after, finding his end approach, he sent for young *Demetrius*, expressed great repentance for his barbarity towards him, and on his death bed declared him his lawful successor^x. He died^y in *November* 1505 (M), after a reign of fifty-five years; leaving behind him an immense territory, chiefly of his own acquiring.

JOHN BASILOWITZ may justly be looked upon as one of the founders of the vast empire of *Russia*. He had all the qualities which constitute a conqueror; an enterprising genius, an intrepid soul, and an indefatigable body: but at the same time he had all the vices of a barbarous age, and all the ferocity of his savage country. Battles, bloodshed, and the miseries of war, were his chief delight. He fought and triumphed with that ascendancy which is the result of confidence and a happy temerity; and had the art of bringing to a sort of discipline, men who, before his time, had not even an idea of regularity, either in attacking others, or defending themselves. His air was commanding, his stature gigantic, his strength surprizing, and his look fierce and terrible.

CROMERUS says^z, he never took the field but once in person, and that the success of his generals was entirely owing to his secret management: and baron *Herberstein* observes^a, that *Stephen* duke of *Moldavia* used often to wonder how *Basilowitz* enlarged his dominions without labour or pains, whilst he himself could scarcely defend his own by continual wars. That the policy by which the czar effected almost every thing he did, was such as never respected even the most sacred ties, when he could get any thing by breaking through them, is evident from his actions. History has not transmitted to us so many particulars as we could wish of all his conquests, nor of his wars with the *Poles* and *Swedes*; particularly with these last, under their administrator *Steen Sture*, about the year 1479. The depredations of time, and the want of records, necessarily occasion chasms in all histories, which latter writers cannot fill up. Though he punished drunkenness severely in others, and to prevent it, prohibited the selling of strong liquors; he was himself greatly addicted to excessive drinking, scarce a day passing without his being intoxicated at dinner; when he would fall asleep at table, his attendants waiting in silent dread till he awoke; after which, indeed, he generally gave a loose to mirth^b. The poor were never suffered to approach him, nor were his ears ever open to their complaints^c. Yet, with all this, even in his life time, he was stiled *the Great*. His conquests, indeed, might intitle him to that distinction, as has been the case with others; but we see nothing else that could. It was reserved for another czar truly to merit that glorious appellation, by being the father of his people. *Basilowitz* first encircled *Moscow* with a wall; and the city of *Iwanograd* was built by him in one summer^d. He also enlarged the titles of the *Russian* sovereigns; stiling himself great-duke of *Volodimir*, *Moscow*, and *Novograd*, and lord of all the *Russias*.

A. D. 1505.
Basilus Iwa-
nowitz czar.

JOHN BASILOWITZ was no sooner dead than his son *Gabriel Iwanowitz*, at the instigation of his mother *Sophia*, sacrificed the young *Demetrius*, by confining him again in a prison, where he perished; some say, of hunger and cold. During the short time this unfortunate prince survived his grand-father, *Gabriel* stiled himself only guardian of the realm^e; but upon his death, he ascended the throne, was crowned by the name of *Basilus*, which he liked better than that of *Gabriel*, and took all the titles then belonging to the sovereignty, to which some say he first added that of *czar*: but it seems more probable that this title had been assumed before by his father, upon his conquest of *Casan*.

ALEXANDER, king of *Poland*, concluding that *Russia* would now be distracted a-new by factions and civil wars, which might afford him an opportunity of recovering what his father had lost, marched into *Lithuania*, to be in readiness to act: but, after waiting there some time, finding that there was no possibility of relieving or setting up the young *Demetrius*, he returned home, and died the next year^f. *Basilus*, in his turn, expected that the *Poles* would quarrel, as usual, about the choice of a new king, and prepared to take advantage of their dissensions: but his expectations being frustrated by their unanimous election of *Sigismund* I. a prince of a mild and peaceable disposition, he sent an army into *Lithuania*, and laid siege to *Smolensko*, under pretence that his sister *Helena* had not been treated with the respect due to her dignity as queen-dowager, since the demise of her late husband. The besieged made a brave resistance, till news arriving that the crown-troops of *Poland* were coming to their assistance, with the additional aid of eighty thousand *Crim-*

A. D. 1507.

^x *CROMERUS*, p. 81. *MICHOV*, lib. iv. cap. lxxxv. p. 28. *HERBERSTEIN*, p. 7. *PETREIUS*, par. ii.
^y *RUSSOUW*. Lief. Chron. p. 57. *MICHOV*. ubi supra. *HERBERSTEIN*, p. 8. ^z Lib. xxix. apud
Pistor. Rer. Polon. tom. ii. p. 807. ^a Page 8. ^b *HERBERSTEIN*, p. 11. ^c *Idem*
ibid. ^d *CROMERUS*, p. 831. & *HERBERSTEIN*, ubi supra. ^e *PETREIUS*, p. 166. *HERBERSTEIN*,
p. 8. ^f *CROMERUS*, lib. xxx. p. 831, 832.

(L) *John Basilowitz* had five sons by his second wife *Sophia*, viz. *Demetrius*, who died before his father, as we have just observed, this *Gabriel*, *Gregory*, *Simon*, and *Andrew*.

(M) *Petreibus*, and some others mistakenly place his death in 1492.

a *Tartars*, and that they intended also to invade *Russia*; the *Muscovites* returned home with great speed², and their czar, excessively alarmed, thought of suing for peace on almost any terms; when an unexpected incident revived his hopes, by bringing to him one of the ablest generals of that age.

MICHAEL GLINSKI, governor of *Lithuania*, after having been in high favour with king *Alexander* of *Poland*, found his credit decline under his successor *Sigismund*; chiefly through the means of *Zabrezinius*, grand-marshal of *Lithuania*, who charged him with a design to conspire against his prince, and render himself independent. *Glinski's* haughty and enterprising spirit rendered the accusation probable; and numbers of enemies, who envied his wealth and power, joined their efforts to ruin him. He petitioned to be heard in his justification; but his request not being immediately granted, he fell upon *Zabrezinius* at *Grodno*, and of his own authority³ put him to death; after which, as he could not expect that *Sigismund* would pardon this proceeding, he took up arms, seized several strong places in *Lithuania*, plundered that province, and fled with his riches to *Moscow*, where he was well received by *Basilius*, who gave him a considerable command, with which he made several conquests for the *Russians*. *Glinski's* party in *Lithuania* was however, soon dispersed by the crown-army of *Poland*; whose commander, duke *Constantine Ostrofski*, penetrated to the very gates of *Moscow*, made the czar tremble upon his throne, and forced him to submit to such conditions as the victors thought proper to impose. A treaty was concluded, and ratified at *Wilna* the following year, by which all the places taken by *Glinski* in *Lithuania* were restored; and he and his whole family were banished to *Moscow*.⁴

Glinski goes over to the Russians.

The Poles invade Russia, and force Basilius to submit.

BASILIUS, dissembling his resentment, remained quiet for a time; after which, pretending to set out upon some other expedition, he marched with a numerous army, and encamped near *Plescow*, where the *Poles*, relying on the late treaty, and not dreaming of his having any design against them, visited his camp, as that of their friend and ally. But in the mean time the *Muscovite* priests of the *Greek* church at *Plescow*, pursuant to the instructions they had privately received before-hand, preached to the people, on whom the voice of bigotry is always too apt to make impression, the expediency of having a sovereign of their own religion; and wrought them up to such a pitch, that they murdered their magistrates, and opened their gates to the czar; who, becoming by this means master of the whole duchy of *Plescow*, made its inhabitants slaves, sent them away to different parts of *Russia*, and replaced them with *Muscovites*, the better to secure his conquest⁵. The *Poles* could not stop the progress of this revolution, after it had once begun; the emperor *Maximilian*, who had taken umbrage at their power, being then in league with the czar, and meditating himself an invasion of *Lithuania*, to guard against which their troops were fully employed.

He takes Plescow by treachery, A. D. 1510.

ELATED with this success, *Basilius* led an army of sixty thousand men into *Lithuania*, upon *Glinski's* assurance that he would certainly put him in possession of *Smolensko*; the sovereignty of which the czar promised to give, in that case, to him and his heirs. The country about that city was laid waste, and its walls were battered so long, to no purpose, that the *Russians* began to think of raising the siege, when *Glinski*, by dint of money, for that was his grand resource, found means to bribe the commanding officers of the garrison, and procure a surrender of the place. *Basilius* entered it the next day, and sent to *Moscow* every thing of value that he found there⁶. *Glinski* then claimed his promise, of which the *Russian* monarch, thinking he could now do without him, or not chusing to trust him too far, eluded the performance; and shortly after, through a series of misfortunes incident to men of his towering spirit, he fell into disgrace with *Basilius*, who suspected that he wanted also to betray him, upon which he was arrested and imprisoned⁷. In effect, *Glinski* is said actually to have made his terms with *Sigismund*, and obtained pardon of all his former offences, on condition that he should let the *Poles* take back what the *Russians* had conquered from them in *Lithuania*⁸: and *Basilius*, either believing, or pretending to believe him guilty, secured him in a strong prison.

and Smolensko.

Glinski disgraced in Russia.

THE *Swedes*, alarmed at the success of the *Russians* in taking *Plescow* and *Smolensko*, and at their prodigious armies, the efforts of which they feared might at last be directed against them, desired a prolongation of the truce between the two crowns, for sixty years longer, to which the czar readily agreed⁹; though it proved, in fact, a suspension of hostilities only for a short time. *Lithuania* was still the principal object of *Basilius's* designs; and to push that point, he ordered *Iwan Czeladin*, a man of great resolution, and enterprising

The truce between Russia and Sweden prolonged.

² HERBERSTEIN, p. 9. PETREIUS, p. 170. ³ DECIUS, p. 302. ⁴ PUFFEND. tom. ii. p. 254. ⁵ HERBERSTEIN, p. 56. DECIUS, p. 308. HEIDENST. De Bello Moscovit. lib. iv. p. 395. ⁶ HERBERSTEIN, p. 9, & 79. DECIUS, p. 319. LEUENC. p. 130. & RUSSOW. p. 130. ⁷ DECIUS, p. 320. HERBERSTEIN, p. 79. NEUGE. lib. vii. p. 467. ⁸ NEUGE. ubi supra. ⁹ PUFFEND. tom. ii. p. 254.

A. D. 1514.
The battle of
Orsova, be-
tween the Rus-
sians and the
Poles.
The Russians
are totally de-
feated.

even to rashness, to march thither with eighty thousand men. The army of the *Poles*, which did not exceed thirty-five thousand, including the *Lithuanians*, but which was commanded by the brave and experienced duke *Ostrowski*, met them on the opposite banks of the *Dnieper*, near *Orsova*, and passed that rapid river in their sight. *Czeladin's* officers advised him to fall upon the enemy when about half of them had crossed over: but, confident of success, he answered, that the rest of them would then run away, and that he was determined to gain a complete victory^p. The *Lithuanians* began the attack, but were repulsed by the *Russians*, who, imprudently followed them, lost an advantageous situation, and found themselves at once exposed to the full fire of the enemy's artillery. The *Polish* cavalry then rushed in among them, sword in-hand, and made dreadful havock; the trembling *Russians* scarce attempting even to defend themselves. Those who endeavoured to fly, were driven into the *Dnieper* and drowned; and the conqueror, when weary of massacring, made slaves of the rest. At the head of these captives stood the haughty *Czeladin*, foaming with rage, and cursing his stars, for a misfortune which his own vanity alone had brought upon him. Some writers say, his confidence was such, that he left his artillery behind him, in order to march the faster; and it is pretty certain, that the *Russians* were greatly incumbered in this battle by cuirasses, which they had not been used to wear^q. The prisoners were put in irons, and carried to *Wilna*, where baron *Herberstein* says^r, he saw several of them, among whom was *Czeladin* himself, reduced to such misery as even to ask for a few dollars.

BASILIIUS was at *Smolensko* when he received the news of this defeat of his army; upon which, after furnishing that place with provisions and ammunition, which *Ostrowski's* negligence, in not improving his victory, gave him time to do, he left in it a strong garrison, and hastened to *Moscow*, lest his brother should take advantage of his absence and overthrow. The *Poles*, too late laid siege to *Smolensko*, but were obliged to raise it; partly by the brave defence of the besieged, partly by the approach of winter, for the battle of *Orsova* was fought on the 8th of *September*; and partly by their own soldiers, who, thinking they had got booty enough, resolved to go home to spend the produce of their spoils^s.

The pope orders
thanksgivings
for the victory
of the Poles.

THE pope ordered public thanksgivings for this victory of the *Poles*; and *Sigismund*, to shew his gratitude for that favour, sent an embassy to his holiness, with a present of fourteen bojars taken in the late battle. But these last were stopped near *Innsbruck*, by order of the emperor *Maximilian*, who after treating them handsomely at *Vienna* ordered them to be conveyed back to *Basilius* from *Lubeck*, to the great mortification of the pious *Polish* king; who declared, that he looked upon this proceeding as a violation of the rights of nations^t.

A. D. 1515.
Basilius's dan-
gers increase.

IN the mean time *Basilius's* danger increased daily, and every prospect of advantage from his alliance with *Maximilian* vanished at once. The *Crim Tartars* not only made incursions into *Russia*, since the battle of *Orsova*, but threatened a new invasion; and the emperor, having gained his point with *Sigismund* of *Poland* and *Uladislaus* king of *Hungary* and *Bokemia*, by a double marriage, which secured to him the succession of these last kingdoms, sent an ambassador to the czar, to desire him to desist from farther hostilities^u. *Maximilian's* former ambassador, who had solicited and promoted the war from its very beginning, was still at *Moscow*, and had not intimated any thing concerning this change of measures; so that *Basilius*, not knowing what to make of this last, whose name was *Oderum*, treated him as a spy, and had him secured, till, about two months after, he was convinced of his character^v: but still he could not succeed, nor obtain from *Basilius* any answer to carry back to his master, other than, that the emperor had deserted him at an unreasonable time, and that he could not put so sudden a stop to a war, which his imperial majesty himself had desired him to begin^w. It was to settle this affair that baron *Herberstein*, who has left us an account of his journey, and of the state and history of *Russia*, was sent to *Moscow* by the emperor *Maximilian*^x. The ambassador tried all his skill to persuade the czar to make peace with the *Poles*; and likewise presented him a particular letter from that monarch in behalf of *Glinki*, requesting his release: but he would not listen to either^y.

The emperor
breaks off his
alliance with
him,

A. D. 1516.
and solicits in
vain for *Glin-
ski's* release.

Basilius is un-
successful in
Livonia.

BASILIIUS undertook an expedition into *Livonia*: but his troops were so severely handled there by *Walter* of *Plettenberg*, that he was obliged to sue for peace, even upon dishonourable terms, from that grand-master of the knights of the cross. What those terms were,

^p GUAGN. tom. ii. p. 360. HERBERST. p. 9. PETREIUS, p. 17, & alii. ^q DECIUS, p. 319.
^r Page 10. ^s HERB. p. 10. DECIUS, ubi supra. LEUENCL. tom. iii. p. 331. ^t P. JOVIUS,
De Leg. Mosc. inter Script. Rer. Mosc. p. 120. ^u DECIUS, p. 322. ORIKOVIVS, Orat. in Fun.
Sigism. apud Pistor. tom. iii. p. 49. NEUGE. lib. vii. p. 469. ^v HERB. p. 101. ^w DECIUS,
p. 335. ^x Idem ibid. ^y Idem, p. 101. ^z HERB. p. 80.

a or what the transactions of this war, history does not inform us. Some advantages which he gained in the countries of *Petzora*, *Samogitia*, *Obdora*, and over the *Nogaian Tartars*, for the particulars of which we are equally at a loss, might help, in some measure, to console him: but a new storm broke out at once in his empire, and threatened to bury him in its ruins.

SIGISMUND, resolving if possible to put an end to the war, agreed with the *Crim-Tartars*, by money and fair promises, that they should invade *Muscovy* on their side, whilst he would attack it on that of *Opotzka*^b. *Basilus* got early information of this treaty: upon which he sent ambassadors to the *Tartars*, with orders artfully to represent to them, that *Lithuania*, being then unprovided with troops, would afford them a rich and easy booty; and that the *Poles*, secure and careless since their last victory, would naturally imagine that they were arming against the *Muscovites*, in consequence of their late agreement^c. The hint was relished, and the *Tartar* khan entered *Podolia*, which he over-ran and ravaged without mercy^d; whilst *Basilus*, under favour of this diversion, ventured to attack *Lithuania* again: but his success was small, and he was soon obliged to withdraw his troops for the defence of his own dominions, which the *Tartars*, equally treacherous to him, invaded with eight thousand horse^e. To palliate their behaviour to the *Poles*, from whom they carried off a prodigious booty, they pretended that their khan's two sons, young and impetuous, had been the cause of this accident; but that, to prove their honesty, (the czar, perhaps, had not performed his promise to them) they would invade the *Muscovites*; which they soon after did effectually^f. *Basilus* sent an army to oppose them; but his troops were defeated, and, after losing upwards of twenty thousand men, forced to abandon a considerable part of their country, which the enemy plundered and laid waste.

Sigismund stirs up the Tartars.

Basilus counter-plots him.

The Tartars invade Muscovy.

THIS check made the czar think of peace with the *Poles*^g: but upon their refusing to restore *Smolensko*, as one of the conditions of it, *Sigismund* detached into *Muscovy* a considerable body of horse, who brought back with them great spoils and many prisoners. About the same time the *Polish* troops who had laid siege to *Opotzka* under the command of their general *Suirezcu*, an officer not equal to the undertaking, were defeated and driven away^h; the next year the *Russians* were worsted before *Polocz*ⁱ; and the year after, they were obliged to quit *Lithuania*^k. Mutual embassies were then sent from each of these contending sovereigns to the other. *Sigismund* insisted on having *Smolensko* returned: and *Basilus*, to elude that point, artfully protracted the negociation so as to give room to think he might be brought to it by degrees, and in the mean while to keep on seemingly good terms^l; a policy which answered his interests particularly at that time, as he expected another visit from the *Tartars*, in which he was not mistaken.

Various success of the Russians and Poles.

A. D. 1518.

A. D. 1520.

THOSE of *Casan*, who had been conquered by *John Basilowitz* I. revolted, and were subdued again towards the beginning of the reign of this czar, his son^m; who, to punish them, appointed for their king, under him, one *Scheale*, a *Tartar*, and of the royal familyⁿ; a man excessively deformed, frightful to behold, and of a still more shocking disposition of mind. Supported by the *Russians*, to whom he at the same time bore a mortal hatred, he governed with unbounded cruelty and despotism. The *Crim* khan, *Mendligerei*, had married *Nursultan*, the widow of two kings of *Casan*, and had by her two sons; *Machmetgerei*, who succeeded him, and *Sapgerei*. *Nursultan*, had no children living by her former marriages. The *Casan-Tartars*, abhorring *Scheale*'s administration, and detesting their subjection to the *Russians*, represented to *Machmetgerei* their distressed condition, and begged of him, to give them for their king his brother *Sapgerei*, that they might once more recover their liberty; assuring him, in return, that he might ever depend on their gratitude and affection^o. *Sapgerei* was conducted to *Casan* by his brother, and crowned there; whilst *Scheale*, upon the news of their approach, fled with great precipitation.

The Crim-Tartars are joined by those of Casan.

A. D. 1521.

f THE *Tartars* then, with an innumerable force, entered *Russia*, ravaged that country, where the czar, not expecting them quite so soon, was yet unprepared to receive them, and penetrated to *Moscow*, of which they made themselves masters. An army which had been sent to oppose their progress, till such time as more troops could be raised, was defeated by them near the river *Occa*, and the czar's brother *Andrew*, who commanded it, was the very first that ran away^p: *Basilus*, with great difficulty, made his escape to *Novogrod*; so terrified, that he hid himself by the way under a hay-cock^q, to avoid a straggling party of the enemy. The *Tartars*, however, soon obliged him to sign a writing, by which he acknowledged himself their vassal, and promised to pay them a tribute of so much a-

They invade Russia, take Moscow, and again subject the czar to a tribute.

^b HERB. p. 75. NEUGE. lib. vii. p. 476.

^c DECUS, ubi supra.

^d NEUGE. lib. vii. p. 480.

^e HERB. p. 67.

^f PETREIUS, p. 91.

^g HERB. p. 70.

^h HERB. ubi supra.

ⁱ NEUGE. lib. vii. p. 477.

^j HERB. p. 67.

^k STRUYS, tom. i. p. 448.

^l HERB. p. 68. PETREIUS, p. 92.

^m Idem ibid. DECUS,

ⁿ DECUS,

^o NEUGE.

^p HERB. p. 368,

They leave
Moscow.

Basilus con-
cludes a truce
with the Poles.
His treachery
against the
duke of Servia.

Whose domi-
nions he seizes.

His fruitless
expedition a-
gainst Casan.

The Tartars
send ambassa-
dors to treat of
peace.

A. D. 1526.
Basilus repu-
diates his wife
Salomea, on
account of her
being barren;

head for every one of his subjects: besides which *Machmetgerei*, after causing his own statue to be set up at *Moscow*, as a mark of his sovereignty, compelled the fugitive *Russian* monarch to return to his capital; to bring thither in person the first payment of this tribute; and, as a token of his submission, to prostrate himself before the statue. *Machmetgerei* then left *Moscow* and returned home with an immense booty, and upwards of eighty thousand prisoners, who were made slaves, and sold like cattle to the *Turks* and other enemies of the Christians. In his way back, he attempted to take *Rezan*; but was repulsed with considerable loss by *Iwan Kowen*, who commanded in that place for the *Russians*, and narrowly escaped with life, his coat being shot through with a musket-ball. The *Muscovites* pulled down *Machmetgerei's* statue, broke it to pieces, and shook off the yoke, as soon as their conquerors had left them.

BASILIUS now talked of nothing but being revenged on the *Tartars*; as a previous step to which he sent ambassadors to king *Sigismund* of *Poland*, to remove all obstructions on that side, and concluded a truce with him for five years. Another obstacle, which gave umbrage to the czar, was *Basilus Semetzitz*, duke of *Servia*, a politic and warlike prince, who had always kept himself independent, and whose extensive territories bordered upon the *Russian* dominions. To remove this powerful, and therefore dangerous neighbour, *Basilus Iwanowitz* procured accusations, charging him with a design to put himself under the protection of *Poland*, and take up arms against the state of *Moscow*. *Semetzitz* thereupon desired a safe-conduct, that he might go to *Moscow*, to justify himself: His request was granted, and he was received there with great honours and distinction: but on the third day after his arrival in that city, he was seized and thrown into a prison, where baron *Herberstein* saw him five years after. *Basilus* took possession of his duchy, and then marched with a large army to the borders of *Casan*; from whence he returned back, after having built there the city of *Basilogorod*, without so much as attempting any one military exploit.

He seemed to be more in earnest the next year, when he sent against *Casan* an army of one hundred and eighty thousand men, who might have done great things if their generals had been fit to command: but one of them, through fear and neglect, exposed his part of the troops to imminent danger of perishing with hunger, and missed several opportunities of making conquests; and the other, secure and indolent, lost about ninety ships laden with provisions and ammunition, on the river *Volga*, whilst he was asleep. It was indeed generally suspected, that the *Tartars* had not been sparing of their gold to either of these commanders. The most they did, was hiring a few incendiaries to set fire to *Casan*, whilst they looked tamely on; plundering part of the flat country around it, and persuading the *Tartars* to send ambassadors to *Basilus*, to treat of an accommodation; which in fact they did: but their negotiations were carried on so slowly, that baron *Herberstein* found them still at *Moscow*, when he was there on his second embassy; and there was not then the least appearance of a peace. This was in the year 1526, when, the emperor *Maximilian* being dead, this baron and count *Neugarol* were sent to *Basilus* by the emperor *Charles V.* and his brother the archduke *Ferdinand*, partly to renew the former treaty between the two crowns, which the czar had desired by his ambassador at *Vienna*, and partly to try to mediate peace between *Russia* and *Poland* (N).

TOWARDS the beginning of this year *Basilus* put away his consort *Salomea*, because, after having lived with her near twenty one-years, she had never borne him a child. Before he espoused her, which was in the year 1505, immediately after his accession to the throne, he called together his council and the principal persons in his dominions, and desired them to declare, whether it would be most conducive to the good of his country, that he should marry a native or a foreigner. They all agreed, that it would be best to marry one of their own nation; for that a foreign princess would introduce many new modes and customs, occasion vast expences, and, besides, be of another religion. This advice was particularly enforced by one *Micrus*, a *Grecian* nobleman, in great favour with the czar, and much beloved by the people, in hopes that *Basilus* would pitch upon his daughter, who was reckoned a great beauty. However, no less than fifteen hundred young ladies were assembled, and out of them he chose this *Salomea*, the daughter of *Iwan Seburrow*. The unfortunate czarina was now conducted to a convent, where she was forced to put on the nun's habit; and upon her breaking out into invectives against the czar for this cruel treatment, his prime minister *Iwan Schygon*, exhibited a specimen of the *Russian* manners, by beating her with a horse-whip, for daring to abuse her lord.

* PETREIUS, p. 93.

* HERB. p. 69. PETREIUS, p. 54. NEUGE. lib. viii. p. 497.

* HERB.

p. 70. * Idem, p. 51.

* Idem, p. 70.

* Idem, p. 72, & seq.

* Idem, p. 73.

* Idem, De Legat. secund. p. 111.

* Idem, ubi supra. PETREIUS, p. 178.

(N) Baron *Herberstein's* first embassy to the court of *Moscow* was from the emperor *Maximilian*.

^a **BASILIUS** then, either repenting his severity against *Gliniski*, and conceiving a more favourable opinion of him, or knowing his great abilities, and willing to secure his fidelity at any rate, married that imprisoned nobleman's niece, *Helena*. *Gliniski* was set at liberty, promoted to greater honours than before, and even appointed one of the regents of the state, in case of the czar's demise, and joint guardian, with two others, of the czarina and her children, if she should have any ^{and marries Gliniski's niece Helena.}

^b **SALOMEA** was almost forgot when news came to court that she was big with child in the convent; and two ladies of distinction, one of whom was wife to the high-treasurer, protested that they had been so informed by *Salomea* herself, that they had seen her, and that she had every visible mark of an advanced pregnancy. The czar sent for them, questioned them himself, and, finding their report agree with the public rumour, rewarded their intelligence with a hearty drubbing administered with his own hand. Astonished, however, and alarmed, he sent to the convent persons in whom he could confide, to inquire into the truth of this strange affair; and *Salomea*, upon their arrival, went directly into the church, laid her hands upon the altar, and in their presence called God to witness, that she had been a true and faithful wife to *Basilius*, than whom she had never known any other man, and that she had actually been delivered of a son, who would appear at a proper time and revenge her wrongs; but that they were not worthy to see him then ^{Salomea said to be delivered of a son in the convent to which she was banished.}. The return of these messengers threw *Basilius* into fresh perplexities. Convinced that, if she had borne a child, it was not of his begetting, he was going to condemn her to severe punishment, and close confinement; but his friends advised him rather to drop the affair, and let it bury itself in oblivion.

^c THE emperor's ministers still continued to exert their endeavours to mediate a reconciliation between the *Russians* and the *Poles*, and at length prevailed so far, that *Basilius* told them the king of *Poland* might send his ambassadors to *Moscow* to treat about peace. *Sigismund* did so; but their negotiations, after many evasions and delays on the part of the czar, who was bent upon keeping *Smolensko*, ended only in a renewal of the truce between the two nations for five years longer ^{Basilius renews the truce with the Poles.}.

^d **BASILIUS** then thinking seriously of reducing the *Casan-Tartars*, sent an army against them, and killed upwards of twenty thousand of their troops ^e; but could not force them to submit. On the contrary, in the year 1533, their allies, the *Crim-Tartars* defeated the *Russians* again near the river *Occa*, and entered their territories, which they laid waste with fire and sword to a considerable distance. By this time the last truce with *Poland* expired, and *Sigismund*, having again demanded and been positively refused the restitution of *Smolensko*, began to prepare for war: but, naturally averse to all violence, though in ever so just a cause, he proceeded slowly, and in the mean while *Basilius* was taken ill, and died, leaving behind him two sons, *John* and *Gregory*, by his wife *Helena*. ^{The Russians defeat the Tartars; but are again defeated and invaded by them.}

^e **ODERBORN**^e, *Petreius*^h, and some other writers, natives of countries at enmity with the *Russians*, charge this czar with crimes of which he does not seem to have been guilty. Had he been so fond of blood as they pretend, he would undoubtedly have put to death both *Gliniski* and *Semetzitz*, instead of only confining them: nor would he have suppressed, as he did, the proceedings against his brother *Andrew* for running away at the battle on the *Occa*; for which he deserved and probably would have been sentenced to die. That he did not regard his word, a vice common to the age he lived in, and to the *Russians* in particular, at all times, is certain; as it also is, that he was too weak and pusillanimous to support with honour the weight of a crown not yet well established. The terror with which *Russia* kept its neighbours in awe during the preceding reign, gave way to contempt under this: their territories, accordingly, became a prey to their enemies, and the state would have fallen again into the same confusion as in former ages, had it been again divided; but fatal experience had shewn the danger of diminishing the sovereign power. *Basilius*, by his will, left it to his eldest son *John*; expressly excluding his own two brothers *George* and *Andrew*ⁱ, and appointing *Gliniski* and two others guardians to both his children, and to his widow. Even *P. Jovius* acknowledges^k, that he was beloved and honoured by his people; and baron *Herberstein*^l confirms this character of him. ^{Basilius's death and character.}

^f **PETREIUS**^m, whose account is confirmed by *Reutenfels*ⁿ, and several others^o, describes *Helena* as a woman of abandoned morals and excessively dissolute behaviour: to which he adds, that her uncle *Gliniski*, now regent, taking upon him to reprove her for her scandalous lewdness, particularly with one *Iwan Ozani*; she found means to trump up an accusation ^{Gliniski perishes through the artifices of his niece Helena.}

^a PETREIUS, p. 118. HERB. p. 19.

De Vit. Basil. lib. i. p. 251.

De Bell. Muscov. tom. iii. p. 131.

p. 245, & seq.

PETREIUS, p. 181.

Reb. Muscov. lib. i. cap. 11, & 12.

MAN, & alii.

^b HERB. p. 19.

^c HERB. p. 113.

^d NEUGE. lib. vii. p. 534.

^e NEUGE. lib. vii. p. 534.

^f NEUGE. lib. vii. p. 534.

^g NEUGE. lib. vii. p. 534.

^h MOSCOW. Chron. p. 175.

ⁱ DE LEGAT. MOSCOV. p. 129.

^j ODERB. lib. i. p. 251.

^k HERB. p. 19.

^l NEUGE. BECH.

^m NEUGE. BECH.

ⁿ NEUGE. BECH.

^o NEUGE. BECH.



against him, charging him with a design to send the young princes to *Poland*, and usurp the crown, and to get it so strongly confirmed by persons whom she bribed, that the states and people of *Russia* declared him a traitor, and committed him to prison, where he ended his days miserably; but that, seeing their error soon after, they poisoned *Helena*, seized her gallant, tied him to a spit, and roasted him alive.

A. D. 1533.
John Basilow-
witz II.

By the death of *Basilus*, the crown descended to his son *Iwan* or *John Basilowitz II.* (O) an infant, not five years of age. His uncles, *Andrew* and *George*, endeavoured to wrest the scepter from him, but miscarried in their attempt, through the care and vigilance of his faithful guardians^P.

Hostilities be-
tween the Rus-
sians and
Poles.

THE *Poles*, taking advantage of this minority, made themselves masters of *Starodub*, but not of its fortress, and burnt *Smolensko*, though they could not reduce its castle, which was so fortified as to baffle all the military skill of those days. The approach of winter obliged them to retire; but the next year, in the middle of that rigorous season, the *Russians* invaded and laid waste *Lithuania*; and the year after, the *Poles* took the castle of *Starodub*, with a great booty, and several prisoners of distinction^Q.

Extraordinary
ambassy from
the czar to the
emperor
Charles V.

IN the mean time *Basilowitz* applied himself to such studies as might fit him to govern his vast dominions; and as soon as he had entered his nineteenth year, he sent a splendid embassy to the emperor *Charles V.* who was then at *Augsburg*, to desire the renewal of the treaty of friendship which had been concluded between his father and the emperor *Maximilian*, and offering to enter into a league with him against the *Turks*, as enemies to the Christian religion; for his farther information in which, particularly in regard to the doctrine and ceremonies of the *Latin* church, he requested that his ambassador might be allowed to send from *Germany* to *Russia* proper priests, to instruct him and his subjects. With these, he likewise desired to have some wise and experienced statesmen, able to civilize the wild people under his government: and also, the better to help to polish them, architects, artists, and mechanics of every kind; in return for all which, he offered to furnish two tons of gold yearly, for twenty years together, to be employed in the war against the *Turks*.

Artists, &c. in-
tended for Rus-
sia, are stopped
at Lubeck,

THE emperor *Charles* readily agreed to the czar's desire; and the *Russian* ambassador accordingly engaged upwards of three hundred expert *German* artists, who were directed to repair to *Lubeck*, in order to proceed from thence to *Livonia*. But the *Lubeckers*, who were very powerful at that time, and aimed, as *Puffendorf* observes, at nothing less than engrossing the whole commerce of the north, stopped them, and represented strongly to the emperor, in the name of all the merchants of *Livonia*, the dangerous consequence of thus affording instruction to the *Russians*, who would soon avail themselves of it to ruin their trade, and distress the subjects of his imperial majesty. The workmen and others intended for *Russia*, were easily persuaded to return to their respective homes; and the czar's ambassador was arrested upon his arrival at *Lubeck*, and imprisoned there at the suit of the *Livonians*. He made his escape, indeed, shortly after: but *Basilowitz*, highly incensed at these proceedings, vowed, and soon took, ample revenge on the daring authors of this insolence.

and the czar's
ambassador
imprisoned
there.

Basilowitz in-
vades Casan.

PRUDENCE however, directed him to suspend his resentment for a while. He was then at war with those formidable enemies, the *Tartars* of *Casan*, who had made the *Russians* feel the weight of their tyranny. His father, *Basilus*, had begun to break their strength, and he resolved to finish that great undertaking^R. The territories of *Casan* were conquered, after a war of seven years continuance; but the capital of that name, well fortified, and bravely defended, made such resistance, as quite disheartened the besiegers, and made them think of abandoning their enterprize. *Basilowitz* being informed of this, hastened to them with a considerable reinforcement^S, endeavoured to revive their drooping courage, and exhorted them to push the siege with redoubled vigour. Some listened to him, and prepared to obey his orders; but the greater number, deaf to all remonstrances, after loudly insisting on peace with the *Tartars*, and leave to return home, proceeded to mutiny, and fell upon their comrades, who were for continuing the war. *Basilowitz*, alarmed at this event, rushed in among the combatants, and with great difficulty parted them: but neither menaces, nor intreaties, nor even a promise of giving them the whole plunder of the city if they took it, could prevail on them to continue the war. Their rage went even so far as to threaten the life of their sovereign; who, to provide for his safety,

His troops mu-
tiny, and he is
forced to return
home.

^P HERB. p. 19, & 80. ODERB. lib. i. p. 253. PETREIUS, p. 182.
A. GUAGNIN. Comp. Chron. Polon. p. 362. apud Pistor. tom. ii. Rer. Polon.
Chron. cap. vi. NEUGEB. p. 569. LEUENC. p. 137. CHYT. Saxon. p. 428.
Chron. p. 60. ^R ODERB. lib. ii. p. 269.

^Q NEUG. lib. vii. p. 539.

^S HENNING, Lief.

^T RUSSOUW. Lief.

(O) The addition of *witz*, at the end of the name, frequently the presumptive heir to the crown: as here, denotes, among the *Russians*, that the person to whom *Basilowitz*, means the son of *Basilus*.
it is given is the eldest son of a very great family, and

a was obliged to make the best of his way to *Moscow*; and the mutineers, no longer regarding any command, likewise returned thither^u.

JUSTLY incensed at this daring rebellion, by which the majesty and authority of the prince was set at nought, all discipline subverted, and a door opened to disorders, which, if suffered to increase, could not but end in the total destruction of the state; *Basilowitz* saw the necessity of inflicting exemplary punishment on the ringleaders of this sedition. Accordingly, a few days after, having selected a guard of two thousand of his best troops, he ordered a great feast, to which he invited his principal nobles and officers, and according to the custom of the *Russians*, gave them very rich garments. The chiefs of the seditious were clad in black velvet; and, after the dinner was over, he made a speech to the whole company, setting forth the behaviour of his troops in the camp before *Casan*, their contempt of his commands, and their conspiracy to take away his life; to which he added, that he was doubly sorry the instigators of such wickedness were to be found among those who were stiled, and who ought to be, his faithful counsellors; and that those who knew themselves to be guilty of such atrocious crimes, could not do better than voluntarily to confess their faults, if they wished for any kind of mercy. Most of them immediately threw themselves at his feet, and acknowledged their guilt: upon which, some of the most criminal were ordered to be executed; but the greatest part were only imprisoned^w.

He punishes the rebels.

IMMEDIATELY after this act of justice, *Basilowitz* marched again with a fresh army, and re-invested *Casan*, before the *Tartars* could either expect him, or have recovered themselves. The siege went on again but slowly, and the *Russians* began to be dispirited: upon which the czar ordered his pioneers to undermine the walls of the citadel, a practice then quite unknown to the *Tartars*. This work being completed, he directed his priests to read a solemn mass to his whole army, at the head of which he himself afterwards spent some time in private prayer, and then ordered fire to be set to the powder, which acted so effectually, that great part of the fortification was instantly blown up, and the *Muscovites*, rushing into the city, sword in hand, dealt dreadful slaughter around them, and soon made themselves masters of the place; whilst the astonished *Tartars*, crowding out at a gate on the opposite side, crossed the river *Casanka*, and fled into the forests. Among the numerous prisoners taken on this occasion, were *Simeon*, king of *Casan*, and his queen, both of whom were sent to *Moscow*, where they were treated with the utmost civility and respect, particularly by the czar himself, whom *Simeon* out-lived^x.

Attacks the Tartars again.

Takes Casan, with its king, A. D. 1552.

ENCOURAGED by this success, after leaving in *Casan* a strong garrison of *Russians* only, in order to secure to himself a place on which a kingdom depended^y, *Basilowitz* carried his victorious arms into *Astracan*, and soon reduced the capital of that country (P) by the same means as he had mastered *Casan*^z.

and Astracan. A. D. 1554.

THE young czar's ambition began now to expand itself mightily; and the west, which he prepared next to attack, seemed to offer him a fine opportunity to extend his dominions on that side also. The truce which *John Basilowitz I.* had concluded with the *Livonians* for fifty years, was expired: upon which *Jodocus a Reck*, archbishop of *Dorpt*, and canon of *Munster* in *Westphalia*, sensible of the danger he was exposed to by his vicinity to the *Russians*, desired the czar to grant him a prolongation of peace. *Basilowitz* bid him chuse, whether he would have a truce for five years longer, on condition that all the inhabitants of his archbishopric should pay to him the annual tribute of a fifth part of a ducat for each person, which the people of *Dorpt* had formerly agreed to pay to the grand-dukes of *Plescow*; or for twenty years on the farther condition, that he and the *Livonians* should rebuild all the *Russian* churches which had been demolished in their territories, at the time of the reformation, and allow his subjects the free exercise of their religion^a. *Jodocus* evaded giving an answer to these proposals, as long as he could: and at last, finding that the affair grew serious, he squeezed out of his people a large sum of money, and fled with it to *Munster*, where he resigned his prebend, and took a wife^b. His successor, whose name was *Herman*, and the deputies from *Livonia*, accepted of the czar's conditions, and swore to observe them, with the addition of this clause, which soon gave great disgust to the *Livonians* in general, but which the prelate of *Dorpt* insisted on, that the priests of the *Romish* communion should be exempted from paying tribute^c.

Dorpt and the Livonians agree to terms with Basilowitz;

THAT the *Livonians* did not intend to keep to this agreement, even when their deputies swore to observe it faithfully, is evident from their being at that very time in treaty with *Gustavus Vasa*, king of *Sweden*, for him to join with them in attacking *Russia*^d. Some dif-

which the Livonians violate, being joined by the Swedes.

^u Idem, ibid. p. 270. ^w Idem p. 271. ^x RUSSOUW. Lief. Chron. p. 61. MARG. Etat. de l'Emp. de Russie, p. 2. ^y PETREIUS, p. 98. HEID. de Bell. Muscov. lib. i. p. 334. RUSSOUW. ubi supra. OLEAR. p. 218. ^z Autor. supra citat. OLEAR. p. 241. ^a BRED. Bell. Livon. p. 229. LEUN. apud Pistor. Rer. Polon. tom. v. p. 134. NEUGEB. lib. viii. p. 577. CHYTR. p. 472. VON GALEN's Account of Livonia, p. 92. ^b LEUENCL. p. 134. NEUGEB. ubi supra. RUSSOUW. p. 63. ^c LEUEN. loc. cit. THUANUS, ad ann. 1558. ^d NEUGEB. p. 561. LEUENCL. ubi supra.

(P) *Casan* was taken on the 9th of July, 1552; and *Astracan* on the 1st of August, 1554.

Whereupon
Basilowitz in-
vades Fin-
land;

Where he
makes a peace
with Sweden.
A. D. 1556.
A private
quarrel reduces
the Livonians
to great di-
stress.

ferences which had risen between *Russia* and *Sweden*, owing to the governors of their frontier provinces, who had plundered one another, made *Gustavus* very ready to comply with these solicitations: but *Basilowitz*, who had very early intelligence of their designs, entered *Finland*, under pretence that their king *Magnus* had engaged, in the fourteenth century, to cede a part of that country to the *Russians*, who were come to take possession of it, as the promise had not yet been performed^c. They accordingly laid siege to *Wiburg*: upon which *Sigismund*, king of *Poland*, being applied to by the *Swedes*, promised *Gustavus*, not only that the *Hanse* towns, which had annoyed him greatly, should not molest him during this invasion, but that he himself would send a considerable force to join him in *Finland*, in case he entered that country. Depending on these assurances, *Gustavus* marched thither directly with a numerous army; but neither the *Poles* nor the *Livonians* giving him, in reality, the least assistance, and his men perishing daily, he was forced to conclude a peace with the czar; who, on his side, was equally glad of an accommodation, his troops having suffered greatly, without making any progress^f.

FINLAND was at this time absolutely governed by *William* of *Furstenberg*, grand-master of the *Livonian* knights, and the archbishop of *Riga*, with some other prelates; a quarrel among whom soon proved an effectual means of seconding *Basilowitz's* designs upon that country. The archbishop, after attempting to set himself above the grand-master, even in the direction of civil affairs, to take the precedency of him on all occasions, and to persecute those who had embraced the confession of *Augsburg*, in favour of which *Furstenberg* had distinguished himself greatly, chose for his coadjutor in the archbishopric of *Riga*, *Christopher* duke of *Mecklenburg*^g; a step from which, joined to the great abilities, and the haughty temper of this lord, the knights of the cross apprehended they had reason to fear the same fate as had befallen the *Teutonic* order in *Prussia*; and which was expressly contrary to the convention of *Volmar*, whereby it was stipulated, that no foreigner should be raised to that high dignity, without the consent of the whole order of the knights of *Livonia*^h. These discontents were so heightened by letters said to be intercepted from the archbishop to his brother *Albert*, duke of *Prussia*, inviting this last totally to suppress the order of *Livonian* knights, and to secularise their possessions, particularly in *Finland*, that an open war broke out between the contending parties, and the archbishop was seized and made prisoner; though both he and his brother protested that the letters in question were forgedⁱ. He was, however soon released, through the mediation of the emperor of *Germany*, and other potentates, backed by powerful preparations of the *Prussians* and *Poles* to avenge his cause: but in the mean time *Livonia* was exhausted of its riches, and reduced to great distress, by this unhappy wrangle^k.

They send am-
bassadors to de-
sire peace.
A. D. 1557.

MATTERS being somewhat settled at home, the *Livonians* sent to the czar, to know whether he was inclined to receive ambassadors from them, and to conclude a peace. *Basilowitz* answered, that he could not think the *Livonians* meant really to treat of peace, whilst they kept six thousand *German* soldiers in their pay: that it rather looked as if they thought to intimidate him; and that they must therefore begin with dismissing those troops, after which he would hear them^l. They immediately complied, for the power of resisting was no longer in their hands, and sent a magnificent embassy to *Russia*^m.

Basilowitz ap-
plies again to
the Germans
for artists, &c.
but without
effect.

In the the mean time *Basilowitz* ordered his ambassador at *Vienna* to remind the emperor *Ferdinand*, and the empire, of the letter he had written in the year 1548, to the emperor *Charles*; to repeat the offer he had then made of depositing as much money as should produce two tons of gold yearly, for twenty years, to be employed in a war against the *Turks*, besides furnishing, from the time of commencing such war, some thousands of *Russians* to be maintained at his own expence: to assure them, that his zeal for the welfare of Christianity made him wish, not only to chastise the insolence of those unbelievers, who persecuted the faithful in the East, and wrested from them the empire of that part of the world; but also to bring about an union of the *Greek* and *Latin* churches, which his father *Basilius* had endeavoured to effect, as well with the emperor *Maximilian*, as with the popes *Adrian* and *Clement*: that his particular reason for desiring to have *German* artists and officers, rather than those of any other nation, which he could easily procure from *France* and *Italy*, was, that he knew the *Germans* to be an upright, virtuous, and honest people; that they were his neighbours; and that he himself reigned over those very countries in *Scythia*, which had formerly been the seat of the *Teutons*: that he desired to raise only one battalion of foot, and one squadron of horse, in *Germany*, on the express condition that they should never be employed against any Christian power, but only against the *Turks* and

^c PUFFEND. Swed.

Saxon.

Saxon. p. 479.

597. ODERB. Vit. Basil. lib. ii. p. 275.

BRED. ubi supra. NEUGE. p. 478.

^f LEUENCL. p. 131. NEUGE. p. 592. PUFFEND. ubi supra. CHYT.

^g LEUENCL. p. 133.

^h LEUENCL. p. 133.

ⁱ HENN. Lief. Chron. NEUGE. p. 593, 594. CHYT.

^k BRED. p. 266. LEUENCL. p. 134. NEUGE. p.

^l THUAN. & BRED. p. 229.

^m LEUENCL. p. 135.

a *Tartars*; and that he should give twenty-five of the sons of the richest nobles, as hostages for the performance of what he promised^a. All these arguments were strongly urged, and seemingly listened to; but none of them took effect: the imperial court plainly seeing the czar's real drift, which was, to introduce the arts, and military discipline among his own people.

THE *Livonian* ambassadors were received with great distinction at *Moscow*, and, according to the custom of the *Russian* court, were entertained there for some time, at the expence of the crown, and even stood god-fathers to a son of the czar, before they had an audience. In the mean while *Basilowitz* learnt, that the *Livonians* had at last concluded a perpetual confederacy with the *Poles* against the *Russians*^b. A few days after, he gave them a pompous audience, at which, upon their applying for peace, he asked them, whether they had brought the *Dorpt* tribute. They answered, that they had searched the records of their country with great care, and could not find that they owed any tribute to the *Muscovites*. *Basilowitz*, incensed at this reply, told them, he wondered how they could so soon forget their late solemn oath; that he plainly saw they depended on being assisted by the emperor, in which they would be mistaken; and that he should order proper people to conduct them back to the frontiers of his dominions^c. He well knew that any succours the emperor might give them, must be a long while before they could arrive; and, to gain the greater time himself, he artfully ordered the guides, that were to attend them, to lead them round-about-ways; which was done so effectually, that they did not reach their own country till the month of *February* in the following year^d.

His reception of the *Livonian* ambassadors.

c THE moment these ambassadors had left *Moscow*, and whilst they were pursuing their journey homeward through long and tedious roads; *Basilowitz* sent a messenger to the *Livonians*, by a shorter way, to tell them, that they should soon feel the weight of his resentment for their perfidious behaviour; and that he then declared war against them^e.

A. D. 1558.
and declaration of war.

THIS message was immediately followed by an army of one hundred thousand men, who entered the district of *Dorpt* before the end of *January*, and laid every thing waste before them, with such acts of barbarity, as would be shocking to relate. They then entered the territories of *Riga*, which they treated with equal inhumanity; and, after glutting both their cruelty and their avarice, at length retired with an immense booty and a prodigious number of prisoners; leaving the desolated *Livonians* to repent at leisure their ill-timed parsimony in refusing to pay the *Dorpt* tribute, which would not have amounted to above fifty thousand dollars, and would have saved them from infinite calamities. *Basilowitz* himself was not in this expedition^f.

The *Russians* ravage *Livonia*.

A COMET, which appeared about this time, served greatly to heighten the fears of the *Livonians*. Their states met at *Wenden*, to consider what measures they should take. Those who had suffered most, were for continuing the war: but others, who feared the like fate, thought it most advisable to try to soften the czar, by offering him a present of thirty thousand ducats, which would be but a trifle in comparison of what they might lose by farther hostilities. This advice prevailed; and the czar, being made acquainted with the result of the deliberation, agreed to a truce for four months, and declared his readiness to receive their envoys. Ambassadors were accordingly sent; but, upon their arrival at *Moscow*, they found the face of affairs entirely altered. The *Livonian* governor of the city of *Narva*, out of an idle frolick, fired some of his cannon against *Iwanagrod*, or *Russian Narva*, situated on the other side of the river, and killed several of the czar's subjects, who were assembled in an open place, quite unarmed. The *Russians*, respecting the truce, did not even attempt to make reprisals: but they sent immediate notice of this insult to *Basilowitz*; who, highly incensed at it, told the *Livonian* ambassadors, upon their arrival, that he looked upon their nation as a set of perjured wretches, who had renounced all honesty, as well as their old religion: that they might go back with their money and proposals, and let their countrymen know, that his vengeance would soon overtake them^g.

but the negotiation is broken off by an accident.

f IN effect, the ambassadors were scarcely arrived in *Livonia*, when *Peter*, surnamed *Sifegaledrii* (Q), who had been a famous pirate in the *Euxine* sea, entered the district of *Narva*, with an army of three hundred thousand *Russians*, well provided with artillery and ammunition, took the city of *Narva* in nine days, and, very speedily after, made himself master of *Dorpt*, where he found an immense treasure^h. The garrisons of several other places, inti-

The *Russians* take *Narva* and *Dorpt*, and over-run *Livonia*.

^a J. BASILIDIS Epist. in Geo. van Hoff. LEUENCL. p. 135. NEUGE. lib. viii. p. 593. CHYT. Saxon. p. 483. & FLETCHER. ^b HENNING. Lief. Chron. p. 9. BRED. p. 230. & ex co THUAN. ad ann. 1558. ^c Account of Livonia, p. 96. ^d BASILIDIS Epist. apud LEUENCL. p. 136. & BRED. p. 216. RUSSOUW. Lief. Chron. p. 69. ^e HENNING. Lief. Chron. BRED. p. 230. THUAN. ad ann. 1558. LEUENCL. p. 137. CHYT. Saxon. p. 479. RUSSOUW. p. 64. ^f Autores supra cit. ^g HENNING. f. 12, 6. LEUENCL. p. 139. BRED. p. 233. THUAN. ubi supra. NEUGE. lib. viii. p. 600.

(Q) Or *Sifegalcider*; so called from his having commanded seven galleys (1.) The author of the Account of *Livonia* calls (2) him czar *Sigaley*.

(1) *Pistor. lib. iii. p. 61.*

(2) *Page 96.*

The Livonians
apply to the
king of Den-
mark; but to
little purpose:

and endeavour
to prevent the
trade of the
Lubeckers
with Russia.
A. D. 1559.

The Livonian
knights put
themselves un-
der the protec-
tion of the
Poles.

Conquests of
the Russians in
Livonia.

Oesel submits
to the Danes.

Reval and Es-
thonia put
themselves un-
der the protec-
tion of the
Swedes;

midated by the approach of these numerous enemies, quitted their posts; so that the *Russians* became masters of great part of *Livonia*, almost without opposition. The duke of *Mecklenburg*, now co-adjutor to the archbishop of *Riga*, attempted, indeed, to stem the torrent, but was not able to stop its progress; and *Gothard Kettler*, grand-master of the knights of *Livonia*, intreated *Christian III.* king of *Denmark*, to take *Riga*, *Reval*, and the countries of *Garnland*, *Wirrland*, and *Esthonia*, under his protection: but the advanced age of that monarch, the distance of the places, and the want of sufficient power to withstand so potent an adversary, made him decline the offer. He, however, assisted them with some money and powder, of which they were in great want^w.

THE trade which the then powerful *Lubeckers* used to carry on to *Russia*, by the way of *Riga* and *Reval*, being stopped by these wars; *Basilowitz* opened a new channel through *Narva*, by which he was plentifully supplied with all sorts of merchandize and military stores: whereupon *Gothard Kettler*, in the beginning of the next year, applied to the emperor, requesting him to interpose in favour of the *Livonians*, who were greatly injured, while their enemies were extremely benefited, by the trade of the *Lubeckers*; and his imperial majesty, in consequence of this representation, wrote to *Gustavus* king of *Sweden*, desiring him, as master of the eastern sea, to put a stop to the traffic thus complained of. *Gustavus* was grown old, and did not chuse to embark in new quarrels; so that this letter had but little effect. The states^x of *Reval* and the knights of the cross then fitted out ships of their own, to cruise against those of *Lubeck*, some of which they took in their way to *Narva*, and with them some vessels belonging to the *Swedes*. Upon this the *Lubeckers* applied, in their turn, to the emperor, and obtained of him leave to carry all sorts of goods to *Russia*, guns excepted, and a letter to the grand-master *Kettler*, enjoining him to make them satisfaction for the damage they had sustained. *Eric* also, who succeeded to the crown of *Sweden* upon the death of his father *Gustavus*, not only gave the precedency to the *Russian* ambassadors before those of *Poland*, but repeatedly warned the grand-master of the *Livonian* knights to restore what had been taken from his subjects, and not to molest his seas any more^y: and at the same time the emperor and the empire, after many consultations, sent him word, that they could not possibly assist him with troops, but would give him one hundred thousand florins in lieu of men. Either piqued at this treatment, or thinking the sum too small, *Kettler* took his resolution, and put himself under the protection of the *Poles*^z.

THE *Russians*, this year, returning to *Livonia*, for the third time, with a powerful army, took *Marienburg*, laid waste the district of *Riga*, destroyed *Garnland*, and penetrated to the very gates of *Reval*. *Felin*, in which was the best artillery of the whole country, became theirs by the treachery of its garrison; and with it they took the old grand-master of the *Livonian* order, *William of Furstenburg*, whom they carried to *Moscow*, where he ended his days in a prison set apart for noblemen^a. *Wittenstein* baffled their efforts: but they totally defeated the *Livonian* cavalry, and made most of their principal officers prisoners^b. Some writers relate, that when these captives were carried through the streets of *Moscow*, and shewn, by way of sight, to the people, the two dethroned kings of *Casan* and *Astracan*, spit in their faces, saying, "This is good enough for you German dogs, who put into the hands of the *Muscovites* the rod with which they first chastised us, and now punish you."

THE distracted situation of *Livonia*, at this time, made the bishop of *Oesel* glad to sell his bishoprick to *Ferdinand* king of *Denmark*, who exchanged it with his brother, duke *Magnus*, for a part of *Holstein*. The *Livonians*, and particularly the greatest part of their nobility, readily acquiesced in this agreement: chusing to be governed by a powerful prince, rather than by a helpless grand-master; and *Magnus* was accordingly received with uncommon joy: but, attempting to carry things with too high a hand, he soon lost the love of his people, who, to the calamities occasioned by a foreign enemy, would have added the horrors of a civil war, had they not been prevented by the friendly interposition of the archbishop of *Riga*, and his coadjutor at *Pernau*^c. The inhabitants of *Reval*, provoked at this step, but equally distressed, shook off their allegiance to the grand-master of *Livonia*, and put themselves under the protection of the *Swedes*, as the people best able to assist them, to check the trade of the *Lubeckers* to *Narva*, and to reinstate them in their former commerce with *Russia*; which neither the *Poles* nor the *Danes* could do so effectually, by reason of their greater distance. The nobility of *Esthonia* followed their example, and acknowledged *Eric* for their protector: upon which this monarch of *Sweden* sent an army into

^w Autores supra cit. & *Russouw*. Lief. Chron. f. 67, 6.

ad ann. 1559. ^y *HENNING*. p. 26.

lib. viii. p. 602. *THUAN*. ad ann. 1560. *CHYT*. Saxon. p. 520. *HENN*. Lief. Chron. p. 72, 73.

^b *Russ*. Lief. Chron. p. 72.

Lief. Chron. p. 23.

^x *PUFFEND*. ibid. p. 842. *THUAN*.

^z *Russouw*. Lief. Chron. p. 76.

^a *NEUGEB*.

^c *NEUGEB*. & *THUAN*. ubi supra. *CHYT*. Saxon. p. 520. *HENN*.

- a *Livonia*, under the command of *Claas Horn*, with orders to attack the grand-master, if he did not give immediate satisfaction in regard to the former demands of that crown; and the *Swedish* general, upon his arrival, very prudently confirmed the states of *Reval* and *Estonia* in all their privileges, under the king his master^d. The grand-master of the knights of *Livonia*, *Gothard Kettler*, finding himself thus forsaken on all sides, accepted the offers of *Sigismund* king of *Poland*, and, in consequence thereof, agreed with him to suppress the order of the cross, of which he was chief, in consideration of his receiving the duchy of *Courland*, for himself and his heirs, as a fief of the crown of *Poland*^e. The possession of *Reval* would have given *Sigismund* great pleasure; and the new duke of *Courland* besieged it accordingly, as a place belonging to the *Poles*: but the *Swedish* gar-
- b rison obliged him to retire^f.

and the grand-master of the Livonian knights suppresses the order, and is made duke of Courland.

BASILOWITZ saw with pleasure these divisions of the *Livonians*, and the growing quarrels between the *Swedes* and *Poles* concerning their country; but would not interfere in them: rightly judging, that their thus weakening themselves would soon facilitate the success of his designs against them. The king of *Sweden*, to secure his new acquisitions, sent an embassy to the czar, to propose a treaty of peace, by which he should be confirmed in the possession of *Reval*. Some other potentates likewise interposed to the same effect: but all they could obtain was, a prolongation of the truce between *Russia* and *Sweden*, for two years more, which *Basilowitz* employed in fortifying his own conquests^g.

Policy of the czar.

- c A TREATY of marriage had been negotiating for some time, between the czar and the princess *Catherine Jagellonica*, sister to *Sigismund Augustus* king of *Poland*: and all the articles of the matrimonial contract were in a manner settled, except one, which the *Poles* unjustly demanded, and *Basilowitz* equitably refused to comply with. They insisted that the children which he might have by this wife, should succeed him, in prejudice to the princess born of his former marriage. This unreasonable condition was rejected with the scorn it merited; but the czar, who was fond of the princess, still continued his suit to obtain her: upon which the *Poles*, rashly resolving to affront him in the grossest manner, sent him a white mare finely caparisoned, with a message, purporting, that such a wife was good enough for him. *Basilowitz*, highly incensed at this outrageous insult, vowed perpetual enmity against the *Poles*, and soon made them feel the weight of his just resentment^h.

The Poles affront him grossly.

- d In the mean time *Catherine* was married to *John* duke of *Finland*ⁱ, who, mistrusting the affection of his brother *Eric* king of *Sweden*, and the friendship of his neighbours, thought to secure himself a retreat by this match, in case he should at any time be overpowered. He had lent his brother-in-law, the king of *Denmark*, twelve thousand dollars upon certain castles in *Livonia*; his possessing of which gave great umbrage to *Eric*, who intended speedily to attack the *Poles*: and this disgust being heightened by intelligence which the *Swedish* monarch received, that the *Danes* and *Poles* had entered into a secret alliance against the *Swedes*, at the time of this marriage, and that the duke of *Finland* was also a contracting party with them; *Eric* cited his brother to appear before the states, to give an account of his conduct: but his summons being disregarded, he seized *John*, after conquering *Abo* in *Finland*, and kept him a close prisoner^k.

- e UPON this alliance of the *Danes* and *Poles*, in which the *Lubeckers* were also included, *Eric* applied to the *Russians*, who had already besieged and taken *Poloczkow*^l, the main defence of *Livonia* on the side of the *Russian* frontiers, and offered to assist them in an alliance against the *Poles*: but the czar, thinking himself strong enough to deal with them, and judging that the many adversaries *Sweden* had to cope with would afford him the fairer opening in *Livonia*, declined the proposal^m.

The Swedes offer him their alliance against the Poles,

- f *BASILOWITZ* sent two armies against the *Poles*, but both of them were unfortunate: the first, consisting of twenty thousand men, commanded by *Sueriski*, was defeated in the beginning of the year 1564, near *Poloczkow*, which he had conquered the year before; and the second, consisting of sixty thousand men, ran away upon the approach of the enemyⁿ. *Pernau*, then in the possession of the *Swedes*, was surrendered the next year to the *Poles*, by the treachery of a *German* garrison: upon which the czar, suspecting they might play the same trick at *Dorpt*, removed from thence to *Moscow* all the soldiers of that nation; who, affronted at this, took a dislike to the *Russian* service, and entered into such cabals

by whom his troops are worsted. A. D. 1564.

^d LOCCEN. de Reb. Suec. lib. vii. p. 374. PUFFEND. NEUGE. & THUAN. loc. cit. CHYT. p. 521. RUSSOW. p. 80, 84. ^e RUSS. p. 82, 603. THUAN. ad ann. 1561. CHYT. Saxon. p. 528, & seq. ^f PUFFEND. ubi supra. ^g RUSS. Lief. Chron. p. 87. CHYT. p. 528. LOCCEN. De Reb. Suec. lib. vii. p. 374. ^h PUFFEND. p. 29. ⁱ Idem ibid. HENNING. Lief. Chron. p. 36. ^k RUSS. Lief. Chron. p. 93. LOCCEN. lib. vii. p. 380. PUFFEND. CHYTR. Saxon. p. 242. NEUGE. lib. viii. p. 609. ^l PIASSECH Chron. Polon. p. 60. PETREIUS, p. 77. HENNING. Lief. Chron. p. 8. RUSS. p. 93. ^m PUFFEND. ubi supra, p. 353. ⁿ BREDEKE. p. 239. NEUGE. lib. viii. p. 611. GUAGNIN. p. 363.

against

against *Basilowitz*, as frequently required his exerting great severity, to stop the progress of the growing evil^o.

A. D. 1566.
A conspiracy
against him.

The pretences
for it.

SHORTLY after, *Basilowitz* discovered a very dangerous plot; which required the utmost exertion of his policy and prudence to countermine. He had several illustrious foreigners at his court, and particularly the ambassador of queen *Elizabeth* of *England*, whom he consulted in all public affairs, to whom he communicated his most private thoughts^p, and on whose approved knowledge and experience he chiefly regulated his conduct^q. He likewise shewed great favour to the *Lutheran* clergy; and being himself well versed in polemic divinity, he frequently permitted them to discourse before him, and heard them with great attention^r. This, being a behaviour quite different from that of his predecessors, greatly disgusted the bojars, who, incensed at the preference visibly given to foreigners, expressed their discontents in the most public manner, saying, that *Basilowitz* had forsaken the manners of his fore-fathers, altered their established laws and customs, and introduced foreign fopperies in their room; nay, even *Demetrius Owezinius*, one of the chief ministers of state, scrupled not to aver the same things^s; for which he soon afterwards lost his head; though the pretended cause of this execution, was his having once publicly refused to drink the czar's health^t. The death of *Demetrius* did not however terrify the malecontents: on the contrary, they openly complained of the injustice of it, as being too severe a punishment for so small an offence^u; and levied an army in *Lithuania*, in order to destroy both *Basilowitz* and his family. This put the czar into some consternation: and as the strength of the rebels increased daily, he began to think seriously of the most likely means to avert the impending danger^w.

Basilowitz
seigns to abdicate the crown.

ACCORDINGLY, at a public assembly of the principal nobility and ministers of state, he stripped himself of his imperial ornaments; and, being asked the reason thereof, declared, that as he had been deemed unworthy to fill the throne any longer, he willingly divested himself of all his ensigns of royalty, and requested them to nominate some fitter person to reign over them. The next day he sent to the churches for the pictures of their principal saints, which the vulgar among the *Russians* look upon as the guardian divinities of their country, ordered all his priests to appear in the great church of *St. Mary*, and a solemn mass to be read by the patriarch and metropolitans; after which he took an affectionate leave of them all, and went with his two sons to the castle of *Caloujenz*, about a league and a half from *Moscow*, where he remained several days, expecting that the *Muscovites* would solicit him to resume the scepter: but being disappointed therein, he ordered some of his principal bojars to repair to the city, and acquaint the people, that he was determined to go wherever God and his good fortune should direct; and that, notwithstanding their treacherous behaviour to him, he doubted not but a time would come, when he should be able to re-demand his crown in a proper manner^x. This message occasioned a very submissive answer from the citizens: and *Basilowitz* suffered himself to be persuaded to pardon them; but he ordered the principal priests and bojars to attend him in the *Alexandrian* sloboda, whither he had retired. They accordingly assembled there, and represented to him in the most respectful terms, how sorely he had afflicted his people, and how much the state was exposed to the outrages of its enemies by his abdicating the crown in such a manner: wherefore they most earnestly besought him, as a good shepherd, still to watch over his flock; and promised, that if any persons should be found guilty of fomenting the present unhappy differences, they should be delivered up to the most exemplary punishment; begging, that, for the errors of a few, he would not forsake them all, but return to his vacant throne, and continue his grace and favour to those only, who should appear to deserve it.

THIS pathetic address threw *Basilowitz* into some perplexity. He was not willing absolutely to refuse their request; but wanted, at the same time, to secure himself from the like conspiracies for the future. He therefore desired a day's time to consider of their proposal; and accordingly the next morning he acquainted them, that they could not be ignorant of the behaviour of their ancestors to their former sovereigns, nor how treacherously they had always acted towards them: that the annals of the empire would effectually prove this; and their own consciences would convict them of the blackest designs against him, whom they had attempted to murder before his father was well dead, in order to advance the race of *Saladin Garbata*, one of their own stamp, to the imperial throne (R). In fine, that as they must be sensible of the many attempts which had lately

^o CHYTRÆI Saxon. p. 553. NEUGER. lib. viii. p. 614. LOCCEN. lib. vii. p. 386. HENNING. Lief. Chron. p. 41, 6. RUSS. p. 105. ^p ODERB. lib. iii. p. 319. ^q Idem, lib. i. p. 258, & lib. iii. p. 217. ^r Idem, lib. i. p. 258, seq. 267, seq. PETREIUS, p. 252. ^s ODERB. lib. ii. p. 303. PETREIUS, p. 200. GUAGN. Descript. Mosc. p. 184. ^t Authores cit. ^u ODERB. ubi supra. ^w HENNING. Lief. Chron. p. 46. ^x G. VAN HOFF. ODERB. lib. ii. p. 283. PETREIUS, p. 202.

(R) We do not find the transaction here alluded to, mentioned by any historian; and therefore are at a loss for the particulars of it.

a been made to destroy him, his empress, and his two sons; to conclude a secret and scandalous league with *Poland*, and to introduce the *Turks* and *Tartars* to prey upon the vitals of the kingdom; he wondered how they could advise or request him to entrust his own life, and the lives of his family, in the hands of so treacherous and blood-thirsty a people; since the consequence of such an imprudent step must needs be his utter destruction, of which he should be in continual danger.

NOTWITHSTANDING this unfavourable reply, the people still warmly pressed *Basilowitz* to comply with their request; and he, pretending to yield at last to their great importunity, consented to re-ascend the throne: and accordingly, a few days after, he returned to his capital.

b *BASILOWITZ* had no sooner resumed the reins of government, than he proceeded to take some necessary precautions for his future safety. In the first place, he caused the principal ringleaders of the late conspiracy to be executed*, and then raised a body-guard of two hundred men, who were chiefly collected out of the most distant provinces, and were obliged to take an oath that they would be true and faithful to their prince, and that they were no ways allied or related to his ministers or bojars^y. This guard, which was distinguished by the name of the *aprisma*, or chosen people, proved a great nuisance to the people; for being wholly composed of men of low birth and education, and destitute of all generous sentiments, they frequently committed great outrages; which the czar, who by no means approved of them, was often obliged to overlook, in order to

c secure their fidelity^z.
 IN the beginning of this year, *Basilowitz* sent two ambassadors to *England*, to propose an alliance with queen *Elizabeth*, and establish a treaty of commerce with this nation. Captain *Richard Chancellor* having, a few years before, discovered a passage to *Muscovy* through the *White Sea*^a, by which means *Russia* was likely to be supplied with foreign goods, by the way of *Archangel*, without the assistance of *Narva* or the *Poles* (S). The czar granted to the discoverers of this new channel many exclusive privileges; and particularly, that none but the incorporated company of *Muscovite* merchants in *London*, should bring any goods to or from *Archangel*, or carry on any traffic whatsoever in that place^b. Besides this embassy, which was only to confirm what had been granted before to the subjects of queen *Mary*, *Basilowitz* gave private instructions to *Anthony Jenkinson*, an *Englishman*, then in his dominions, to conclude an alliance offensive and defensive with queen *Elizabeth*,

A. D. 1569.
 Sends an embassy to England.

* G. VAN HOFF, ubi supra. ODERB. ubi supra. PETR. p. 203. y Autores citat. z G. VAN HOFF.
^a CAMBD. p. 125. ^b CAMBD. ubi supra. CL. ADAMI Navigat. Angl. ad Muscov. inter Script. Rer. Muscov. p. 142. Lord CARLISLE's Embassy.

(S) In the year 1553, in the reign of queen *Mary*, three ships were fitted out from *England* at the public charge (1), for the discovery of the north-east passage to *China* and the *Indies*. They were commanded by sir *Hugh Willoughby*, who, departing from the *Thames*, sailed to the *North Cape*, where one of his ships left him, and returned home. The other two ships being separated, sir *Hugh* proceeded further northward, and discovered that part of *Greenland* which the *Dutch* have since called *Spitzberg*: but the severity of the cold obliging him to return to the southward, he was forced, by bad weather, into the river *Arxina*, in *Muscovite Lapland*, where, not being able to come out, he was found the next spring, frozen to death, with all his ship's company, having the notes of his voyage, and his last will, lying before him; whereby it appeared that he lived till *January*. But *Richard Chancellor*, in the third ship, with better success, in the mean while entered *Wardhuys*, where he waited some time for his companions, to no purpose; uncertain whether they were lost, or driven farther by stress of weather. He held a council on what he should do; whether to return or pursue his voyage. Whatever danger might be in the last, every one agreed to it, that they might not seem to have less courage than their captain. They therefore set sail, and in a few days they found themselves in a sea, where they could no longer perceive any night. This ship, wandering about, entered soon after into a large bay or gulph. Here they cast anchor, in sight of land; and while they were examining the coast, they discovered a fishing-boat: *Chancellor*, getting into his sloop, went towards it, but the fishermen took to flight; he followed, and overtaking them, shewed them such civilities as conciliated their

affections to him, and they carried him to the place where now is the famous port of *St. Michael the Archangel*. These people immediately spread through all the coasts an account of the arrival of these strangers, and people came from several parts to see them, and ask them questions. They, in their turns, examined the others, and found that the country they were in was *Russia*, governed by the mighty emperor *John Basilowitz*. They learnt also, that an express had been already sent to this prince, to inform him of their arrival, and receive his orders concerning them, which came a few days after; when guides were appointed to conduct them to *Moscow*, where captain *Chancellor* soon had an audience of the emperor, whose court and riches had in them a magnificence beyond any thing he could have imagined. He found *John Basilowitz* distinguished in majesty from an hundred and fifty bojars who encompassed his throne; hardly any thing was to be seen in his great hall, but gold and precious stones; and in another, where the czar invited him to a sumptuous repast, all was of silver, except the beaufet, in the middle, in the form of a large pyramid, covered with vessels of gold, of such a prodigious size that it seemed to bend beneath the weight of them. Here were placed the hydromel, wines, and strong liquors for the czar's own use.

The favourable reception that captain *Chancellor* met with, encouraged him to make a second voyage thither four years after; when he brought back with him an ambassador from the czar, with presents to queen *Mary*, and an invitation to settle a trade to those parts: but the ship was cast away on the coast of *Scotland*, where *Chancellor*, in saving the ambassador, was himself unfortunately drowned.

by which she was to supply him with sailors, shipwrights, and ammunition, in case of need; and if he should ever be forced from his throne, either by foreign enemies or domestic rebels, to afford him and his family an asylum in her dominions; which last clause he desired her to confirm with an oath. But *Elizabeth*, to the czar's great mortification, deferred giving any answer to this proposal^c.

The Poles invade Russia.

Another conspiracy against the czar.

A prodigious army of Turks and Tartars invade his dominions;

WHILE *Basilowitz* was thus planning the means of a retreat to *England*, in case he should be driven from his throne; the unfortunate *Eric*, king of *Sweden* (T), was soliciting an asylum at *Moscow*; and *Sigismund*, king of *Poland*, had invaded the frontiers of *Russia*, with a numerous army, and possessed himself of the castles of *Ula*, *Sula*, and several other places. Upon this, *Basilowitz* marched in person against the *Poles*, and entrusted the government of his dominions to a nobleman called *Iwan Petrowitz*: but upon his return, being informed that *Petrowitz*, together with some bojars^d, had intended to prevent his entrance into his own dominions, and to maintain by force the authority he was invested with; the czar, according to the then *Russian* custom of the sovereign's being himself the executioner of his decrees, ordered *Petrowitz* to be dressed in robes of royalty, and seated upon the throne; where, after an ironical congratulation on his having obtained what he so earnestly wished, and making a sham profession of allegiance and fidelity, he stabbed him to the heart, and left him, weltring in his gore, to the fury of the guards, who soon made an end of him and all his adherents.

THESE troubles were scarcely over when *Basilowitz* received intelligence, that a considerable armament then making by the *Turks*, was designed against him. *Selim* the son of *Soliman the Magnificent*, and *Roxelana*, had succeeded his father in the year 1565. This prince formed the vast design of subduing all *Tartary*, to wipe off the disgrace of the imprisonment of the sultan *Bajazet*, who had been defeated, and taken in the plain of *Ancyra*, by the famous *Timur Beck*, or *Tamerlane*, great khan of the *Tartars*. To this end

^c LORD CARLISLE'S Embassy.

^d GUAGN. Descript. Muscov. p. 186.

(T) This prince, as we observed before, had lately solicited the czar to enter into a league with him against *Poland*: but before *Basilowitz* would consent to it, he demanded of *Eric* to deliver up to him *Catherine*, his brother duke *John's* wife. *Eric* refusing to comply with so scandalous a request, as his brother was still alive, though in prison, the treaty was suspended for a while (1). But after the massacre at *Upsal*, in which *Eric* killed several of his nobles with his own hands, he wrote a private letter to the czar, and consented to his demand. *Basilowitz* thereupon sent an ambassador to *Stockholm*, to conclude the proposed alliance between the two crowns, and bring *Catharine* to *Moscow*. Upon the ambassador's arrival, *Eric* was greatly perplexed how to dispose of the duke his brother: but hearing that the *Danes* had penetrated into *Sweden*, and being apprehensive of a civil war if he should keep him any longer in prison, he ordered him to be removed from *Grypsholm* to *Westholm*, where he solemnly engaged to be true to the king his brother (2). *Eric* had no sooner got rid of the *Danes*, than he repented of his conduct to duke *John* and his other brothers, and resolved to assign them certain lands in *Livonia*, in lieu of their patrimonial districts in *Finland*; apprehending that he should live more securely by their absence from *Stockholm*, and that they, from motives of interest, would the more effectually defend those places against the *Russians*, *Poles*, and *Danes*: but his brothers not acquiescing in this proposal, he resolved to sacrifice them all to his interest, and particularly to oblige the czar by giving him *Catharine*. The dukes, having intelligence of this resolution, did all they could to prevent its taking effect; and tampering with the relations of those who had been massacred at *Upsal*, formed a design to dethrone *Eric* (3). They accordingly betook themselves to arms; but were soon after informed by *Eric's* favourite, *Peerson*, that the king intended to plunder *Stockholm*, and set it on fire, to embark both himself and his treasure for *Narwa*, and from thence to proceed to *Moscow* (4). This information made them the more eager to advance towards the capital; into which they obtained an easy admittance,

through their interest with the principal citizens, who perceived the bad situation of *Eric's* affairs. The soldiers, thinking to please their general, duke *John*, began immediately to plunder the house of the *Russian* ambassador; but duke *Charles* put a stop to their proceedings, and ordered immediate restitution to be made of every thing they had taken (5). The next day *Eric* was dethroned, and succeeded by *John*; who immediately wrote a letter to *Basilowitz*, informing him of this revolution, and that he intended to conclude a peace with *Denmark*, if he was disposed to do the same; adding, that he had carefully protected both the person and effects of his ambassador from the fury of the soldiers, though his errand thither was of a very bad nature; no less than that of depriving him of a loving wife, and his children of an affectionate mother. *Basilowitz* was not a little chagrined at this unfavourable event, especially as it frustrated all his hopes of gaining *Catharine*: but, however, he returned the new king a very civil answer, in which he congratulated him upon his accession to the crown, and assured him that he never had any intention of making *Catherine* his consort; but being informed she was a widow, and had no children, his design was to send her from *Moscow* to the king of *Poland*, her brother; and that if he really desired to treat of peace, he might send his ambassadors to *Moscow* for that purpose, after releasing his minister, who had been so long detained at *Stockholm*, which he insisted should be done immediately. After the coronation of *John*, the *Russian* ambassador was dismissed with rich presents, and returned home, accompanied by the *Swedish* ambassadors, who were sent to negotiate the proposed peace: but the moment *John's* ambassadors arrived at *Moscow*, *Basilowitz* ordered them to be carried to a prison, and to be detained there just so long as his ambassador had been confined at *Stockholm*. This last transaction having been represented by most of the writers of those times, as a manifest violation of the law of nations, we have given this minute detail of the whole affair, in order to do justice to the character of *Basilowitz*.

(1) Puffend. p. 387. (2) Loccen. p. 398, 400. Puffend. p. 386. (3) Puffend. p. 390, seq.
Henning. Liefl. Chron. p. 48. Russoww. Liefl. Chron. p. 110. (4) Puffend. p. 398. (5) Idem,
p. 400. Loccen. lib. vii. p. 403.

a *Selim* made an alliance with some princes, who were to send him succours by way of the *Caspian* sea, and raised himself an army of three hundred thousand men, in which was the flower of the janisaries. These troops were embarked at *Constantinople*, crossed the *Black Sea*, and the *Palus Mæotis*, and landed at *Azoph*, where the *Crim Tartars* joined them with a reinforcement of forty thousand archers^c. This formidable army marched directly towards *Astracan*, where the sultan had made his soldiers expect to find all the treasures of *Armenia*, *Persia*, and *India*; and had given them such an idea of the weakness of all the places in *Tartary*, that they imagined their bare appearance before them would be sufficient to make them surrender.

ZEREBRINOW, who commanded for the czar, was alarmed, and at first somewhat b terrified at this multitude of enemies. But collecting together as many troops as he could, among which were several of the *Casan Tartars*, he fell upon them unexpectedly in a defile, where their numbers served only to embarrass them, put them to flight, pursued them a great way, and took all their artillery and baggage. To complete their misfortune, their allies were not to be found at the time or place appointed, which last was near the mouth of the *Wolga*. The *Russians* and their *Tartars* becoming bold, in proportion to the weakness and timidity of their enemies, followed them on all sides, and obliged them to make a shameful retreat towards *Azoph*, where they found a new subject of sorrow; that great city having been almost entirely overthrown by the blowing up of a magazine of powder. *Zerebrinow* then attacked their ships there, of which he took several c with their provisions, and sunk the rest. Thus *Selim* got nothing from this grand enterprise, but loss and disgrace; for almost all his troops that had escaped the *Russians* and *Tartarian* soldiers, perished, either by hunger, or by storms, in crossing the *Black Sea*. But are totally defeated.

THE joy occasioned by the news of this victory was heightened by the arrival of M. *Randolph* at *Moscow*, in quality of ambassador from queen *Elizabeth* of *England*. *Basilowitz* received him with great distinction, and dismissed him with many rich presents, attended by *Andrew Grogoriwitz Saviena*, as his ambassador to the queen of *England*, to whom he was to tender a treaty in the *Russian* language, and afterwards swear to the performance of it; and to request that she would send an ambassador to *Moscow* to see it confirmed by *Basilowitz*, with the usual ceremony of kissing the cross. Queen *Elizabeth* agreed to this d treaty; with the restriction of its not being contrary to the tenor of the engagements she had entered into with other powers; and farther assured *Saviena*, that in case the czar, his master, should ever be reduced to the disagreeable necessity of leaving his empire, he should meet with a safe retreat in *England*, be received and provided for in a manner suitable to his dignity, enjoy the free exercise of his own religion, and be permitted to depart whenever he should think proper. This agreement she sealed, and promised to perform, in the presence of the czar's ambassador^e. *Basilowitz* receives an ambassador from, and sends another to queen Elizabeth.

THE *Russian* minister returned to *Moscow* shortly after; but queen *Elizabeth* did not send any one with him to witness the czar's confirmation of the treaty: an omission of ceremonial, which *Basilowitz* took so ill, that he wrote the queen a long letter concerning it; e telling her, how sensible he was of the slight she had put upon him, and reminding her of the many unsolicited privileges and immunities he had already granted to her subjects; adding, that he could not help construing her present behaviour into great ingratitude; and that if he was disposed to resent it as he ought to do, he might easily annul all those advantageous concessions which he had formerly made in her favour. The letter produced an answer from *Elizabeth*, which she sent by *Anthony Jenkinson*, and was couched in such terms as satisfied *Basilowitz*, and cemented the good understanding of the two crowns^f.

VAN HOFF^h, *Reutenfels*ⁱ, and several other writers, too violently prejudiced against *John Basilowitz* II. and determined, at all events, to make him pass for the very worst of f tyrants, have imputed to mere caprice, and a love of cruelty, the signal punishment which he inflicted about this time on the city of *Novogrod* and its dependent district. History does not, indeed, absolutely point out the particulars of their offence: but an impartial reading of other authors, of at least equal authority, gives great room to think, that, during his absence in his wars, and more especially whilst other plots and conspiracies were forming against him, *Novogrod*, *Plescow*, and some other places, had resolved to put themselves under the protection of the *Poles*; that the archbishop of *Novogrod* had spirited them up to this revolt; and that the czar's brother, *George*, had encouraged them in it, in hopes of re-establishing the grand-duchy of *Novogrod*, and of obtaining that dignity for himself^k. That a plot of this kind was actually formed, appeared from the confession of His severe punishment of Novogrod.

^c LEUNCI. p. 141.

^e CAMB. p. 115, & seq.

^f Idem, ibid.

^h Hist. J. Basilidis.

ⁱ De Reb. Moscovit. lib. i. cap. 12.

^k PURCHAS. p. 739.

JACOB AB UHLEFELD, Hodæpor. Ruthen.

doctor *Bromelius* (V), an *English* physician then at *Moscow*, and concerned in it¹: and in consequence of this discovery the czar's brother and his children were put to death^m. Some writers relate that his end was poor and wretched, whilst others make him die with a noble intrepidity, *Van Uhlefeld*, who was at *Moscow* a few years after, says he perished by poisonⁿ. *Reutenfels* asserts his innocency, and also that of the archbishop of *Novogrod*^o.

To punish *Novogrod* for this intended perfidy, *Basilowitz* marched thither with fifteen thousand men, ravaged the whole country round about, forced his way into the city, and gave his soldiers, who were headed by one of their generals, called *Malute*, a man remarkable for his savage disposition, free leave to plunder it; in consequence of which they ransacked every house, church, and cloyster, and committed the most outrageous acts of barbarity. The archbishop was seized, stripped of his church-garb, and clad in a harlequin's dress, in which attire he was seated upon a grey mare, led through the streets as a shew to the populace, and afterwards sent to *Moscow*, where he was imprisoned for life. Some say, that near three thousand people were butchered on this occasion: whilst others, to make the greater shew of cruelty, reckon the number of the slain at upwards of twenty-five thousand. Several other places, deemed equally guilty, shared the same fate; and a famine which came on immediately after, rendered their situation inexpressibly deplorable^q.

A. D. 1570.
The Swedes
become masters
of Reval.

BASILOWITZ's attention was next turned to *Livonia*, for the possession of which the Swedes, the Danes, and the Poles, had been engaged in a long and bloody war. The Swedish commander at *Reval*, *Claas Kursell*, endeavoured to get possession of the *Dookm*, under pretence that he and his soldiers had large arrears of pay due to them: and by the assistance of duke *Magnus* of *Holstein*, and some of the *Livonian* nobility, he was admitted into the citadel, where he soon overpowered the garrison, and made the governor *Gabriel Oxenstiern*, with his wife and children, prisoners. The next day the chief magistrate of *Reval* sent to him, desiring to know the meaning of his proceeding: to which *Kursell* answered, that he was determined to keep the place, till he and his troops should be paid all their demands. Upon this an agreement was concluded, that he should remain in possession of the castle till *Whitsunday* following; and that in the mean time application should be made to king *John*, concerning the arrears which he pretended to be due to him and his troops^r. These differences were politically fomented by the czar, who, well knowing that the *Livonians* would never submit to the *Russian* yoke, nor suffer themselves to be governed by a Swedish prince, promised to give their province to duke *Magnus* of *Holstein*, to declare him king thereof, and to content himself with the bare title of protector; but his real design was to facilitate his own conquest of that country, when the Swedes and Danes should have withdrawn their forces.

Basilowitz declares the duke of Holstein king of Livonia.

THIS proposal had the desired effect: it pleased the *Livonians* very much; and duke *Magnus* himself was so rejoiced at it, that, having received from *Kursell* the strongest assurances of his surrendering the citadel to him upon his return, he repaired in person to *Moscow*, in order to settle this important affair^s. On his arrival there, *Basilowitz* received him with great friendship, publicly acknowledged him king of *Livonia*, and concluded a treaty with him, by which, for a small annual tribute, he promised to rest satisfied with the title of protector only, to deliver up to him all the castles in his possession, to drive the Swedes away, and to protect him and his new kingdom, against all enemies whatsoever: to which he added, that he would renounce his former friendship and alliance with the *Roman* emperor, and shew the greatest favour to all the *Germans* in his kingdom: that *Magnus* should keep *Livonia* as an inheritance to him and his heirs male; and that no *Russian*, of what rank or degree soever, should at any time have any authority, or command therein; and that, in case *Magnus* should die without male issue, the crown should be transferred either to the next branch of the house of *Holstein*, or to that of *Denmark*, and to no other person^t.

WHILE this treaty was in agitation, the soldiers in the town, having discovered that *Kursell*'s real intention was to sell that place either to the *Russians* or *Danes*, which ever should offer most, endeavoured to recover possession of the *Dookm*. To this end *Nils*

¹ ZIEG. ex JER. HORSEY's Treatise of Russia, p. 213.

^m PETR. p. 220. HEIDENST. De Bell. Mosc. lib. i. p. 335. inter Script. Rer. Moscov. LAUR. MULLER. Pol. Lief. Chron. p. 114. ⁿ Hodæp. Ruthen. 14.

^o Ubi supra. ^p UHLEF. ibid. p. 26. HEID. ubi supra. ^q G. VAN HOFF. ubi supra. PETR. p. 210. GUAGN. p. 190. ODERB. lib. ii. p. 284. ^r RUSSOUW. Lief. Chron. f. 116. b. 109. LOCCEN. lib. vii. p. 408. PUFFEND. p. 406. CHYT. Saxon. p. 549. NEUGER. lib. vii. p. 628. HENNING. Lief. Chron. p. 50. ^s RUSSOUW. Lief. Chron. p. 119. ^t PUFF. p. 408. HENNING. Lief. Chron. p. 51.

(V) *Van Hoff* calls him *Phamelius*, and says he had his subjects: but, as we observed before, no great credit is due to so imbibed a writer.

a *Dublara*, one of their captains, having gained over part of the garrison, and found means to make the centinels drunk, on a day appointed, introduced his men through a hole in the wall, and made himself master of the citadel. *Kurfell* and his adherents were put to death, and the old *Swedish* governor was re-instated.

THE league between *Basilowitz* and king *Magnus* being concluded, the latter sent advice thereof to the *Livonian* nobility, promising them great favours if they would amicably acknowledge him their king, and submit to his government; and threatening them with the severest punishment in case of refusal. But neither his threats, nor his promises, proving effectual, *Basilowitz* assembled a great army to dislodge the *Swedes*, chastise the *Livonians*, and put *Magnus* in possession of his new kingdom, by force. With this army

of which he prepares to put him in possession by force.

b *Magnus* immediately set forward, and attacked *Reval* and *Wittenstein* with great fury: but in the mean time thought fit to write letters to the burghers and inhabitants of *Reval*, informing them, that his only intention was to free them from the *Swedes* and *Poles*, and to unite their scattered provinces under a *German* prince: that the czar had solemnly invested him with sovereign authority over them, and had sent him with a proper force to drive away their worst of enemies; and that he therefore desired them to surrender peaceably to him, as to a *German* duke; for that otherwise he should be under a necessity of establishing himself, by means which would inevitably ruin their country. Though this requisition was seconded by several letters from such of the *Livonian* nobility as were in *Russia*, advising their countrymen at *Reval* to acknowledge duke *Magnus* for their sovereign, no answer was returned to it; the commandant *Gabriel de Moerby*, and most of the principal inhabitants, having agreed to defend the place to the last extremity, rather than submit to the czar, or any other person whom he should nominate: thinking that he would use them in the same manner as his father *Basilus* had treated *Michael Gliniski*, after the conquest of *Smolensko*. They, therefore, sallied out upon the besiegers several times, with great success; and, being well supplied with all necessaries by king *John*, the siege advanced but slowly; so that *Magnus*, after having lain a considerable time before the place, and lost a great number of his troops, was at last obliged to raise the siege, set fire to his camp, and depart.

Magnus invades Reval;

but is obliged to raise the siege.

THIS bad success was followed by misfortunes of still worse consequence; for about this time a terrible pestilence raged over the *Russian* dominions, and swept away vast numbers of people. An attempt was also made by some of the *Livonian* nobility, whom *Basilowitz* had advanced to considerable posts, to seize the strong city of *Dorpt*; but being repulsed in the execution of their enterprise, they fled into *Poland*: and the *Crim Tartars*, by the persuasion of the *Poles*, suddenly invaded *Russia* with an army of seventy thousand men. The *Russians* might indeed, have prevented their passing the *Volga* and pursued their march, and the *Russians* retreated, till they came within eighteen leagues of *Moscow*; where, making a stand, they were totally defeated. When *Basilowitz* heard of this, he packed up his most valuable effects, and, together with his two sons, took refuge in a well fortified cloister; which the *Tartars* were no sooner informed of, than they entered the city of *Moscow*, plundered it, and set fire to several churches. A violent storm, which happened at the same time, soon spread the flames all over the city, which was entirely reduced to ashes in less than six hours, though its circumference was then upwards of forty miles. The fire likewise communicated itself to a powder-magazine at some distance from the city, by which accident upwards of fifty rods of the city-wall, with all the buildings thereon, were also destroyed: and by the concurrent testimony of the best historians, upwards of one hundred and twenty thousand citizens were burnt, or buried in the ruins, besides women, children, and foreigners. The castle, however, which was strongly fortified, held out to the last; and the *Tartars*, for want of proper materials, could not attempt to reduce it by force. The distressed *Basilowitz*, upon hearing this dismal news, thought proper to retire from the cloister to *Jaroslav*; and the *Tartars*, being soon after informed that duke *Magnus* was coming against them with a numerous army, would not venture to penetrate any farther into the country, but retired, laden with immense riches and many prisoners of great distinction; having first sent a naked sabre to the czar, with this message, that he should look upon it as a token left him by an enemy,

A. D. 1571. Russia desolated by the plague

Invaded by the Crim Tartars,

who plunder and burn Moscow.

The Tartars retire, and Basilowitz makes a truce with Poland.

^u RUSSOUW. Liefl. Chron. f. 119, & seq. LOCCEN. ubi suprn. PUFFEND. p. 467. CHYT. ubi supra. HENNING. Liefl. Chron. p. 50, & seq. ^w RUSSOUW. Liefl. Chron. p. 124, & seq. LOCCEN. p. 409. CHYT. ubi supra. HENNING. Liefl. Chron. p. 51. ^x CHYT. p. 597. LOCCEN. p. 410. HENNING. Liefl. Chron. p. 52. RUSSOUW. Liefl. Chron. p. 124, & seq. ^y ODERB. lib. iii. p. 292. ^z CHYT. ubi supra. HENNING. Liefl. Chron. p. 52. RUSSOUW. p. 137. ^a G. VAN HOFF. ubi supra. ^b HORSEY'S Treatise of Russia. CHYT. Chron. Livon. p. 133. G. VAN HOFF. ubi supra. THUAN. ad ann. 1571. RUSS. Liefl. Chron. p. 135. FLETCHER, p. 157. ^c PETR. Mosc. Chron. p. 7. ^d VAN HOFF, ubi supra. ^e CHYT. Saxon. p. 603.

whose revenge was still unsatisfied, and who would soon return again to compleat the work which he had as yet scarcely begun^f.

AFTER the retreat of the *Tartars*, *Basilowitz* held a council of war, to enquire into the conduct of his officers and troops during the late invasion; and those generals who had declined facing the enemy, were ordered to be put to death, their estates confiscated, and the troops under their command were disbanded^g. These accumulated misfortunes did not, however, depress the spirits, or subdue the courage of the czar. On the contrary, having concluded a three years truce with his mortal enemy *Sigismund* king of *Poland*^h, he rejected, with disdain, the overtures of a peace made to him at the same time by *John* king of *Sweden*ⁱ; who, being apprehensive that, as the *Tartars* had retreated from *Russia*, the czar would turn his arms against *Sweden*, caused the imprisoned king *Eric* to be removed from *Abu* to *Grypsholm*, and from thence to *Oerby*, where he placed a very strong guard over him, and ordered him to be narrowly watched, to prevent *Basilowitz's* rescuing him from his confinement^k.

Ravages Finland and Livonia.

BASILOWITZ intending to make some farther use of duke *Magnus* in his design upon *Livonia*, sent for him to *Moscow*, with a splendid retinue, in order to concert a proper plan of operations^l. The truce he had lately concluded with the *Poles*, together with the death of their king *Sigismund*, which happened shortly after, seemed greatly to favour the execution of his scheme, as there now was little reason to apprehend any disturbances on the side of *Poland* for some years^m. Under these favourable circumstances he resolved to employ the utmost of his force against the *Swedes*; and having assembled two very powerful armies, he sent one to invade *Finland*, and the other to attack *Livonia*. The former of these armies ravaged the country without opposition, and returned home laden with spoils; whilst the arrival of the other in *Livonia* was so sudden and unexpected, that *Basilowitz*, who headed it, soon became master of the important fortress of *Wittenstein*, where he put the whole garrison to the swordⁿ. He did the same at *Nenbaff*; and having conquered *Karchusen*, he returned, with part of his army, to *Novogrod*. The rest, to the number of sixteen thousand, marched into *Esthonia*, where the *Swedish* general *Claas Ackeson*, with only six hundred horse and one thousand foot, attacked and routed them, killed seven thousand of their men, and forced the survivors to retire, after losing all their baggage^o.

Takes Wittenstein, and several other places; but is defeated by the Swedes.

Magnus married to a relation of Basilowitz.

THIS defeat had such an effect upon *Basilowitz*, that he wrote a very mild letter to the king of *Sweden*, expressing a desire to make peace^p. In the mean time he concluded a match between the pretended king of *Livonia*, *Magnus*, and *Maria* (W), a relation of his, at *Novogrod*; and was so well pleased at the celebration of these nuptials, that he is said to have sung part of the ceremony himself, and to have beat time to the musicians by striking on their backs^q. The *Swedish* monarch, however, being somewhat elated with the success of his troops, and willing to rid himself effectually of so dangerous an enemy as *Basilowitz*; not only refused to listen to the proposed peace, but sent *Pontus de la Gardie* into *Livonia*, with five thousand *Scots*, who harraided the czar to such a degree, that he again applied for peace, and desired a truce in the mean time^r. But the two kings differing about the place where their ministers should meet, the czar insisting on *Novogrod*, and *John* on the borders of *Soesterbeck*, the war was begun afresh, and each side acted with the utmost vigour.

The Swedes continue to harraids the Russians. A. D. 1574.

THE *Swedes* laid siege to *Wesenburg* and *Telsburgh*; but after losing a great number of men, they contented themselves with plundering all the places they could, and then retired. The *Lubeckers*, who had formerly assisted *Basilowitz*, in the affair of *Narva*, were particularly punished: *John* taking from them sixteen of their largest and richest ships. On the other hand, the *Russians* troops attacked the *Swedish* and *German* dragoons in their camp, and made a great slaughter of them, ravaged *Livonia*, and made themselves masters of *Pernau*, which they treated with such lenity, as induced several other places to submit to king *Magnus*^s.

Who take Pernau and other places in Livonia. The Livonians sell some fortresses to the Danes.

DURING these transactions, the nobility of *Livonia*, in conjunction with the *German* dragoons, sold to the *Danes*, the castles of *Hasal*, *Lobe*, and *Lebal*, which the king of

^f VAN HOFF. ^g HORSEY, & CHYT. ubi supra. ^h GUAGN. p. 365. apud Pistor. tom. ii. ⁱ HEID. De Bello Mosc. lib. v. p. 414. ^k PUFFEND. p. 414. ^l HEN. Lief. Chron. p. 54. ^m HENN. ubi supra. NEUGEB. lib. viii. p. 640. ⁿ CHYT. Saxon. p. 618. HENN. Lief. Chron. p. 54. ^o LOCCEN. p. 413. ^p PUFFEND. p. 416. ^q LOCCEN. p. 413. HENN. Lief. Chron. p. 147. ^r PUFFEND. ubi supra. ^s HENN. Lief. Chron. p. 56. ^t RUSSOUW. Lief. Chron. p. 148. ^u PUFFEND. p. 416. ^v LOCCEN. p. 413. ^w CHYT. ubi supra. ^x RUSS. p. 149. ^y HENN. Lief. Chron. ubi supra. ^z PUFFEND. p. 418. ^{aa} RUSSOUW. p. 166.

(W) *Laur. Muller* is mistaken in saying, that she brother to *Basilus the Blind*, which last was the grandfather of *Basilowitz's* brother (1): she was father of *Basilowitz* (2). the daughter of *Andrew*, nephew of *George*, who was

(1) Page 114.

(2) *Chytr. Genealog. p. 611. Petreius, & Henning. p. 147.*

- a Sweden had given the dragoons as a security for the payment of eighty thousand florins, due to them for arrears of pay^t; and in consequence of this sale *Nicolas Van Ungarn*, the Danish stadtholder at *Oesel*, took possession of them. About the same time, duke *Magnus* of *Saxe-Lauenburgh*, who had married *Sophia*, sister to the king of *Sweden*, arrived at *Sonenburgh*, of which he took possession as a fief from his brother-in-law. This occasioned a dispute between him and the Danish governor of *Oesel*, whom the duke imprisoned, but released soon after. The Swedes not attempting to retake *Pernau*, the Russians remained possessors of the place, and granted to such of its inhabitants as chose to withdraw, passports for themselves and their effects: but duke *Magnus* of *Saxe-Lauenburgh*, under pretence that they had not acted properly in the defence of the city, plundered them, and sent
- b them prisoners to *Stockholm*^w.

BASILOWITZ now desiring peace more than ever, agreed that his ambassador should treat with those of *Sweden* at *Scesterbeck*; but several difficulties arising, the congress ended in concluding a truce for two years, in favour of *Finland* only. This no ways displeased the czar; as having nothing to fear from that quarter, he had the better hopes of conquering *Livonia*. In the mean time, the emperor *Maximilian II.* whom some of the *Poles* had elected for their king, sent ambassadors to *Basilowitz*, to offer his mediation in regard to the proposed peace between *Russia* and *Sweden*: but the Swedes were so peremptory in their demands, that nothing could be done^x. The czar, in consequence of the truce for

A. D. 1576.
A truce concluded in favour of Finland.

- c of *Hafel*, *Lobe*, and *Lehal*, with several other places. The king of *Denmark* complained bitterly of the injustice of this action; but was answered by *Basilowitz*, that as those castles belonged to his enemies the Swedes, he thought himself sufficiently warranted in his proceedings against them^y.

Basilowitz takes the fortresses lately ceded to the Danes.

- ABOUT this time, the *Poles* elected *Stephen Battori*, chief magistrate of *Siebenburgen*, a man of a warlike disposition, for their king: and to prevent the emperor *Maximilian's* counteracting this election, they hastened the coronation as much as possible^z. This event was highly pleasing to *Basilowitz*, who, by espousing the emperor's claim, hoped to reap considerable advantages in his designs upon the Swedes. He therefore sent ambassadors to *Maximilian*, offering to assist him against the new elected king of *Poland*, who, he said, having obtained the crown by means of the grand enemy of the Christian powers, the Turk, was not worthy to wear it; desiring him to take the *Poles* under his protection, and offering to restore part of *Livonia* to him on that account. This embassy was very acceptable to *Maximilian*, who thankfully acknowledged the czar's generosity, and promised to return the favour whenever it should be in his power. The advantage which the emperor proposed to himself by this connection with *Basilowitz*, was, that if he attacked the *Poles* with one great army, and the czar should second him with another, king *Stephen* would be unable to withstand their joint forces, and be the more easily induced to resign his crown. On the other hand, the czar imagined that the *Poles*, being engaged with the emperor, would not be able to frustrate his intention of conquering *Livonia*.

Stephen Battori chosen king of Poland.

- f SOON after, king *Stephen* sent an embassy to *Moscow*, to notify his election to the Polish crown, and either by an absolute truce, or a protracted treaty, to keep the czar from attempting any thing against *Livonia*; intimating, that whatever differences subsisted between them, might be then amicably compromised, if *Basilowitz* was as pacifically disposed as he was. *Basilowitz* answered, that though the emperor, with whom he was in league, had been chosen king of *Poland*; yet he was no ways averse to living in peace with *Stephen*, and should therefore be glad if he would send ambassadors to examine into, and accommodate the differences between them; and that in the mean time he would refrain from all acts of hostility against the *Poles*.

Sends an embassy to the czar, to propose peace.

- IN the mean while, he sent a body of fifteen hundred Tartars into *Finland*, to make a false alarm in that country, and an army of fifty thousand men into *Livonia*, to besiege *Reval*; to frighten the inhabitants of which, he caused it to be reported, that he himself was at the head of his troops^a. The Russians accordingly invested the city, and continued to bombard it for six weeks: but the besieged, who were well supplied with necessaries, made a brave and resolute defence: and by their frequent and successful sallies, so weakened the Russian army, that they were obliged to raise the siege^b; which they were the rather induced to do, as their general *Iwan Koltzoff*, who had sworn to the czar, that if he did not gain possession of *Reval*, he would never see his face again, was unfortunately killed by a cannon ball from the garrison^c.

The Russians invade Livonia.

^t CHYT. Saxon. p. 622. ^u PUFFEND. p. 393. ^w RUSSOUW. Lief. Chron. p. 166. HENN. Lief. Chron. p. 57. CHYT. Saxon. p. 625. THUAN. ad ann. 1575. p. 51. edit. Germ. ^x HENN. p. 57. ^y CHYT. Saxon. p. 625. ^z NEUGE. lib. ix. p. 633. HENN. p. 58. ^a RUSS. p. 186. ^b PUFFEND. p. 433. HENN. Lief. Chron. p. 61. LOCCEN. p. 418. RUSSOUW. Lief. Chron. p. 174. ^c Idem, p. 179, 186.

Agreement be-
tween the czar
and Magnus
of Livonia.

NOTWITHSTANDING this bad success, the czar was resolved not to close the campaign without gaining some advantage; and therefore, putting himself at the head of his army, he encamped near *Pleskow*, from whence he sent for king *Magnus* to meet him. This new sovereign of *Livonia* was suspected of having treacherously endeavoured to persuade the king of *Poland*, and the princes of *Prussia* and *Courland*, to engage in a war against *Basilowitz*, who, being informed of it, severely reproached *Magnus* with ingratitude; but this last having found means to appease him, he not only treated him with great distinction, but entered into an agreement with him, that the places which they should respectively conquer, should be equally divided; that *Magnus* should have the city of *Wenden*, and all that lay on the other side of the *Aal*, and that the czar should have the rest; but that in case any other places should surrender to *Magnus*, he should have no right to them without the czar's consent. Soon after this agreement, *Magnus* returned to *Livonia*, where he was informed, upon his arrival at *Ermifs*, that the city of *Wenden* was willing to surrender to him, as it accordingly did soon after, and that day he took possession of the castle and city, and received an oath of fidelity from the inhabitants ^a.

Which the lat-
ter violates.

In the mean time *Basilowitz* broke up his camp before *Pleskow*, and treated all the places he passed thro' with great mildness, except such as belonged to baron *Van Dauben*, who was one of those that attempted to seize *Dorpt*, but upon meeting with a repulse, had taken refuge in *Poland*. While the czar was thus engaged, the inhabitants of *Kackenhausen*, sent to king *Magnus*, desiring to put themselves under his subjection. *Magnus* being sensible, that, according to the late treaty concluded with the czar at *Pleskow*, he could not comply with this request without his consent, sent a messenger to *Basilowitz*, to acquaint him therewith, and receive his directions: but before he had any answer, he ventured not only to grant their request, but also published a writing, which he distributed there and in the adjacent places, warning them against the designs of the *Russians*, and informing them, that he acted solely for the benefit of the kingdom of *Poland*, and the grand-duchy of *Lithuania*, to whom those places properly belonged: upon which they readily received his garrisons, and threw themselves upon his protection.

Basilowitz's
revenge.

BASILOWITZ being acquainted with these proceedings before the arrival of *Magnus's* messenger, who was dilatory in his journey ^c, set out immediately for *Kackenhausen*, where he imprisoned the burghers, and put to the sword those whom king *Magnus* had sent thither, but permitted the *Lithuanians* to depart quietly. In the mean time, some of *Magnus's* troops had taken one of the czar's officers, named knez *Alexander Polubenski*, who had a large sum of money with him, and detained him prisoner. *Basilowitz* sent several expresses to *Magnus*, to demand this nobleman, but in vain; whereupon he marched from *Kackenhausen* to *Wenden*, and represented to the inhabitants how ill *Magnus* had used him, and how manifestly he had violated the treaty of *Pleskow*: but they endeavouring to excuse their master, the czar immediately laid siege to the place, till, at the earnest request of the citizens, *Magnus*, with only a few attendants, went into the czar's camp, and falling on his knees, begged pardon for himself and the city. *Basilowitz* no sooner saw the king of *Livonia* thus prostrate before him, than he dismounted from his horse, and desired him to rise, returned him his sword, and after reproaching him with the ingratitude of his late conduct, freely pardoned him and the city, and assured them of his future protection. At this instant, a cannon-ball from the castle narrowly missed killing the czar; which so incensed him, that he mounted his horse and rode away directly, swearing by *St. Nicholas*, that for this fresh instance of perfidy, every person in *Wenden* should suffer death. *Magnus* was then put under arrest in a farm-house, and obliged to sign an obligation, by which he engaged to pay the czar forty thousand *Hungarian* florins by the next *Christmas*, as a satisfaction for the money taken from *Polubenski*; and in case of failure of payment at that time, to forfeit double the sum, and remain a prisoner at *Moscow* till the whole should be discharged. This account, delivered by a writer of veracity ^f, shews the falsity of what has been asserted by others, who, out of enmity to *Basilowitz*, say, that *Magnus* was forced to creep upon his knees upwards of a thousand paces, before the czar would look at him; that this last spit several times in his face; and that the *Russians*, afterwards, beat him unmercifully with sticks. The troops in the castle of *Wenden*, alarmed at *Magnus's* not returning, and imagining that *Basilowitz* was meditating some fatal design both against him and them; assembled, received the sacrament, and then blew up the citadel and all that were in it ^e. *Wolmer* and several other places submitted soon after ^h. In the course of this campaign, *Basilowitz* made himself master of all the towns north of the *Duina*, except *Riga*, *Treyden*, and *Reval*. After this success, *Basilowitz* returned to *Dorpt*, where he told

His noble beha-
viour towards
Magnus,

and just indig-
nation against
the people of
Wenden.

Their desperate
resolution.

^a HENN. Lief. Chron. p. 61.
p. 327. ODERB. lib. i. p. 255. LIVONIA.

^c Idem, ibid.

PETR. p. 190.

^f Idem, p. 65.

^e HEID. lib. i.

^h LAUR. MULLER. Pol. Hist. p. 46. Account of

a the imprisoned *Magnus*, who was brought before him, that he had formerly entertained the highest esteem for him, and as a proof of it, had given him one of his relations in marriage; but that, by his late perfidious behaviour, he had forfeited that esteem, and did not deserve the least indulgence: notwithstanding which, he would still permit him to go to his consort at *Kackenbausen*, and advise him to be more faithful for the future. After *Magnus* was thus dismissed, the czar returned to *Moscow*, being apprehensive of another visit from the *Tartars*^k.

This retreat gave the *Livonians* fresh spirits, and they exerted their utmost strength to recover their places which the czar had garrisoned. *Wenden* was taken by surprize, and the *Russian* troops were treated with great barbarity. *Duneburgh*, and several other castles in the neighbourhood, shared the same fate^l; which so intimidated the *Russians* in *Overpalen*, that they voluntarily surrendered that city: but soon after, recollecting the risk they run from the resentment of their master, they again made themselves masters of it. The *Swedes* then fell upon the *Russians*, who had laid siege again to *Wenden*; and with the assistance of the *Poles*, under the command of *Andrew Sapieha*, killed above six thousand of them, took a great number of prisoners with all their baggage, and obliged the rest to seek their safety by flight. This so incensed *Basilowitz*, that he resolved to carry his arms not only into *Livonia*, but also into *Courland* and *Prussia*^m. To this end he concluded a truce with the *Tartars*ⁿ, and accommodated all differences between him and the *Deans*; though the *Danish* ambassador so far exceeded his commission in this affair, that upon his return to *Denmark* he was disgraced^o. These affairs being settled, *Basilowitz* assembled an army of one hundred thousand men, which he sent against *Pleskow*; and in the mean time, *Magnus* perceiving that his affairs in *Livonia* were in a very precarious situation, went over to the king of *Poland*, in order to engage him to enter *Russia* with a powerful army, and thereby oblige the czar to withdraw the greatest part of his forces for the defence of his own dominions. King *Stephen* desired *Nicholas Radziwil*, the chief magistrate of *Courland*, to treat with *Magnus*, and assure him of the friendship of *Poland*, on condition that he should hold his castles as fiefs from its king, or exchange them with him for other places^p. This treaty being concluded, *Stephen* attacked the *Russian* frontiers; and though the czar sent ambassadors to him to prevent his farther proceedings, yet because they would not make a formal enquiry after *Stephen's* health, before they entered upon business, the *Polish* ministry would not treat with them; so that they returned back to *Moscow* without success^q.

The Livonians, Swedes, and Poles gain advantages over the Russians.

In the beginning of the next year, *Stephen Battori*, having made a treaty of alliance with the *Swedes*, by consent of the diet of *Poland* and *Lithuania*, raised an army to attack *Russia* in earnest; to retake what *Poland* claimed; and to put an end to this war, which had lasted too long. His hopes of success were raised by a reverse of fortune, which the czar had just experienced in *Livonia*; where the *Swedes*, assisted by some *Germans* and *Polanders*, had taken *Wenden*: an event which greatly dispirited the *Russians*. However, not to do any thing irregular, *Stephen* determined first to demand satisfaction from *Basilowitz*, by an embassy; and, in case of refusal, to declare war in form against the *Russians*, before he attacked their territories.

A. D. 1579. Against whom the Poles declare war in an extraordinary manner.

BASIL LAPOTINSKI was chosen ambassador for this purpose, and sent with a numerous train of nobility. He was received on the frontier with all the honours due to his character: but when he was advanced farther into the country, and his errand known, he had much ado to get safe to *Moscow*. When there, having declared that he should go to his audience with a drawn sabre before him, and being told that an attempt to enter the imperial palace, in that manner might cost him his life: he answered, that the czar was master of his life, but that nothing should hinder him from acquitting himself of his duty with the utmost exactness. Accordingly, when the day of audience came, he was conducted to the palace, his master of the horse carrying his sabre naked before him. The czar, cloathed in a robe covered with diamonds and pearls, received him in a magnificent hall. *Lapotinski*, after saluting him in the *Polish* manner, made a speech, in which he demanded reparation for all the injuries done to *Poland* by the *Russians*; adding, that, in case of refusal, the king, his master, would be obliged to do himself justice; with which words, he presented to the czar a letter from *Stephen*, to the same effect, and a scymeter.

BASILOWITZ, after reading this letter, which was written in the *Russian* language, and sealed with a seal of gold, answered that he was not so susceptible of fear, as at the

^l HENN. p. 66. PETREIUS, p. 193.

^k HENN. p. 67.

^l JACOB AB UHLEF. Hodœpor.

Ruthenicum, p. 13, 42.

^m HEID. De Mosc. Bello, lib. i. p. 328.

HENN. p. 61. LAUR. MULLER.

Pol. & Lief. Hist. p. 45, & seq.

ⁿ PUFF. p. 439.

HENN. p. 67. HEID. p. 338. NEUGE. lib. x.

p. 673.

^o PUFF. ubi supra.

^p JACOB AB UHLEF. Epist. ad Goldastum. BAYLE Dict. Hist.

& Brit. sub voce UHLEFELD.

^q HENN. f. 68. HEID. lib. i. p. 332. NEUGE. lib. x. p. 671.

^r HEID. lib. i. p. 338, 340. NEUGE. lib. x. p. 674.

fight of such menaces, to abandon his dominions to *Poland*; and that those who had so often vanquished the *Poles* and the *Livonians*, who had subdued the *Tartars* of *Casan* and *Astracan*, and triumphed over the forces of the *Ottoman* empire, would make king *Stephen* repent of his rash undertaking. He then took leave of the ambassador, and ordered him to be treated with the respect due to his high station*. So true it is, that virtue commands respect, even in an enemy: for the czar regarded the law of nations less than the noble intrepidity of *Lapotinski*.

WAR being thus declared, each side made great preparations. The czar, besides augmenting his troops, reinforcing his garrisons, and erecting magazines in all necessary places, excited the *Crim Tartars* to invade *Poland*: but *Stephen* was first in the field, with volunteers of all nations, who were willing to learn the art of war under so renowned a commander.

Their conquests.

THE stress of the war was directed against *Poloczkow*, the avenues to which *Stephen* took possession of, whilst his general *Radziwil* sent a trumpet to summon the *Russian* garrison to surrender. No regard was paid to this message; and, in the mean time, the *Polish* troops, while they waited his return, began to seize on *Kosian*, *Sitno*, and *Krasny*. The king arriving soon after with the heavy artillery, opened the siege of *Poloczkow*.

THE czar, more intent upon defending his possessions than aiming at new conquests, was encamped under *Pleskow*; from whence, however, a detachment of *Russians* crossing the *Duina*, made an unexpected incursion into *Semigallia*, where they took a prodigious booty†. On the other hand, the *Poles* sent parties into *Russia*, on the side of *Smolenskow*, where they put all to fire and sword, and even burnt the suburbs of that city. A detachment commanded by *Ostroffski* and *Michael Wiesnowieski*, passed the *Dnieper*, and made an irruption as far as *Petzop*, *Radkost*, and *Starodub*, from whence they carried off considerable plunder.

IN the mean time the siege of *Poloczkow* was pushed with considerable vigour, and the besieged made an equally brave defence. *Basilowicz*, from time to time, sent several detachments, which endeavoured to throw themselves into the town, but with little success. The trenches had been open eighteen days, when *Stephen* ordered fire to be set to all the out-works of the place. This order was executed with such determined bravery, that many of the *Polish* soldiers even rushed thro' the flames to attack the enemy. The *Russians*, astonished at this resolution, made a feint of capitulating, in hopes of gaining time to throw up a new intrenchment, whilst the flames concealed them from the besiegers; but *Stephen*, who penetrated their design, ordered that no respite should be given them, day or night. At length, seeing all their works destroyed about the town, and the *Poles* in possession of an eminence which commanded them, they beat the chamade. *Stephen*, who wanted not to shed blood, and who had an interest in preserving this fortress as entire as possible, granted its inhabitants life and liberty, received into his troops such as were willing to enlist with him, and permitted the rest to retire to the *Russian* army. A great quantity of cannon and ammunition was found in the place; and with it was taken some prisoners of distinction, who had opposed the surrender of the town: among these was the archbishop of *Wielkiluki*‡.

THE taking of *Poloczkow* was followed by the submission of *Turowla*, *Susz*, and *Socola*§. The two first surrendered immediately, upon offering the garrisons liberty to retire with their arms and baggage. *Sokol*, a fort situated between the *Dreyffe* and the *Neyffe*, in the way from *Poloczkow* to *Pleskow*, made some resistance. Besides the usual garrison, *Theodore Basilowicz Czeremetow*, who had attempted in vain to throw himself into *Poloczkow* with a detachment of troops, and several *Russian* lords, was retired into this fort, and two thousand well disciplined militia remained under the cannon of the place. The *Poles*, however, made their approaches in form, and by throwing a few red-hot-bullets into the town, all the buildings and fortifications of which were of wood, set it on fire in several places. The flames spread with such rapidity, that the garrison and people, reduced to the dismal alternative of perishing by fire, or opening themselves a passage through the besiegers, attempted this last, but were forced back into the midst of the conflagration, where they made signals to surrender, and demanded quarter: but the *German* soldiers not understanding their language, and the *Poles*, irritated by the late obstinate resistance of the garrison of *Poloczkow*, refusing to listen to them, they made a fresh sally, and were again repulsed by their enemies, who followed them quite into the place. At that instant, a centinel upon the gate let fall the port-cullis, by which means both parties were shut up in the town, in the midst of the flames. A dreadful battle then ensued: four thousand *Russians* perished in the fort, which was reduced to ashes, and almost as many prisoners, among whom

* ODERB. in Vit. Basilid. lib. iii. p. 294. HEID. ubi supra. NEUGE. p. 674.
69. NEUGE. lib. x. p. 677. † LAUR. MULLER, Pohn. Lief. Hist. p. 48.

‡ HENN. p.
§ NEUGE.

were

a were *Czeremetcw* and several other officers of distinction*. The *Poles* then entered the *Russian* territories, where all submitted to king *Stephen*; who at length put an end to this campaign, in order to assist at the diet of *Warsaw*.

BASILOWITZ, beginning to despair of success in this war, retired to *Novogrod*, from whence he made some of his principal nobles write to the palatine of *Wilna*, to sound him, if there might not be some means found to bring the king to listen to terms of peace; to accelerate which he offered, though contrary to the custom of his ancestors, to send ambassadors to *Poland*†. *Stephen* was also desirous of peace, but could not, with honour, consent to it, while the *Russians* kept *Livonia*; especially as, besides the cession made of that province to the crown of *Poland* by the knights of the cross, king *Magnus*, who had put himself under the protection of the *Polish* monarch, had likewise transferred to him all the rights he had to it, either by the investiture of the czar, or by the oath its inhabitants had taken to him. It was therefore resolved in the diet, though not without strong opposition, that the war should be continued against *Russia*.

Basilowitz solicits peace with the Poles;

who resolve to continue the war,

THE *Polish* army, with the additional strength of two considerable bodies of *German* and *Hungarian* auxiliaries, took the field early in the next year, and laid siege to *Wielkiluki*, one of the keys of *Russia*, situated on an eminence in the midst of marshes, covered on one side by a lake, and on the other by the *Lowat* (X). This city, in which was a numerous garrison, well provided with all sorts of stores, could not be reduced without setting it on fire, by which means most of its people perished: its governor was massacred by the *Hungarians*, and all the country round about was laid waste; the licentious soldiers thinking themselves authorised to commit every kind of barbarity‡. *Wielicz* and *Uswiath*, two important posts on the *Duna*, were taken with less difficulty. The garrison of *Torpiecz* surrendered, on condition that they should retire to *Novogrod*; but those of *Sawolocz*, a fortress on the *Wielka*, between *Wielkiluki* and *Pleskow*, refusing to capitulate, were put to the sword. *Zickuryssza* was delivered up to the *Polish* general, *Radziwil*, upon his offering its inhabitants leave to retire elsewhere. Thus the *Poles* extended their conquests as far as *Porckow* and *Opolskow*, which are but seventy wersts from *Pleskow*; and *Stephen* had also a great inclination to attack this last place: but not being sufficiently provided for an enterprize of such importance, and the season being by this time far advanced, it was thought more advisable to defer this siege till the next campaign, and in the mean time to assemble a diet again, in order to obtain the necessary succours.

and take several important places from the Russians.

ABOUT this time some *Poles* proposed, with the help of the *Swedes* and *Danes*, to surprise the monastery of *Bielezar*, on the *White Sea*, where the czar's principal treasure was kept, and which they were informed was but weakly defended§. *Laurence Muller*, whom we have frequently had occasion to quote, and whose account¶ we follow here, was sent in this view to both nations, the latter of which declined the proposal, on account of their not being at war with the *Russians*. The king of *Sweden*, whose brother-in-law, *George John*, count palatine of the *Rhine*, had tried before to embark him in the same expedition, at first listened to it readily, and offered ships and troops: but, upon farther consideration, thinking the distance too great, or the expences too large, or the success doubtful, or having, perhaps, other uses for his marine, he altered his mind; so that nothing came of this project.

Fruitless project of the Poles to seize the czar's treasure.

BASILOWITZ, sensible that his troops were not so well appointed as those of the *Poles*, whom he hoped to weary out by avoiding a decisive battle, contented himself with putting good garrisons in such places as he judged they would attack, in order to make them lose time in those sieges, whilst his emissaries endeavoured to sow dissensions among them in their own country, and to spirit up an insurrection in *Lithuania*. This scheme failing, he returned to *Moscow*, where to divert the attention of the people from his misfortunes, and make them think that the *Polish* war gave him but little concern, he spent his time in feasts and diversions, was married for the seventh time, and assisted at the nuptials of his eldest son *John Iwanowitz*⋄.

Marriage of the czar and his son.

He was however, mistaken, both in imagining that he could blind his subjects, and in thinking that the republic of *Poland*, unable to support the expences of the war for any length of time, must either continue it so faintly that he should find himself in a condition to fall upon them, or that they must at last desire a peace, which he would agree to on their own terms, in order to make war again; when a more favourable opportunity should offer;

* HEID. ubi supra. NEUGE. p. 674.

† NEUGE. lib. x. p. 694.

‡ Idem, p. 699, 734.

§ Account of *Livonia*, p. 129. Resp. *Moscow*. 333.

¶ Pohl. Lief. Hist. p. 51.

⋄ NEUGE.

p. 735. THUAN. ad ann. 1580. ex HEID. lib. iii. p. 382:

(X) *Wielkiluki* lies in the province of *Rzewa*, one hundred and twenty wersts on the north of *Wityrsk*, and at the same distance south from *Novogrod Weliki*, from which it is separated by forests, sandy plains, and the great lake *Ilmen*. *Pleskow* is one hundred and eighty wersts distant from it, on the north-west.

League be-
tween the
Swedes and
the Poles.

The Swedes
gain great ad-
vantages over
the Russians.
A. D. 1581.

Basilowitz de-
sires the medi-
ation of the
pope.

The Poles take
Riga,

and lay siege to
Pleskow.

for the fatal consequences of an agreement entered into by the *Swedes* and *Poles*, stipulating, that they should act separately, and keep for themselves what each other should conquer^d, soon shewed the *Russians* the dangers they were threatened with; and *Basilowitz* received such advice from his spies in *Poland*, a set of men by whom this czar was always remarkably well served, as fully convinced him, that *Stephen* would not be satisfied with any thing less than the recovery of *Pleskow*, and that he was making all necessary preparations to carry his point. The king of *Sweden*, on his side, sent a large army under the command of his son-in-law, *Pontus de la Gardie*, who late, as it was in the year (Y), invested *Kexholm*, and made himself master of that strong fortress and its dependencies^e; after which, entering *Livonia*, he reduced the castle and abbey of *Padis* to such distress of hunger, that the *Russian* garrison was so enfeebled as to be scarcely able to meet him at the gates to make their surrender^f. *Wesenberg*, *Telsburgh*, *Lode*, *Tickel*, and several other places, submitted to him with little resistance; and early in the spring he invested *Narva*, which the king his master had attacked, to no purpose, some years before. The general, by promising his soldiers the plunder of it for twenty-four hours, induced them to assault it with so much fury, that they soon carried it, and cut seven thousand *Russians* in pieces. From *Narva* they went to *Iwanogorod*, which surrendered by capitulation. *Jamogorod* and *Coporio* did the same^g. The *Swedes* afterwards going towards *Novogorod*, turned on a sudden upon *Wittenstein* in *Livonia*, which they took, and from thence proceeded to *Pernau*, to which they laid siege^h.

BASILOWITZ, thus distressed, and knowing the pope's zeal to repair the breaches which *Calvin* and *Luther* had made in the church of *Rome*, applied to *Gregory XIII.* for his mediation, and promised, that, if he made peace between him and *Poland*, he would submit the church of *Russia* to the holy see. This bait was too tempting for the pope not to bite at. The jesuit *Possevin* was ordered to go immediately to the king of *Poland*, and endeavour to oblige him, by the obedience he owed to the church, to put an end to the war with the czarⁱ.

BEFORE the arrival of this legate from the pope, the king of *Poland* had begun his third campaign with the conquest of *Riga*, the inhabitants of which surrendered to him, upon his promising to confirm to them, as he did, their privileges and freedom of religion^k. He then drew towards *Pleskow*, the possession of which had so long been an object of contention between the *Russians* and the *Poles*. This city, remarkably well fortified for those times and that country (Z), was then, through the care of *Basilowitz*, who foresaw the enemy's design, defended by a garrison of seven thousand horse and fifty thousand foot, including the burghers who were fit for service, and extremely well provided with all necessities for a long siege^l. The generals who commanded in it were *John* and *Basil Zwirski*, *Coroschin* and *Plesceioff*, men of approved valour and great abilities; and the czar had placed round the town several bodies of *Cosaks*, commanded by a brave *Circassian*, in order to hinder the *Poles* from ravaging the country.

KING *Stephen* being informed of the state of *Pleskow*, both by some deserters from thence, and by the people of the country, began to hesitate whether he should attack a place so likely to baffle his efforts. His troops were not sufficiently numerous to form a line of circumvallation, nor had he infantry enough for the assault and the trenches; besides which, he was in want of powder, his magazine at *Susa* having been blown up by accident, and his difficulties with respect to provisions seemed insurmountable. However, thinking his own honour, and that of his nation, interested in the prosecution of what he had begun, he determined to exert his utmost endeavours to reduce this important place. His leaving it, after having approached so near, would have given fresh courage to the dejected *Russians*, and his taking it would crown him with renown.

THE siege being resolved on, the next point to be considered was where to begin the attack. This was controverted for some time between the king and his general, late his chancellor, *Zamoisky*; till at length it was agreed, that it should be at the eastern side of the city. *Zamoisky* was disliked by the *Poles* in general, who said he was better qualified to shed ink than blood, and quite unacquainted with the management of war^m. The

^d PUFFEND. p. 443. LAUR. MULLER, p. 56.

Lief. Chron. p. 70. a OLEAR.

p. 710. HEID. lib. iv. p. 388. L. MULLER. p. 57.

HEID. lib. iii. p. 403, 415.

ad ann. 1581. p. 67. ex HEID. lib. iv. p. 393.

lib. iv. p. 393

^e PUFF. ubi supra. LOCCEN. p. 422.

^f HENN. p. 70. a CHYTR. 693. NEUGE.

^g PUFFEND. p. 444. HENN. p. 70. a

^h ODERB. lib. iii. p. 292.

ⁱ NEUGE. p. 713. THUAN.

^j NEUGE. p. 713. THUANUS, ad ann. ex HEID.

^k LAUR. MULLER, p. 52. HEID. lib. iii. p. 404.

(Y) The beginning of *November*.

(Z) *Pleskow* is about six miles in circumference, situated on the river *Welika*, which washes its walls on the south, at the distance of five wersts from the lake *Peipus*. The north side of it was fortified by a wall of stone, within which the czar, after the taking of *Polisb*

loczkow and *Wielkiluki*, had raised a broad terras. All around the town were stone towers; but as these were ancient works, whose flanks could not well defend each other, *Basilowitz* had added, in the intermediate spaces, good works of turf, and furnished them with artillery.

a *Polish* forces were divided according to their different nations: the *Poles*, *Lithuanians*, *Hungarians*, and *Germans*, had their respective posts, in which they endeavoured to surpass each other. Without entering into a detail of the particulars of this famous siege, we shall only say, that the besiegers and the besieged did every thing that could be expected from the most warlike people; till at length the former, beginning to want powder, were not able to batter the place so strongly as before. On the other hand, no endeavours were omitted by the *Russians* of *Ingria* and *Novogrod* to throw additional succours into the town: but the *Polish* king and his generals, who flew incessantly from place to place, frustrated every attempt of that kind.

b DURING this siege, the king of *Poland* received several ambassadors, and among the rest one from the grand signior, to demand certain *Tartars* who had deserted, and at the same time to congratulate him upon his conquests, and offer him considerable succours; which were neither accepted nor refused. The jesuit *Possevin*, invested with the dignity of legate from the pope, arrived also in his camp, from the court of the czar, with whom he had conferred about the conditions of a peace, which he was to mediate in the name of his holiness^a, who hoped by that means to bring *Russia* over to the *Romish* communion. *Possevin*, at an audience which he had immediately, told the king, that his czarish majesty was desirous to make peace upon the terms he had proposed during the siege of *Polockow*; to which *Stephen* made no reply; but gave the mediator to understand, that peace could not be made unless the czar yielded all *Livonia* to the crown of *Poland*. The jesuit, c upon this, sent a courier to *Basilowitz*, who immediately named *Zapolicia*, a town about ninety wersts from *Pleskow*, for the conference to be held in, under the mediation of the pope^e.

The pope mediates a peace between the Russians and the Poles.

d THE czar's real design was to draw the negotiation out in length, in hopes that the cold, which began to be very violent, and to which the troops that composed the *Polish* army had not been accustomed, would oblige their generals to decamp. He knew that *Pleskow* wanted for nothing, and was satisfied of the bravery and fidelity of those who were to defend it. *Stephen* was obliged to go to *Warsaw*, to assist at the diet; and it was well known, that *Zamoisky* was not beloved by the troops. The *Poles* being informed of all these circumstances, by a person in the train of the *Russian* plenipotentiaries, and who was in the secret of the embassy, redoubled their attacks upon *Pleskow*, and detached a party to besiege the monastery of *Pezzura*, which, lying in the road between *Pleskow* and *Riga*, and being fortified and filled with troops, incommoded the foragers of the *Polish* army. What added greatly to the hopes of the *Polanders*, was, an information which they received from one *Suturma*, secretary to the governor of *Pleskow*, and taken prisoner by them, purporting, that the provisions and ammunition of the town were almost exhausted; whereupon *Zamoisky* made all the necessary dispositions to oblige it to surrender by famine.

e WHILE the siege of *Pleskow* was thus carrying on, and the *Russian* ministers tried all ways to gain time, by sending couriers continually to the czar, and protracting their negotiations, in hopes that the severity of the weather would oblige their enemies to decamp; a large detachment of the *Polish* army, commanded by *Christopher Radzivil*, *Kmita*, and *Haraburda*, ravaged the borders of *Russia* towards *Mobliow*, *Skolw*, and *Toropiecz*, and advanced very far into the province of *Rzeva*, where two foragers falling into their hands, alarmed them with an account, that a body of fifteen thousand men were not far off, and that the czar was with his court at *Starica*, where he had another still greater army. *Radzivil*, however, advanced as far as the *Wolga*, beyond which he sent his *Tartars* out in parties, and would have followed them himself, and have advanced towards *Starica*, if one *Murfa*, an officer of the czar's household, who threw himself purposely in the way of the *Poles*, had not spoken with such confidence of the numerous troops, at the head of f which *Basilowitz* was, at *Starica*, that the *Polish* general believed him, and thereupon turned back. The truth was, that the czar had then only eight hundred men about his person, and that he had retired with precipitation as soon as he heard that the *Poles* had crossed the *Wolga*; so that it would not have been difficult for *Radzivil* to have taken him prisoner, if he had marched directly to *Starica*, instead of amusing himself with sending parties to destroy the country in the way to *Moscow*. The *Polish* detachment, after missing this stroke, retired by the province of *Rzeva*, and encamped at *Chelm* on the *Lowat*, from whence they advanced toward *Stara Russia*, continually plundering the *Russian* territories on every side.

The czar narrowly escapes being taken prisoner by the Poles;

^a POSSEV. Comm. de Moscov. p. 446. HEID. lib. v. p. 415. CHYT. p. 703. THUAN. ad ann. 1582. ^e Idem. ODERB. lib. iii. p. 313. NEUGE. p. 728. PUFFEND. p. ODERB. lib. iii. p. 293.

who grow jealous of the Swedes in Livonia.

A. D. 1582. Peace concluded between the Russians and the Poles at Zapolicia.

The Swedes, not included in the treaty,

attempt in vain the reduction of Notteburgh.

John Basilowicz accidentally kills his own son.

THE Swedes, in consequence of their late convention with the Poles, over ran *Livonia*, and took so many of its places, that *Stephen* could not help saying, they caught the game whilst he beat the bush^a. It seemed, indeed, as if *Basilowicz* suffered them to proceed in their conquests, purposely to breed a jealousy between them and their new allies: and if that was his view, he did not entirely miss his aim; for the *Polish* troops, distiking their general, wanting to return home, and envying the acquisitions obtained by the Swedes, whilst they were fruitlessly employed in a tedious siege, began to murmur greatly: a circumstance which the legate *Possevin* laid hold of, to dispose *Stephen* the more readily to peace^b, which was at length concluded at *Zapolicia*, on the 15th of *January* in the year 1582^c.

By this treaty the czar agreed to deliver up to the Poles, all that part of *Livonia* which bordered on *Lithuania*, and contained thirty-four towns and castles, together with *Polockow* and its dependencies: in consideration of which *Wielkiluki*, *Sawolocz*, *Newilla*, *Ostrow*, and several other places in their neighbourhood, were receded to him^d. This peace was to last ten years, if both parties should live so long: but in case either of them died, the survivor was to be at liberty to attack immediately the territories of the deceased; and these conditions were soon after sworn to by the ambassadors on both sides^e. *Basilowicz*, however, had still the advantage of having despoiled *Livonia* of all its best treasure and artillery, and surrendering it poor, divided, and ruined^f.

No mention was made of the Swedes in this treaty; but not thinking it proper to quarrel with the Poles, they raised the siege of *Pernau*, and sent as their ambassador to *Stephen* one *Dominic*, an *Italian*, originally a cook, who had the assurance to ask a cession of *Narva*, *Wesenburg*, *Telsbury*, *Wittenstein*, *Lode*, *Lehal*, *Hapsal*, and *Reval*. So shameful a demand, made by such an ambassador, was treated as it deserved.

SHORTLY after this the *Swedish* commander, *Herman Flemming*, in the absence of *Pontus de la Gardie*, laid siege to *Notteburgh*, without orders, and, not being able to gain his point, made deep incursions into *Russia*, which the *Tartars* were then attacking on the opposite side^g.

BASILOWITZ would undoubtedly have exerted himself to revenge this insult, if a dreadful accident which befell him, just before the conclusion of the peace of *Zapolicia*, had not given a quite different turn to all his thoughts. The *Russians*, though persuaded that their czar had good reasons for remaining inactive, as he had done for some time past, while the Swedes on one hand, and the Poles on the other, made every day fresh conquests, and the last, in their progress, committed the greatest disorders; yet could not forbear murmuring at a conduct, in which there appeared to them more pusillanimity than prudence. Several of the nobles, joining together, made their remonstrances to the czar, threw themselves at his feet, offered him their lives and fortunes, and conjured him to wipe out the stain which so long an inactivity would bring upon the whole *Russian* nation; adding, that he had only to command it, and he should soon see an army on foot as numerous as the leaves of a forest; and that if he would put his eldest son at their head, his presence would inspire them with courage to surmount the greatest difficulties^h.

BASILOWITZ, incensed at this address, which he looked upon as a reproach of cowardice, answered, that since his subjects wanted a sovereign who would obey their wills, and be accountable to them for his conduct, they might chuse one where they would. The *Russians*, afraid of the wrath to which they found they had provoked their prince, prostrated themselves again at his feet, protesting, that it was not through any disaffection to him that they had taken this step, which they saw was displeasing to him; assured him, that they were very sorry for what they had done, and conjured him to continue to govern them at his own good pleasure. He then insisted on their discovering the authors of this rash undertaking, that he might punish them for their boldness; and suspecting that his son had intelligence with those who demanded him for their general, he reprimanded him very severely. The innocent young prince, extremely concerned to find himself suspected by his father, begged that he might be permitted to justify himself: but the czar to silence him at first, struck him on the head with a staff he had in his hand, tipped with an iron ferril, and unfortunately hit him on the temple, so that he dropt down motionless at his father's feet. Instantly penetrated with grief at this dreadful sight, *Basilowicz* passed at once from anger to the most piercing sorrow, threw himself upon the body of his son, embraced him, pressed him to his bosom, and spoke to him with all the fondness

^a CHYTR. p. 693. PUFFEND. p. 446. LOCCEN. lib. vii. p. 423. ^b NEUGE. p. 428, & 722. HEID. lib. ii. p. 357, & 404. ^c Autores supra citat. ^d Autores supra citat. & Tractat. de Russor. & Moscov. Relig. p. 276. ^e L. MULLER. Pohl. Lief. Hist. p. 59. HEID. lib. vi. NEUGE. lib. x. ^f LOCCEN. lib. vii. p. 423. LAUR. MULLER, p. 90. MARGARET. ^g PUFFEND. p. 448. NEUGE. p. 730. HENN. f. 71. b. HEID. lib. v. & ex eo THUAN. ad ann. 1582. LOCCEN. lib. vii. p. 424. L. MULLER. p. 60, & seq. ^h ODERB. lib. iii. p. 310. PETREIUS, p. 235. HEID. lib. v. p. 411. ex quo NEUGE. p. 427. & THUAN. an ann. 1581.

- a of a loving and afflicted parent. The prince recovered so as to be able to assure his father, that there was no conspiracy; that he was incapable of harbouring such a thought; and that, far from having ever had any such design against him, he besought the Almighty to give him the empire of the universe, and add to his life the days that had been taken from his own. He died four days after, to the inexpressible grief of his father, whose affliction had like to have brought him also to the grave; for it was with great difficulty that he prevailed upon to take any nourishment, or change his dress, even for a considerable time; nor could he ever after hear the prince mentioned, without immediately shedding tears (A). He caused a most magnificent funeral to be made for him: and to expiate his crime, if it could be expiated, sent seventy-seven thousand florins to the patriarch of *Constantinople* and
- b *Alexandria*, and to the monks that watched the holy sepulchre, that they might pray without ceasing for the soul of his son². What added to the loss both of the czar and the state, was, that this prince, born of *Basilowitz's* first consort, *Anastasia*, was deservedly the object of all their hopes; his second brother, *Theodore*, being of a weak understanding; and the third, *Demetrius*, an infant.

c THE news of the peace was immediately carried to *Pleskow*; where it occasioned an universal joy, as well as in the army of *Poland*. General *Zamoisky* recalled all his detachments, and the siege was raised, in the course of which both parties had sustained very great losses, and acquired nearly equal glory; for if the *Poles* had shewn an invincible perseverance to accomplish so difficult an enterprize; the *Russians* had given proofs of an extraordinary valour, and an inviolable fidelity to their sovereign, in supporting this siege so long, without receiving any succours, or having the least prospect of being relieved.

The siege of Pleskow raised, in consequence of the peace,

THE *Swedes*, who as we observed before, were not included in the treaty, and found themselves menaced with a war from *Poland*, which claimed all *Livonia*, sought to make peace with the czar: but as they could not agree upon their respective pretensions, a truce only was concluded for two months, which was followed by another for two years; before the expiration of which, the czar *John Basilowitz* died. After the death of his son he fell into a deep melancholy, which did not suffer him to enjoy any part of that short remainder of his life.

and a truce made with the Swedes.

- d THE jesuit *Possévin*, having succeeded in what the czar desired of him with respect to the peace, demanded, in his turn, the accomplishment of that prince's promise, to reunite the church of *Russia* to the see of *Rome*: but *Basilowitz* answered, that this was an affair which could not be effected in a short time: that he thought it not just to force the conscience of any Christian in matters of religion, and that therefore time, and the insinuations of the clergy, must do the work; towards which he would lend his assistance, and send his holiness an account of the progress that should be made. *Possévin* was dismissed with evasive answers of this kind, and honourably conducted to the frontiers of *Bologna*. That legate has himself given many reasons why his negotiation failed³; and what he says, is confirmed by *Heidenstein*^b and *Thuanus*^c: but a particular circumstance which gave the czar a great dislike to the pope, was, his being informed by the *English* ambassador, then at the

Basilowitz evades the demands of the pope's legate.

² ODERB. lib. iii. p. 311. & ex eo PETR. p. 238. THUANUS, ad ann. 1582. ex HEID. lib. vi. p. 424.
^a POSSEV. de Comm. de Moscov. passim. ^b Page 423. ^c Ad ann. 1582.

f (A) All authors of credit acquit *Basilowitz* of any intention to hurt his son, and agree that the blow which occasioned his death was quite accidental; though they differ a little in regard to the circumstances which provoked the czar to this excess of anger: some saying, that the young prince, unable to bear his father's inactivity, whilst enemies were over-running his country, told him, he thought the courage and bravery of the king of *Poland*, who had taken and destroyed so many of his provinces, a much greater treasure than all his boasted riches, which had not been able to protect them (1): and others, that he had attempted to plead too warmly in favour of the czarina, who had displeased *Basilowitz* by an indecency of dress (2); or that he had expostulated too freely with his father concerning the state of the empire, which he said his successors would not thank him for, if he left it in its then distressed situation, surrounded by as many enemies as it had neighbours (3). Which ever of these was the case, or whether it was owing to the cause

mentioned above, *Basilowitz*, intending only to make a sign to the prince, to be silent, and stretching out to that end his staff, which was an ensign of his dignity (4), whilst he chanced to turn his head aside, to speak to some other person, and his son was bowing, had the misfortune to hit him upon the temple; and, which the generality of writers do not relate rightly, the prince, stunned with the blow, fell down in strong convulsions, which were followed by a fever which carried him to the grave (5). Other authors, again, say, he did not die of the blow, but of the violence of his passion (6): and captain *Margaret* declares positively (7), that he died on a pilgrimage, after he had received this stroke. Be that as it may, certain it is, that his father had no design to kill him, and that *Reutenfels*, and some other writers, who have endeavoured to display their oratory in blackening *Basilowitz*, should have followed, particularly on this occasion, the concurrent testimony of historical truth.

(1) Neugeb. p. 725. Thuan. ad ann. 1581. ex Heidenst. lib. v. p. 410. (2) Possévin. Comm. ii. p. 17. Chyt. p. 752. Tragæd. Moscov. ex eod. p. 5. (3) Henning. p. 73. L. Muller, p. 114. (4) Possévin. Com. p. 34. à Glem. Adam. Navigat. Anglor. ad Moscov. p. 148. Margaret. (5) Neugeb. ubi supra. (6) Neugeb. & Heidenst. ubi supra. (7) État de l'Empire de Russie.

court of *Moscow*, that the pontiff of *Rome* was an haughty prelate, who suffered even a kings to kiss his slipper^d.

Worsted by the
Tartars, he
makes peace
with them.

SHORTLY after the conclusion of the peace with *Poland*, the *Tartars* began to make incursions into *Russia*; upon which *Basilowitz* assembled a considerable army, under pretence of attacking the *Swedes*, and marched suddenly towards *Casan*. The enemy, guessing his design, lay in wait for him among the mountains he was obliged to pass over, and, aided by a deep snow, which disabled the *Russian* cavalry and heavy armed troops from acting, destroyed a very great number of his men^e. The czar thereupon made peace with them, and returned to *Moscow*; where death, soon after, put an end to his farther designs.

A. D. 1584.
The death of
John Basilow-
witz.

SENSIBLE that his end approached, without shewing the least concern on that account, b he turned his thoughts particularly to the welfare of his people; to promote which, he employed the remainder of his life in endeavouring to correct numbers of abuses that had been introduced into his empire during his long wars. Many acts of great clemency confirmed this beneficent disposition. Two days before his death he was carried in a chair to his treasury, to which he made a sign with his hand to *Jerome Horsey*, then resident from queen *Elizabeth*, and who was present when he died, to follow him. All his jewels were then spread before him, and he talked of the nature and properties of each kind of stone, according to the notions of those times. Returning to his apartment, he sent for his son *Theodore*, and his counsellors, and chose out of these last, four in particular, as persons on whom he relied for the guidance of their future sovereign. He then desired his son to set c at liberty all the prisoners in his dominions, to abolish several new taxes, to restore every estate that had been unjustly confiscated, and, as much as possible, to keep peace with his neighbours^f. A bath was then got ready, by his order; and, on coming out of it, he went to bed, rested a little while, and then called for a draught-board; but in playing, he fell back and expired (B).

His character.

In this prince *Russia* lost the greatest monarch she had ever known. He was a profound politician, well acquainted with the interests of his neighbours, and his own: valiant, and almost always successful in war, till king *Stephen* of *Poland* took the field against him; from which time, through some unaccountable notion he had conceived, he constantly avoided a decisive battle; contenting himself with several little flying camps, which were d at too great a distance from one another. By these, indeed, he covered *Novogrod* and *Moscow*, but did not hinder parties of the enemy from plundering several places on his frontiers. Knowing the genius of the *Poles*, he concluded from thence, and any one equally well acquainted with that nation would have been apt to think the same, that they would never have consented to continue the war so long as they did. But there are conjunctures in which the multitude give way, and a brave people will sacrifice even their vices to the valour of their master, or to reasons of state.

JOHN BASILOWITZ was learned for the times he lived in, and particularly in matters of religion; for which reason he would never suffer any to be persecuted for their belief: knowing that conviction must come from reason and conscience, and not from violence e and torture, which may make men hypocrites, but cannot render them good Christians. In this, however, we except the Jews, whom he could not endure; his sentiments, with respect to them, being, that those who had betrayed and killed the Redeemer of the world, ought not to be trusted, or even tolerated, by any prince who professed himself a Christian; and in consequence of this he obliged them, either to be baptised, or to quit his dominions^g. He was naturally very hasty and passionate; but could check his anger, as the jesuit *Possevin* experienced, when, in one of their conversations touching the church of *Rome*, to which great efforts were made to bring over this prince, the czar not allowing the pope's lineal succession from *St. Peter*, or his being justly entitled to the appellation of sole head of the universal church; *Possevin* answered, that he might as well deny his f own succession from *Wolodimir*; and that, if he questioned the justice of the papal authority, he wondered why he, and his predecessors, had ever sent an embassy to *Rome*. *Basilowitz* thereupon started up, and told the legate, that he must surely think he was talking to an ignorant peasant. Every one present began to tremble for *Possevin*: but the czar, sitting down again a moment after, kissed him, as a token of reconciliation, changed the discourse, and desired they might never more meddle with matters of religion, lest something worse should unguardedly escape him: and the next day, he again made excuses for his warmth^h. In such passions *Basilowitz* may, undoubtedly, have done many things that cannot be excused, and which he himself was afterwards sorry for, as appears by his endea-

^d Lord CARLISLE's Embassy.
ann. 1584.

^e CAYT. p. 752. NEUGEB. lib. x. p. 746. ex quo THUAN. ad ann. 1584.

^f CHYT. ubi supra. THUAN. ubi supra. LAUR. MÜLLER. Pohl. Liefl. Chron. p. 114.

^g ODERB. p. 319. PETR. p. 252.

^h POSSEV. Comm. p. 34, 38.

(B) He died on the 26th of March, 1584.

a vouring to curb the natural violence of his temper. His enemies have endeavoured to represent him as a hypocrite in religion; but he certainly shewed, on many occasions, that his devotion was unfeigned; being frequently the first at church, one of the most fervent there (C), and always ready to set an example to the monks, whom he hated on account of their idleness^b. Persuaded that kings were sovereign pontiffs of their own dominions, he would often officiate in person in that quality; and at such times retired to the monastery of *Alexandrowa*, to prepare himself for those holy functions, which he performed with a patriarchal dignity^c. The charge of avarice, which several writers have alleged against him, is refuted by the many pensions he granted to foreigners, the many churches he built, the great expence at which he carried on his wars, particularly against *Poland* and *Livonia*, and the vast magnificence of his court; such as no idea had ever been formed of before. His collecting uncommon quantities of jewels, was probably, more for the sake of grandeur, than out of avarice; and to shew other nations, that he was in no want of wealth. He found himself in circumstances, wherein the welfare and glory of his state required enterprizes more difficult than any of his predecessors had been engaged in: besides which, he was determined, if possible, to civilize his people, by introducing among them the manners and arts of other nations; a great undertaking, which one of his successors compleated in our days, but which raised many murmurs against *Basilowitz*, as the author of strange innovations (D). The very nature of his people rendered severity necessary; and their manners required, that the punishment should be great and exemplary; for no other means could keep them within bounds, or secure his life^d. He was, therefore, inflexible in his sentences, and insisted on their being executed with the utmost rigour. At certain stated times, persons of every rank, who thought themselves aggrieved, were admitted to his presence, and allowed to present petitions, which he received with his own hand, read over himself, and answered immediately. If any one of these contained complaints against his ministers or governors, and they were found to have injured or oppressed even the meanest of his subjects, they were sure to be punished, according to the nature of the offence, either corporally, or with forfeiture of their estates, or even with death: a proceeding which displeased all his nobles, and made them ready to enter into any plot against him^e. The severity of these punishments, generally much heavier than were inflicted in any other nation, for such the very genius of the *Russians* made it necessary that they should be, has induced most writers to represent this prince as the cruellest of men, and worst of tyrants: but if they had considered the circumstances of things, and the nature of the people over whom he reigned, we believe they would, with some more judicious authors^f, have been less full of rancour, virulence, and partiality; to obviate all suspicion of which last, or of a love of singularity in this attempt to vindicate the much injured character of a great prince, truth requires our declaring, that, with all the virtues we have here given him, virtues which we think his just due, though denied him by the generality of historians, he had his vices, and those very great ones. His passions were violent; the natural ferocity of his country prevailed in him to the very last; he was impatient of controul, and is said to have been so much addicted to women, as to have had several concubines, besides seven lawful wives^g: though we cannot think he ever went so far as to have naked women placed on the highways to gaze at as he passed by, which some have pretended; or that he carried his resentment so far, as to think of putting all the women in *Moscow* to death, because some of them had affronted one of his mistresses: and much less can we believe what others say, of his making his concubines common to his sons. No writers of any credit aver these things; nor indeed does baron *Ublefeld*, who resided a considerable time at the court of *Moscow*, in

ⁱ ODERB. p. 320. ^k Idem, ibid. ^l Apologia pro Joanne Basilide II. cap. i. § 12. ^m Ibid. & ODERB. p. 317. ⁿ PETR. p. 247. ^o THUAN. ad ann. 1584. SCHURTZEL. Diff. Hist. tom. i. Diff. xiv. p. 8. BAR. DE MEYERB. Itiner. Moscov. p. 57. Apol. pro Jo. Basilide II. 1712, quarto. ^p Apol. ubi supra.

(C) *Milton* observes of him, that his forehead was often bloody and full of sores; owing to the custom of the *Russians*, who use to beat their foreheads against the ground (1) in their prayers. *Olearius* says the same.

(D) A most extraordinary instance of the obstinate attachment of the *Russians*, and their neighbours, to their old customs, happened in the time of this czar, and, undoubtedly, influenced him not a little in the severity with which he found it necessary to treat them. The king of *Poland*, *Stephen Battori*, having recovered *Livonia*, as well by the treaty of *Zapolicia*, as by convention made afterwards with the king of *Sweden*, went himself into that province, to establish a new form

of government. According to the constant custom there, when any peasant, all of whom were treated as slaves, had committed a fault, he was whipped with a rod till the blood came. The king was willing to commute this barbarous punishment for one that was more moderate: but the peasants, insensible of the favour designed them, threw themselves at his feet, and intreated him not to make any alteration in their ancient customs, because they had experienced, that all innovations, far from procuring them the least redress, had always made their burdens sit the heavier upon them.

quality of ambassador from the emperor of *Germany*, and who has been pretty particular in his account of *John Basilowitz II.* accuse him even of incontinence.

WE cannot clole the character of this prince without observing farther in his favour, that neither solicitations nor interest could ever influence him in the disposal of offices or employments, which, to the best of his knowlege, he always gave to the most deserving; sure to punish them severely, if ever they deceived him^p. Scarce any prince was a greater lover of justice and order. Detesting drunkards, whom he rightly judged capable of doing the most wicked things during their intoxication, he commanded that they should be imprisoned for a time proportionate to their degree of ebriety, especially if they transgressed on days set apart for abstinence: and looking upon people who ran in debt, without being able to pay, as men of bad principles, and dangerous to society, he ordered them to be publicly stigmatised and banished; saying, that none were fitter to become traitors to their country^a. This prince first composed a body of law, for the use of his subjects, collected from many precedents and customs, and called it *Suderaja Kniga*, which in the *Russian* language, signifies the *Book of Justice*. This book which he delivered to his judges, was always observed, and made the standard in all law proceedings, though not printed till the reign of *Alexis Michaelowitz*.

JOHN BASILOWITZ II. underwent the fate of most great conquerors, in seeing almost all his acquisitions taken from him, or on the point of being lost, even in his lifetime: but he bore this reverse of fortune with uncommon fortitude; even affecting to seem gayest when things were at the worst, in order still to retain his authority over his subjects. The last rebellion of the *Tartars*, and the bad success of his wars against the *Poles*, the events of which he studiously concealed from his people, afforded striking proofs of his great firmness of mind^c.

His person was tall, robust, and well proportioned; and his countenance comely and majestic, without any thing fierce or disagreeable in his looks^d. His eyes were small and lively, his nose aquiline, and his complexion ruddy^e. *Oderborn* and *Petreius* say^f his memory was so great, that he could tell the names of all his officers, and of every prisoner he had taken; to which they add, that his penetration and judgment particularly in political affairs, were equally strong. His crown was deemed inestimably rich: his robe was purple embroidered with jewels, and his shoes were set with diamonds of very great value. In his right-hand he carried a globe, enriched with precious stones, and in his left a scepter, embellished in the same manner^g; whilst his fingers were covered with the finest jewels the *Indies* could produce. When he appeared in public, the arms of the empire, finely embroidered upon a spread-eagle, which his father *Basilus* first assumed, and magnificently adorned with jewels, were sometimes carried before him: a piece of state which helped to command respect^h.

HE left two sons; *Theodore*, who succeeded him, and *Demetrius*, an infant, whom he placed under the tutelage of his great favourite, the knez *Bogdan Bielski*, a man of vast genius, but excessively haughty, very cruel, audaciously bold and enterprising, and ready to sacrifice every thing to his unbounded ambition.

A. D. 1584.
Theodore
Iwanowitz
czar.

THEODORE was twenty years of age when he came to the throne. His person was engaging, and his temper amiable; but his understanding so weak, that, particularly whilst his father lived, he preferred the conversation of monks, and such sort of people to the company of great men, and ministers of state, and made ringing of bells his chief amusement; which displeased *Basilowitz* so much, that he used frequently to say he, was fitter to be the son of a sexton, than a prince. All historiansⁱ agree in giving him this character; except *Oderborn*, who, for what reason, or upon what ground, we cannot divine, extols his wisdom and conduct, saying^j, that he only affected simplicity during his father's lifetime, in order to avoid jealousy and suspicion. Certain it is, that mildness and moderation, of which he had a greater share than of resolution, knowlege, or discernment, were by no means sufficient alone to qualify him to govern so untractable a people as the *Russians*.

Bielski's ambitious projects.

THE aspiring *Bielski*, sensible of this want of capacity in *Theodore*, thought it would be easy for him to seize on the sovereignty, if, by excluding that prince as incapable of governing so vast an empire, he could place his pupil on the throne. To this end he took great pains to have it reported among the people, even before the death of *Basilowitz*,

^p ODERB. p. 254. ^a Ibid. p. 317. ^b PETR. p. 247. ^c ODERB. p. 270. ^d HEID. lib. i. p. 339.
^e ODERB. p. 316. ^f PETR. p. 246. ^g Genealog. Mag. Mosc. Duc. Script. Rerum Moscov. præmissa. ^h Ubi supra.
Adami Navigat. Angl. ad Moscov. p. 148. ⁱ ODERB. & PETR. ubi supra. ^j Ubi supra.
^x PERNIST. Epist. Honor. Thesaur. par. i. p. 281. ^y J. AB UHLEF. Hodoerp. Ruthen. p. 38. ^z UHLEF. ubi supra.
^z L. MULLER. Pohn. Lief. Hist. p. 114. ^z PETR. Mosc. Chron. p. 256. ^z MEYERB. Itin. Mosc. p. 58. ^z MARGARET. f. 6. ^z STAN. LUBIENSKI, Opera posthum. p. 21. ^z SANDRAT. Mosc. p. 139. ^z Traged. Mosc. p. 5. ^z LUNDORP. Sleidan. contin. tom. iii. p. 6. ^z THUAN. ad ann. 1605. ^z Page 223.

- a that *Theodore* was too weak and simple ever to be fit to reign; and after his emissaries had industriously propagated this opinion among the lower class, he himself began to sound the nobles. In the mean time *Basilowitz* died, *Theodore* was crowned, and his very first acts of authority endeared him to his subjects; for he immediately abolished some very heavy taxes, discharged several prisoners, who had been confined so long, that they despaired of ever more seeing the sun, and broke the late czar's new raised body-guards, whose insolence and licentiousness had rendered them extremely odious. The grandees of the empire, to whom *Bielki* had applied in order to learn their sentiments concerning *Theodore*, perceiving that, under the specious pretext of consulting the welfare of the state, and being a faithful guardian to the young prince committed to his care, he, in reality, aimed at
- b making himself sole master of the realm, vigorously opposed his designs. Finding himself thus disappointed, he endeavoured to effect by force what he could not compass by fraud. He raised forces, bribed some of the troops in *Moscow*, took possession of the castle of that city, and began to act with a despotic authority. The nobility, alarmed at these proceedings, soon made the people sensible that this haughty minister aimed at nothing less than usurping the throne: upon which they immediately besieged him in the castle, and reduced him to such straits, that he attempted to escape in disguise; but falling into the hands of the besiegers, they gave him his choice, either to renounce the management of affairs, or suffer death. He chose the former, and banished himself to one of the most remote parts of the empire, in the kingdom of *Casan*^b.
- c *THEODORE* had married the sister of the knez *Boris Gudenow*, grand-master of his horse (E). This man, knowing how to take advantage of the incapacity of his brother-in-law, had already found means to seize insensibly on all his authority. To a distinguished birth, he joined an insinuating behaviour, which rendered him capable of undertaking and executing whatever he pleased. He had greatness of soul, but was naturally cruel; and could put an air of meekness and popularity, which concealed an immoderate ambition. He endeavoured, at first, to gain on the people and the nobles, by repeated acts of beneficence; was accessible to all; and had the art of throwing the blame on others, when he was forced to send any person away dissatisfied: in short, all his actions seemed calculated for the public good. By these means he raised himself to the post of prime-minister, commander in chief, and co-regent of the empire, with universal approbation^c.

His designs were frustrated,

and he is banished.

Character and rise of Boris Gudenow.

Embassy from Poland.

A fresh truce with Sweden.

A. D. 1587. Boris endeavours to obtain the crown of Poland for Theodore:

- d DURING the disturbances which attended the beginning of this reign, *Sapieha* arrived at *Moscow*, in quality of ambassador from *Stephen* king of *Poland*: but as his credentials were addressed to the late czar *Basilowitz*, he deferred delivering them, till such time as he should receive fresh instructions from his court. Under pretence of sending for these, he wrote his master word, that the situation of the *Russians*, and the weakness of their prince was such, as offered him a fine opportunity to recover *Smolensko*, from whence he might easily proceed to *Moscow*; but *Stephen* nobly ordered *Sapieha*, to use his utmost endeavours to reunite the *Muscovites*; adding, that the czar had sent him an embassy to that effect^d. At the same time the *Swedes*, with whom the truce was now expired, desired to make a perpetual peace with *Russia*. *Theodore* received their ambassadors graciously, but insisted on keeping all his possessions in *Livonia*, and on being reimbursed the expences of the late war. The *Swedes* objecting to these conditions, the intended peace was converted into a fresh truce for four years^e. A new congress was held soon after, in which the subject of a perpetual peace was again resumed: but upon the king of *Sweden*'s being desired to treat with the chief magistrate of *Novogrod*, which he looked upon as inconsistent with his dignity, the negotiation broke off, with only confirming the late truce^f.
- e *STEPHEN BATTORI*, king of *Poland*, dying soon after this, *Boris Gudenow* endeavoured to obtain that crown for *Theodore*; promising the *Poles*, that, if they would elect him for their sovereign, he would do his utmost to bring about an union of the monarchies of *Russia* and *Poland*, from whence many considerable advantages would arise. The *Polish* nobility, knowing the temper and disposition of *Theodore*, were greatly inclined to come into this scheme^g, by which they hoped, at least to recover *Smolensko* and *Livonia*, and free the *Livonians* from all their troubles, without the hazard or expence of war; besides, perhaps, having a share in the chief direction of affairs. However, when the diet met at

^b ODERB. de Vit. Basilid. lib. iii. p. 321. p. 28. KOBIERZ. Hist. Uladisl. p. 55. Liefl. Hist. p. iii. & ODERB. ubi supra. CHYTR. p. 760.

^c PETR. p. 25. LUBIENSKI, p. 78. & Op. posth. ^d Vide ipsas literas Sapiehae, apud L. MULLER, Pohn. & ^e LOCCEN. Hist. Suec. lib. vii. p. 427. PUFF. p. 454. ^f PIASEC. Chron. p. 70. CHYTR. p. 783.

(E) Captain *Margaret* says (1) she only passed for his sister, but was in reality his daughter. Her name was *Irene Udovia*.

(1) Fo. vi.

but it is given to Sigismund. *Warsaw*, the majority of its members voted for *Sigismund*^b, prince of *Sweden*, the son of *John*, and nephew, by his mother's side, of *Sigismund Augustus*, who had reigned in *Poland* immediately before *Stephen*: the rest elected *Maximilian* of *Austria*. This division drew the latter into *Poland*, at the head of an army, which was defeated by general *Zamciski*. *Maximilian* was taken prisoner, and purchased his liberty by renouncing the crown.

The Tartars are checked by Boris.

A. D. 1589. *Siberia* entirely subjected to *Russia*.

Fruitless negotiations for peace with the Swedes.

A. D. 1590. Another fruitless negotiation.

The Russians burn *Jamogrod*;

take *Iwanogrod*, and besiege *Narva*.

A truce concluded for a year.

A. D. 1591. The Poles refuse to assist the Swedes.

IT was now to be feared that the kings of *Sweden* and *Poland* would make an alliance, so much the more fatal to *Russia*, as the *Crim Tartars* threatened its provinces with an irruption: and, indeed, they shortly after executed their design; though it was not attended with the ill consequences that had been apprehended, because *Boris Gudenow* opposed them with troops, which, if they were not capable of attacking and driving them away, harrassed them in their progress, and prevented their penetrating far into the country.

THEODORE's disappointment in not obtaining the crown of *Poland*, was soon after compensated by the total reduction of the vast districts of *Siberia*, many of which had before been tributary; but all of them now became absolutely subject to the czarⁱ. without costing the life of a single man, through the means of one *Siobinow*, or *Stragenow*, a native of that country, as we have already related.

THE truce with *Sweden*, which had been so often renewed, drawing again towards an end, commissaries were appointed on both sides, to meet on the frontiers of the two states, to convert it into a peace. The very name of war alarmed the czar *Theodore*, and *Gudenow* had very good reasons for endeavouring to preserve tranquility: for in the midst of arms, and the embarrassment of a war, wherein he must have appeared in person, he could not form a party to put the least hand to the plan he had been laying down so successfully hitherto. The *Russian* ministry were therefore ordered to purchase peace, if it could not be obtained otherwise; and to offer considerable sums to the *Swedes*, if they would, in changing the truce to a treaty of peace and alliance, restore to the czar *Iwanogrod*, *Jamogrod*, *Coporie*, *Kexholm*, and the other places which they had conquered in *Ingria* and *Carelia*, about nine years before. The *Swedes* were deaf to the proposal: and all that could be settled was, that the truce should be prolonged for three months, and that the commissaries should meet again at the expiration of that time.

GUDENOW then altered his proceedings with the *Swedes*. Not to be their dupe, and at the same time to shew them, that if he was willing to pay for a peace, it was not through want of power to obtain it otherwise, he caused the next *Russian* ambassador to be followed by an army capable of giving weight to their demands¹. They entered into conferences (F), because the *Swedes* were come to the place appointed; but soon broke up, when it was known that the *Russian* troops had sacked and burnt *Jamogrod* (G); though the *Russian* plenipotentiaries protested that these hostilities were committed unknown to them.

BOTH sides had now taken the field. *Theodore*, and *Boris* who commanded under him, appeared with an army of one hundred thousand men; which the *Swedes* were no sooner informed of, than they recalled the troops they had sent to make incursions into *Russia*. This gave the czar an opportunity of marching on without interruption to *Iwanogrod*, which soon surrendered (H). He next invested *Narva* (I), before which he formed eight camps, and forced the *Swedish* army, commanded by *Gustavus Banner*, to retire to *Wesenberg*. The *Russians* carried on their attacks with great spirit, but were vigorously repulsed by the besieged, though with the loss of half their men: and in the mean time the *Tartars*, whom *Theodore* had secured by dint of money^m, laid *Finland* waste; upon which *Charles Horn*, governor of *Narva*, plainly foreseeing the straits he was likely to be reduced to, and solicited by all the citizens and the garrison, not to expose them to the last assault, which the enemy was preparing to give, and they could not resist, agreed to give up to the *Russians* all their conquests in *Ingria*, and to sign a truce for a year, on condition that they should raise the siege. These proposals were readily accepted; though a dispute, which lasted two days, arising from the *Russians* insisting that the title of their czar signified more than king, which the *Swedes* would not allowⁿ, was very near putting a stop to it. Immediately after the conclusion of this treaty, *Theodore* made his public entry into *Iwanogrod*, and after staying there only one day, he returned to his army.

THE next year, at the meeting of the states of *Poland*, the *Swedish* ambassador desired the assistance of the *Poles* against the *Russians*: but upon their receiving letters from *Theodore*, expressing his desire of peace, they refused to afford the *Swedes* any succours, and

^b CHYTR. p. 784. PUFFEND. p. 457.
P. 393. CHYTR. p. 810.
P. MARGARET, f. 5.

¹ HENNING's Observations on A. Von Brandt's Travels,
^m LOCCEN. p. 438. ⁿ PUFF. p. 470. ^o CHYT. p. 806.

(F) On the 7th of January.
(G) On the 12th of January.

(H) On the 26th of January.
(I) On the 4th of February.

a recommended to them to put an end to the war¹. The *Swedes*, however, were still averse to an accommodation; and though the plague raged violently among them, and swept away great numbers, they still continued to harraß the *Russian* territories, and, with the assistance of the *Tartars*, penetrated to the gates of *Moscow*: but they were soon entirely defeated and dispersed².

b THE ambitious *Gudenow*, unable to bear even a nominal superior, for he exercised in fact all the functions of the sovereign authority in the name of the czar *Theodore*, whom he governed as he pleased, now resolved to make himself sole master of the throne of *Russia*. To this end, under pretence of rewarding their services, by giving them governments, and other considerable employments, he removed to a distance from the court those whom he thought capable of seeing through or obstructing his design. Every thing seemed to favour his wish. King *John* of *Sweden* was more intent upon religion than war; and a misunderstanding which subsisted between him and his brother duke *Charles* would scarce allow him to intermeddle with the affairs of his neighbours. The *Poles* were not pleased with his son *Sigismund*, who, contrary to the oath he had taken when he accepted the crown, had not yet reunited *Livonia* to *Poland*; and the czarina, his sister, who had never brought *Theodore* but one child, a daughter, which died in her third year³, began now to be reputed barren; insomuch that the states of *Russia*, in pursuance of an ancient custom, demanded that she should be divorced, and shut up in a convent, and that the czar should marry the sister of knez *Floro Iwanowitz Zizlphouschis*. This *Boris* strongly opposed; and by artfully c insinuating to the patriarch, who was the only person that could prevent a compliance with the accustomed requisition, that if the czar should have heirs by a new consort, and the young *Demetrius* should come of age, it would necessarily create great disturbances in the empire; he so far gained him over to his interest, that the head of the *Russian* church ordered *Floro's* sister to be sent directly to a convent⁴. He then endeavoured to conciliate the affections of the people by several popular acts; particularly by surrounding *Moscow* with a wall of stone, which was before only of timber; making many improvements at *Smolensko*, and erecting several castles between *Casan* and *Astracan*, two of which became afterwards the towns of *Borisgorod* and *Czaargorod*⁵.

Gudenow resolves to usurp the throne.

d THE young *Demetrius*, pupil to *Bogdan Bielski*, was now almost the only obstacle to *Gudenow's* design. The czar *John Basilowitz II.* had him by his last wife, and at his death had given him the city of *Uglitz*, one hundred and eighty miles distant from *Moscow*, with its dependencies, for his appenage. This prince, scarcely nine years of age, was brought up under the care of the czarina-dowager his mother, who employed her whole time in his education. *Boris Gudenow* resolved to sacrifice this innocent victim to his ambition, and trusted the execution of his wicked plot to an officer, to whom he promised a reward proportioned to the service he expected from him. This man soon found an opportunity to perpetrate his cruel orders: but *Gudenow*, who knew that if he was capable of committing such a crime, he must be also capable of divulging it, had him way-laid on the road from *Uglitz*, and assassinated.

He causes the czar's brother, Demetrius to be assassinated.

e SOME have said, that this officer belonged to *Boris Gudenow*; others, that he was an officer in *Demetrius's* own house. The clearing up of this point would dissipate many doubts concerning this murder, than which we know not a more intricate event in all the *Russian* history (K): for if the assassin was an officer of *Demetrius*, there is little likelihood that he could be deceived: but if he belonged to *Gudenow*, the mother of the young prince, informed in time of his criminal design against *Demetrius*, might, as several authors say she did, substitute in his stead another boy of the same age, and thereby saved his life. This would have been difficult in any other country than *Russia* or *Turky*; but that dif-

f ¹ CHYTR. p. 823. ² Idem, p. 826. ³ MARGARET, f. 6. ⁴ PETREIUS, p. 258.
⁵ MARGAR. f. 6. PERT. p. 283.

(K) *Petreius* (1), *Olearius* (2), *Lundorpius* (3), *Lubienky* (4), *Ludolphus* (5), and several other writers, say that *Boris* hired four noblemen, by promising them great rewards, to kill *Demetrius*; that they actually killed the real *Demetrius*, and afterwards set fire to the house, to conceal their crime; and that they then made the best of their way to *Moscow*, where *Boris*, to smother all proofs against him, had them put to death privately. *Grevenbrusk* and *Margaret*, contemporary writers, the latter of which was captain of the guards to a *Demetrius*, whom he believed to be the son of *John Basilowitz II.* as appears by his own account (6), say, that the son of a diak, or the

son of a priest, who resembled *Demetrius* in age, size, and countenance, was substituted instead of the real prince, and murdered. The judicious *Thuanus*, after weighing the arguments on both sides, leaves the point undetermined (7). What induces us to suppose that the true *Demetrius* was assassinated at *Uglitz*, by the procurement of *Boris Gudenow*, is the authority of the czar *Peter I.* who speaks of it as a fact known to the *Russians*, in his manifesto, or motives for declaring war against *Charles XII.* of *Sweden*, drawn up in the year 1716, and published by authority at *Petersburgh*, in the year 1717.

(1) *Mosc. Chron.* p. 260, & seq. (2) *Page* 116. (3) *Sleidan. contin. tom. iii.* p. 668. (4) *Op. posth.* p. 28. (5) *Tom. i.* p. 143. (6) *Etat de l'Empire de Russie.* (7) *Ad ann. 1605.* & ex so *Descript. Russ. Elewir.* p. 117, & seq.

ficulty will disappear to those who are acquainted with the manners of the *Russians*.^a The great people there are absolute masters of their vassals, and the peasants are born their slaves, whom they dispose of as we do of the brute animals about our estates and houses; so that it could be no difficult matter for the czarina to find a child whom she might sacrifice to save her son.

THE news of this murder soon reached *Moscow*. The author of it was not named, tho' he was sufficiently suspected. The dowager-czarina made great complaints of it to the czar, from whom she demanded justice; and *Gudenow* himself gave orders for discovering the assassin: but those who knew him were not deceived by such appearances. He understood that his name was whispered about, and was sensible of the necessity of endeavouring to stifle the report. The expedient that seemed to him the most likely to answer this end, was to turn the thoughts of the people to something more immediately interesting to them. To this purpose he caused *Moscow* to be set on fire in several places in the night-time; and during the conflagration, which could not but rage with extreme violence in a vast city, where all the buildings were of wood, he appeared remarkably active in endeavouring to suppress the flames: his looks and actions seemed to express infinite concern. The next day he sent for the principal citizens, and others who had sustained the greatest damage, and after a long and pathetic lamentation for so dismal an accident, he promised them, not only to obtain from the czar a sum of money sufficient to compensate their losses, but that he would rebuild their houses with stone, at his own expence; and then dismissed them, possessed with the highest admiration of his unexpected generosity, and the most cordial satisfaction at having such a man as *Boris* at the head of the government^b. At the same time he sent troops to *Uglitz*, to raze the castle to the ground, and drive away the inhabitants; because, said he, they had suffered this murder, and harboured assassins.

Sets fire to
Moscow.

His artful ge-
nerosity to its
inhabitants.

A. D. 1592. THE death of king *John* of *Sweden*, which happened this year, seemed to offer the *Russians* a fair opportunity to conclude the long-wished-for peace with that kingdom, the states of which were at variance among themselves concerning his successor. *Sigismund*, king of *Poland*, was the next heir, as son of the deceased monarch; but his great zeal for the *Romish* religion, and his being already possessed of the crown of *Poland*, made most of the *Swedes* think duke *Charles* a fitter person to ascend their throne. *Sigismund*,^c however, obtained leave from his subjects to repair to *Sweden*, in order to assert his right to that crown; but upon the express condition, that if he did not return to them within a year, they should consider him as having abdicated his government, and proceed to the election of a new king^d. In the mean time duke *Charles*, who acted as regent, sent commissaries to treat with the *Russians* on the proposed peace^e, and ordered the commanders in *Esthonia* to provide themselves with all proper necessaries, in case either the *Russians* or the *Poles* should attempt any thing against them before the succession was properly settled^f. These commissaries concluded a truce with the *Russians* for two years, but postponed the peace to a farther treaty.

Negotiation for
peace with
Sweden.

A. D. 1593. DURING this treaty the *Russians* sent an embassy to pope *Clement XII.* in order to obtain^g his recognition of *Theodore* as a king, and that his ambassadors might be treated at *Rome* in the same manner as those of other crowned heads: but his holiness would not agree to this, unless *Theodore* would embrace the *Roman* catholic religion, and subject the church of *Russia* to the see of *Rome*. This refusal did not, however, much chagrine the *Russians*, as their czar was already acknowledged a king, not only by the emperor of *Germany*, but by the sovereigns of *England*, *Denmark*, *Persia*, and several other potentates^h.

The *Russians*
send an embassy
to the pope.

A. D. 1595. THE negotiation between the *Russians* and the *Swedes* was again renewed in the beginning of the next year; and in the year after, 1595, a treaty of peace was concluded between the two nations, at *Teuslin*; though the *Poles* exerted their utmost efforts to prevent it.ⁱ The *Russians* renounced *Esthonia* for ever; and the *Swedes* gave up *Kexholm*, and a part of *Carelia*. The commerce of the north was likewise opened by this treaty, after having been interrupted by a war which lasted thirty-seven years^j.

SOON after the conclusion of this peace, *Theodore* sent a solemn embassy to the emperor *Rudolph II.* which was one of the last public acts of this prince. The *Russian* writers are silent on the subject of this embassy: but we may guess its purport from the emperor's answer, in which, after thanking the czar for his offer of assistance against the *Turks*, and expatiating largely on the renown he would thereby gain from all the Christian powers, he told him, that he could say nothing positive with respect to the proposed confederacy of

Theodore
sends an embaf-
sy to the em-
peror Rudolph
II.

^w MARGARET, f. 6. PETR. p. 261.

PUFFEND. p. 485.

CONF. MARGARET, f. 5.
p. 501.

^y PUFFEND. p. 479.

^z PIASEC. Chron. p. 120. LOCCEN. lib. vii. p. 442.

^z LOCCEN. lib. vii. p. 441.

^a HERBER.

^b LOCCEN. p. 449. PUFFEND. p. 501. CHYTR. p. 595. MEYFRB.

a the principal potentates of *Europe*; the king of *Spain* being then antient and infirm, and greatly embarrassed, not only by *France* and *England*, but with his own disaffected subjects. He promised, however, to promote this affair, both at the *Spanish* and papal courts; and in the mean time advised *Theodore* to continue in friendship with the pope and the sopher of *Persia*, as a point which nearly concerned the peace and tranquility of *Christianity* in general. He thanks *Theodore* for having gained the *Tartars* over to his interest, and tells him, that ever since the conclusion of the late treaty of peace with *Sweden*, he had constantly kept ambassadors at this last court, as well to testify his friendship for the czar, as to induce the *Swedes* to be more ready to comply with his desires^c.

b Not long after this, *Theodore* was taken ill; and it being apprehended that his disease was mortal, the chief of the nobility requested him to name a successor; which he told them he would do, by delivering his staff to the person he thought most proper. Accordingly, when he found his end draw near, and the priests had dressed him up in a monk's cowl, according to the then custom of the *Russians*, he held out his staff to *Theodore Nikititz Romanow*, who was his cousin by his mother's side, and his next heir: but *Theodore*, refusing to accept it, presented his brother *Alexander*, who, likewise declining it, presented a third brother named *John*; who, in his turn, presented a fourth called *Michael*, and this last presented a knez, not related to the family: upon which *Theodore*, in a passion, threw his staff upon the floor, saying, that whosoever took it up should have the throne. *Boris Gudenow* then stepped forward, and took it, to the great mortification of all the *Russian* nobility^d.

c *THEODORE* died after a reign of twelve years, not without violent suspicion of his having been poisoned by his brother-in-law. The czarina seemed so sensible of this, that she strongly reproached her brother *Boris Gudenow* with the murder of her husband, and would never speak to him afterwards.

In this prince ended the line of *Ruric*, which had governed *Russia* upwards of seven hundred years.

S E C T. II.

d From the Extinction of the Lineage of *Ruric* to the Accession of the now reigning Family of *ROMANOW*.

e WHEN the six weeks of mourning for *Theodore* were expired (L), *Boris* assembled the nobility and principal citizens of *Moscow*; and having surrendered the staff of their late czar, declared, that he had no inclination to reign, and therefore desired them to appoint whatsoever person they thought fit to ascend the vacant throne^e. He then withdrew; and retired to a monastery about three miles off, leaving the astonished assembly in the utmost perplexity how to behave. Some of his creatures, taking a proper opportunity, then observed, that their meeting was scarcely numerous enough to determine so important an affair, and that it would be better to convene deputies from all the cities and provinces of the empire. This advice was approved of, and *Boris* was pitched upon: but he still artfully refused the crown, and at the same time caused a report to be spread, by some of his emissaries, that he was going to be shaved, and to take the habit of a monk; and by others, that the *Tartar* khan was marching with an incredible force to invade *Russia*, whilst it was destitute of a sovereign. The people who loved him, alarmed at these tidings, ran in crowds to the convent, where, throwing themselves on the ground, tearing their hair, and beating their breasts, like men in the utmost despair, they vowed they would never quit the place, till he had promised them to be their czar. Pretending then f to be overcome by their intreaties, and saying, that if it was the will of Providence that he should be their prince, he must be so; he put it upon the issue of his conquering the *Tartars*, who were advanced towards *Moscow*, to which end he desired all the nobility and militia to meet him at *Zirpokow*, in the ensuing month of *June*^f. He accordingly repaired thither at the time appointed, and found five hundred thousand men assembled, ready to obey his orders. With this prodigious army he took the field: but instead of meeting the numerous enemies that had been talked of, only an ambassador from the *Tartars* appeared, with about an hundred attendants, who was going to *Moscow* to treat with *Boris*, as this last well knew. Counterfeiting, however, great mystery and surprise, he ordered his army to draw up in two columns, and his artillery to be ranged properly and

Artful management of *Boris*.

^c CHYTR. p. 904. 264, & seq. ad h. 2.

^d PETR. p. 263. CHYTR. p. 934. THUAN. lib. cxx. ^e PETR. p. 264, & seq. Idem, p. 265. MARGARET. OLEAR. p. 116. Descript. Russ. Elziv. p. 116. THUAN.

(L) The *Russians* used to mourn but six weeks:

fired,

Who is pro-
claimed czar
by the troops,

and crowned.

First actions
and behaviour
of Boris, when
czar.

fire, whilst the *Tartars* were led through the troops, to shew them the strength of *Russia*; after which they were dismissed with rich presents. A year's pay was then ordered to the *Russian* soldiers, and proper gratuities were presented to each of the nobles: upon which they all declared *Boris Gudenow* their czar, and immediately took the oath of fidelity, to him^e. He then displayed his magnificence, by treating daily near ten thousand men at a time, for six weeks running, always under rich tents, and served in nothing but plate, according to the account of captain *Margaret*^h, who was one of *Boris's* officers. In the mean time proper persons were sent to *Moscow*, with an account, that the *Tartars*, intimidated by the new czar's wife and vast preparations, had not dared to advance against him. The people, believing it, came in throngs to meet him, and conducted him with great joy to *Moscow*, where he was solemnly crowned by the patriarchⁱ, on the then new year's day of the *Russians* (M).

BORIS, as his coronation, made a vow not to shed any blood within five years, nor inflict any heavier punishment upon criminals, than banishing them to *Siberia*, or some other distant place. Numbers of the nobility, who were not absolutely in his interest, soon experienced this last fate^k, under various pretences; whilst others, particularly those who had any sort of claim to the crown, were forbid to marry. *Theodore Nikititz Romanow*, to whom the late czar had first offered his staff, by way of designating him for his successor, was imprisoned, and separated from his wife; after which, both of them were forced into different convents, and obliged to take orders and change their names. That of *Philaret* was given to *Theodore*, whose posterity soon after came to, and now fill, the throne of *Russia*, notwithstanding all the endeavours of this usurper to deprive them of the sovereignty. A total alteration of manners ensued: from obsequious, popular, and easy of access, which he was before; he now became haughty, reserved, and excessively suspicious.

He had a daughter, whom he hoped to settle advantageously, both for her and himself, by marrying her to *Gustavus Ericson* natural son of *Eric XIV.* king of *Sweden*. In this view he sent to *Gustavus*, who had retired to *Thorn* in *Prussia*, where he led a private life, and invited him to *Moscow*, with pompous promises of doing great things for him^l. *Gustavus* accepted the invitation, and was received with the utmost magnificence, loaded with presents, and treated with extraordinary splendor. But this profusion of liberality was of short duration; for *Boris*, finding that he was so strongly attached to a mistress he had, as to decline all thoughts of marriage, and that his genius was not equal to any great enterprize^m, bribed one of his servants, and thereby procured the passport he had granted for his safe-conduct, then took away all his presents, stopped his pecuniary allowance, and at last banished him to the duchy of *Uglitz*, with a revenue of four thousand rubels for his supportⁿ.

A. D. 1600.
He concludes a
peace with the
Poles.

THOUGH *Boris* was thus disappointed in his designs of making *Gustavus* subservient to his views, as *Magnus* had been to those of *Basilowitz*; yet the *Poles* were so far alarmed at these proceedings, that they sent a grand embassy to *Moscow* to conclude a peace, which was at length agreed upon for twenty years, and the *Polish* ambassadors were dismissed with great pomp and rich presents^o.

A. D. 1601.
And an alli-
ance with the
Danes.

THE hostile intentions of *Boris* against the *Swedes* still subsisting, he first attempted to gain possession of the important city of *Narva* by treachery^p; but being disappointed therein, he endeavoured to cultivate the friendship of *Christian IV.* king of *Denmark*, who wanted only a proper opportunity to attack the *Swedes*^q; and having entered into an alliance with him, he proposed a match between the king's brother and his daughter^r.

Moscow de-
olated by fa-
mine.

WHILE these treaties were negotiating, a terrible famine reduced *Moscow* and the adjacent country to such extremity of distress, that the most shocking cruelties were committed, by the nearest relations, upon one another, to stop their tormenting hunger. Thousands of people lay dead in the streets and highways, with their mouths full of hay, straw, or even the most filthy things, which they had endeavoured to eat. In many houses, the fattest person was killed, to serve for food to the rest. Even parents were said to have eaten their own children, and children their parents, or to have sold them to buy bread. *Petreius* says^s, that he himself saw a woman bite several pieces out of a child's arm, as she was carrying it along; and captain *Margaret* relates^t, that four women hav-

^e MARG. f. 8. PETR. p. 269. ^h F. 20. ⁱ MARGAR. f. 8. PETR. p. 270. ^k PETR. p. 271.
MARGAR. f. 29. ^l PERT. p. 282. MARGARET, f. 30. ^m PETR. p. 275. ⁿ Idem,
ibid. ^o MARG. f. 30. ^p PETR. p. 277. ^q PUFFEND. p. 546. ^r PETR. p.
527. ^s Page 292. ^t Ubi supra.

(M) The first of September, 1597. The *Russians* used to date the commencement of their year from the first day of September; because, said they, God certainly created the world in the autumn, when the corn was in full ear, and the fruits of the earth fit to eat. *Peter the Great* corrected this, among several other abuses, as will be observed in his life.

a ing ordered a peasant to come to one of their houses, under pretence of paying him for some wood, killed and ate both him and his horse. This dreadful calamity lasted three years; in the course of which, though *Boris* tried all possible means, and spent immense sums to alleviate it, upwards of five hundred thousand persons died in the city of *Moscow* only^u.

In the midst of this inexpressible misery, duke *John* of *Denmark* arrived at *Moscow*, to celebrate his marriage with *Axinia Borissowa*, the czar's daughter. He was received with the utmost cordiality, and entertained with as great magnificence as the then deplorable condition of the country would admit of: but he had not been there above a month, when he was taken ill, and died, to the great grief of *Boris*, who visited him daily during his sickness, and mourned for him three weeks^w.

b Soon after the death of duke *John*, an embassy arrived at *Moscow* from the *Ottoman Porte*, with large presents to the czar, in order to conclude with him a treaty of friendship and alliance: but *Boris* refused the presents, and dismissed the ambassadors with contempt, telling them, that he should ever be an enemy to the *Turks*, because they were enemies to the Christians, and then at war with his brother the *Roman* emperor^x.

ABOUT the same time the *Lubeckers* applied to him for a renewal of their privilege to trade to *Plesko*, *Novogorod*, and *Moscow*, and sent him several valuable presents of plate, with a large spread eagle finely gilded, and filled with ducats. Their request was granted, and the same indulgence was extended to the *English* and *Dutch*^y.

c A MELANCHOLY gloom, which had hung upon *Gudenow* for a long while, was now visibly encreased by a report, that *Demetrius* was still alive, and that another child had been murdered in his stead. This information gave him great uneasiness, and many persons, who were suspected of being in the interest of that prince, were put to the rack, in order to extort a confession; but nothing positive could be discovered: others were banished, and privately murdered upon the road; and *Demetrius's* mother was removed to an obscure place, six hundred miles from *Moscow*. At length positive intelligence was brought to *Boris*, that two monks had escaped from a monastery, and gone into *Poland*; that one of them was called *Griska Utropeja*; but that the name of the other, who was supposed to be *Demetrius*, could not be learned; and that they were then in the service of *Adam Wiesnowieski*, chief magistrate of *Kiow*. This news threw *Boris* into the utmost consternation. He tried every means to prevail upon *Wiesnowieski* to deliver up to him the person supposed to be *Demetrius*; but all his efforts proving ineffectual, he sent a party of *Cosaks* to murder him; in which he also miscarried. This proceeding naturally confirmed the belief, that the person said to be *Demetrius*, was really such; as no other motive could make *Boris* be so desirous to take away his life; for an impostor, if disregarded, must of course soon sink into his primitive obscurity.

WHETHER this *Demetrius* was really the person he pretended to be, or only an impostor, is, as we observed before, a point more difficult to be cleared up, than perhaps any other in all the annals of *Russia*. Those who believe the latter (N) say, that *Griska Utropeja* was himself the man who personated *Demetrius*, and give the following account of him. He was born at *Jaroslaw*, of a noble family, but not rich, and had been thrust into a monastery on account of his extravagance and debaucheries. His person was handsome, he had much wit, and was just of the age that *Demetrius* would have been; circumstances which an old monk, of the same monastery, took advantage of, in order to set him on the throne of *Russia*. The better to carry on this design, he sent him into *Lithuania*, where he was received by *Wiesnowieski*; into whose favour he soon insinuated himself by his diligence and ingenuity. But one day, his master being angry with him, called him *bledinsin*, or son of a whore, and struck him: *Griska*, taking advantage of this disgrace, burst into tears, and told him, that if he knew who he was, he would not call him by that name, and treat him in such a manner^z. The curiosity of the *Polish* lord made him insist on his explaining himself; upon which the other answered, that he was the legitimate son of the czar *John Basilowitz II.* that *Boris Gudenow*, in the reign of the late czar *Theodore*, his brother, would have murdered him; but that the misfortune fell upon a priest's son, very like, whom his friends had substituted in his place, while he was conveyed away^a. Then, shewing a cross of gold set with diamonds, which, he said, was hung about his neck at his baptism, and adding, that the fear of falling into

A. D. 1602. Duke John of Denmark arrives at Moscow, and dies there.

Boris rejects an embassy from the Turks.

Grants privileges to the Lubeckers, English, and Dutch.

A. D. 1604. Demetrius said to be alive,

and in Poland;

Boris attempts to murder him.

His reception in Lithuania.

^u PETR. p. 294. ^w MARG. ubi supra. ^x PETR. p. 262. ^y Idem, p. 283. ^z MARG. f. 48. ^a Idem, f. 48. Tragœd. Mosc. Grevenb. p. 11. PETR. p. 284. & ex eo OLEAR. p. 116. & LUNDORP. Sleid. contin. tom. iii. p. 666.

(N) In which *Petreius* (1) has been implicitly followed by many writers.

(1) *Moscow. Chron.* p. 284.

From whence
he is sent into
Poland.

the hands of *Boris Gudenow* had kept him from discovering himself till that instant, he threw himself at *Wiesnowieski's* feet, and begged his protection; enlivening his story with so many circumstances of being concealed in a monastery, and his actions with such shew of sincerity, that the *Polish* lord, believing him, immediately ordered him cloaths, horses, and a retinue suitable to his supposed birth; and, not thinking him safe at his house, because it was too near the borders of *Russia*, sent him into *Poland*, to *George Mnieski*, palatine of *Sandomir*, who received him with great kindness, and promised him all the assistance in his power, to restore him to his throne, upon condition that he should tolerate the *Roman* catholic religion in *Russia*, as soon as he had established himself thereon. *Demetrius*, continue our authors, not only agreed to this condition, but promised to marry the palatine's daughter, whose name was *Mariana*^b. The hopes of so advantageous an alliance, and *Mnieski's* great zeal for his religion, made this palatine engage his own credit, and that of all his friends, in his favour, with a promise to interest the republic in it, if there should be occasion.

SOME authors, who have treated all this as a fable, say, they cannot see with what design, or to what advantage, this old monk, whose name is never mentioned, should put *Griska* upon acting this part: and other cotemporary authors assure us, that they had seen *Griska Utropeja* in his cloister, and that he never stirred from thence till the knez *Zuski*, who had an interest in giving an air of truth to this invention, brought him to *Moscow*, from whence he disappeared on a sudden, and it was never known what became of him.

The Poles espouse his cause.

BE this as it may, the republic of *Poland* entered strongly into the interest of *Demetrius*; the proofs of his birth were examined in the diet (O), he was acknowledged as the legitimate heir of the crown of *Russia*, an army was raised to set him on the throne of his ancestors, and he was presented to the king, whose assistance he requested in a very pathetic manner, representing, that many other princes had laboured under great misfortunes, and that even his majesty himself had been born in prison, though he was then happily and justly king; a circumstance which could not but induce him to pity the unfortunate^c.

SIGISMUND, sensible that he might possibly reap from this affair, in case he should place *Demetrius* on the throne of *Russia*, at least the recovery of *Esthonia* and *Finland*, if not that of the crown of *Sweden*, which his nephew, *Charles IX.* had usurped from him the year before, listened to the proposal; but, seeing the difficulties that attended it, declined giving any positive assurances of success, and only promised to do something when a proper opportunity should offer^d; at the same time hinting, that the nobles of his kingdom might do, in the mean while, what they thought proper, at their own expence^e. Upon this, the palatine of *Sandomir*, allured by the prospect of the stipulated alliance, raised a considerable number of men, in order to establish *Demetrius* upon the throne. While this was doing, an embassy arrived from *Boris*, to remind *Sigismund* of the peace which then subsisted between him and the czar; to insist on his delivering up the pretended *Demetrius*, dead or alive; and to warn him, that his assisting that impostor, as he called him, would draw upon him a war, which he might have cause to repent. *Sigismund* answered, that he had not the least intention to infringe the peace of the two nations, and therefore had not given any sort of assistance to the unfortunate *Demetrius*, who, he could not help thinking, really deserved it: but that if any of his nobles should chuse to risk their fortunes, in order to procure him redress, he could not hinder their so doing^f.

THE grandees of *Poland*, no ways intimidated by the czar's menaces, raised four thousand men, at the head of which they put *Demetrius*, who marched directly into the province of *Moscow*, where *Czernichew*, *Putivol*, and several other places, declared directly for him^g. This success, together with the dreadful miseries of the still raging famine, and the appearance of some extraordinary phenomena in the air, threw the *Muscovites* into the utmost consternation^h, and made them reflect on the several circumstances of the supposed murder of *Demetrius* at *Uglitz*, and the late conduct and behaviour of *Boris*, who,

^b PETREIUS, p. 288. OLEAT. p. 117. LUBIENSKI Op. post. p. 29. KOBIERZ. Hist. Uladisl. p. 57.
^c Trag. Moscov. p. 12. LUBIENSKI, ubi supra. LUND. Sleid. contin. tom. iii. p. 669. Descript. Russ. Elzevir, p. 118, & seq. ex THUAN. ^d PUFFEND. p. 548. ^e LUBIEN. ubi supra. ^f LUBIEN. Op. posth. p. 30. Trag. Muscov. p. 14. PIASEC. Chron. p. 265. LUNDORP. Sleid. contin. tom. iii. p. 670. Descript. Russ. Elzevir. p. 120. ex THUAN. ^g PETR. p. 298. MARG. & Descript. Russ. Elzevir. p. 121, & seq. ^h PETR. p. 296. PIASEC. Chron. p. 264.

(O) Two very extraordinary circumstances in this pretended *Demetrius*, as he is generally called, are, that he had a wart on his cheek; both which had been observed of the young *Demetrius* at *Uglitz* (1). that one of his arms was shorter than the other, and

(1) Descript. Russ. Elzevir. p. 118. ex Thuan.

a excessively alarmed, assembled an army of two hundred thousand men, but; distracted with suspicions, knew not whom to intrust with the command of it; and, as to foreign assistance, he had but little reason to expect any. The king of *Sweden* was not able to help him much; and neither the emperor nor the king of *Denmark*, to whom he applied for troops, could be brought to any fixed resolution.

WHILE *Boris* was thus distressed, racked by the remorse of his conscience, and looking upon every one as his enemy, *Demetrius* advanced to *Novograd*, which he besieged (P), and, with a handful of men, defeated five thousand *Russians*¹. Fortune was less favourable to him in the next engagement (Q), in which, though his army had been very considerably increased by numbers of malecontents, who resorted to him daily, he lost eight thousand men, and all his cannon. The victors might then easily have retaken all the places he had conquered, if they had pursued their advantage, and been unanimous: but, either through discord, or treachery in some of their commanders, they lost three months before an insignificant town called *Crom*, and did not take it at last. This delay gave *Demetrius* time to recruit his shattered army, reinforce his garrisons, and take the field again, as well as to bribe several of *Gudenow's* officers^k; in which he succeeded so far, that the *Russian* generals gave their troops leave to go home for a time, under pretence of their having already endured sufficient hardships. *Boris*, who had imprudently given the chief command of them to *Zuski*, in whom at the same time he had no confidence, and who did not like him^l, hearing this, sent orders to them to stay; but the consequence was, that they remained inactive for a long while. He then had recourse to stratagem, sending to *Putivol* two old bojars, who promised the burghers, and other chief people of that city, great things, if they would deliver *Demetrius*, either dead or alive; and produced a letter from the patriarch, threatening to excommunicate those who should espouse his cause, or give him the least assistance; but the conspirators were detected, and, to avoid punishment, not only made a full discovery of the whole transaction, but joined *Demetrius*, and wrote to the nobility at *Moscow*, assuring them, that the rival of *Boris* was really the son of *John Basilowitz II*^m.

He advances into Russia; gains a victory; A. D. 1605. Is defeated; but recovers his loss.

Boris again attempts his life.

SEVERAL other attempts of the like nature, at length determined *Demetrius* to treat the czar in his own way. To this end he applied to one *Bosmanoff*, an officer (R), who, going to *Moscow* with a feigned account of a victory gained over *Demetrius*ⁿ, took an opportunity of conveying so strong a poison to the czar, that, very soon after (S), whilst he was giving audience to the *Swedish* and *Danish* ambassadors, he dropped down, and immediately expired, the blood gushing out^o from several parts of his body (T).

Death of Boris Gudenow.

SUCH was the end of *Boris Gudenow*, a man of strong parts, great courage, and a perfect master in the art of dissimulation. He was naturally formed to govern; and had it not been for his cruel and tyrannical temper, no prince could have stood fairer in the affections of his subjects. His body was buried privately, in the church of *St. Michael*, near the remains of the former czars.

His character.

As soon as *Boris* was dead, his widow sent for *Zuski* and *Mitislouski* from the army: whereupon they repaired immediately to *Moscow*, and placed the late czar's son, *Theodore*, upon the throne. This young prince, who was but fifteen years old, had been educated amidst a crowd of flatterers, who sought only to gain his favour by soothing his passions. His behaviour was very brutish and insolent, and his disposition tyrannical; circumstances which some writers look upon as a strong presumption, that the chief part of the nation did not believe the legitimacy of *Demetrius*, whose character was quite the reverse.

Theodore Borissowitz czar.

THE army was not yet informed of *Gudenow's* death, when *Bosmanoff*, who is thought to have poisoned him, arrived with orders to take upon him the chief command, and administer to the soldiers the usual oath of fidelity to the new czar. But, instead of discharging, he betrayed his trust: for, having gained most of the troops to his interest, he, in conjunction with the *Cosaks* that were in *Crom*, fell suddenly upon the re-

Defection of the Russian troops in favour of Demetrius.

¹ MARGAR. f. 35. PETR. p. 209. KOBIERZ. Hist. Uladisl. p. 60. f. 36. LUND. Sleid. contin. tom. iii. p. 671. ^l MARG. f. 37. LUND. Sleid. contin. tom. iii. p. 672. Descript. Russ. Elziv. p. 104. ex THUAN. ^o PIASEC. Chron. p. 265. Tragœd. Moscovit. p. 29. Lund. Sleid. contin. tom. iii. p. 672. KOBIERZ. Hist. Uladisl. p. 61.

^k PETR. p. 302. MARG. ^m Trag. Moscov. p. 18.

ⁿ PETR. p. 303.

(P) On the 21st of December.

(Q) On the 21st of January.

(R) He had been governor of *Novograd*, according to *Lubienki* (1).

(S) On the 23d of April.

(T) Other writers say, that whilst he was giving audience to the ambassadors of the kings of *Sweden* and

Denmark, who, as enemies of *Poland*, had sent to offer their assistance against king *Sigismund*, he fell into so violent a passion, in speaking against this last prince, that he was seized with a bleeding at the nose, which could not be stopped, and of which he died a few days after. *Strahlenberg* says (2), that, driven to despair by *Demetrius's* success, he poisoned himself.

(1) *Op. posth.* p. 31.

(2) *Chap.* iv.

mainder of the *Russians*, commanded by the late czar's brother, *John Gudenow*, put them to flight, and took all their artillery and ammunition; after which, crying out, that *Demetrius* was the only lawful heir to the crown, and that those who had the good of their country at heart should follow him, he immediately went over to *Demetrius's* general *Zapotski*, with most of his troops, and upwards of five hundred persons of distinction. *Demetrius*, who was then at *Putivol*, received them with such affability, as completed their attachment to him; whilst *Gudenow*, abandoned by his army, fled, with a small number, but was pursued and taken; and, upon his refusing to bow to *Demetrius*, to whom he was carried, he was committed to prison.

THIS defection of the army was soon known at court, where it occasioned the utmost consternation. Every one immediately resolved to follow the path which interest pointed out, and the name of *Demetrius* resounded through the whole city of *Moscow*. At the same time *Michael Soltikoff*, one of the prisoners who had been delivered up to *Demetrius* by *Bosmanoff*, and who wanted to recommend himself to his new master, went to the village of *Crasma-cella*, within a quarter of a mile of *Moscow*, told the inhabitants of that place, that their lawful sovereign was actually coming to take possession of his crown, and published manifestoes from *Demetrius*, declaring, that those who should espouse his cause, would meet every sort of favour and affection; but that his opponents must expect no mercy^a. These declarations had the desired effect, in stirring up the whole city to revolt. The people went in a body to the castle, which they forced and plundered, and then thrust the young czar, with his mother, sister, and other relations, into prison^c.

The Muscovites revolt, and imprison Theodore and his family.

Death of Theodore and his mother.

Demetrius is proclaimed czar, and makes his public entrance into Moscow.

DEMETRIUS, who was at *Tbula* when he received the news of this great change, sent *Basilus Galitzin* immediately to *Moscow*, to receive the oath of fidelity of that city; and at the same time ordered *John Bogdanoff*, a diack, to repair thither with all speed, and strangle *Theodore* and his mother in their prison, but not hurt his sister. *Bogdanoff* executed his orders, and gave out that they had poisoned themselves: but *Petreius* says^c, that he himself saw the marks of a cord round their necks, after they were dead(V). A few days after(W), *Demetrius* made his public entry into *Moscow*, and was declared sovereign of all the *Russias*, czar of *Moscow*, *Novogrod*, &c. and king of *Astracan* and *Casan*, with extraordinary pomp and grandeur. A detachment of *Polish* horse began the procession, with kettle-drums and trumpets at their head: after them marched a band of musqueteers, in the middle of which was *Demetrius's* coach, drawn by six horses richly caparisoned: next came the clergy with their banners, preceding the bishops, who carried pictures of the *Virgin Mary*, and *St. Nicholas* the patron of *Russia*; and after them came four archbishops, who preceded the patriarch: at some distance came *Demetrius*, mounted on a fine white horse, and surrounded by a great number of the principal men of the empire. In this state he went first to the church of *St. Mary*, and from thence, after having paid his devotions, to that of *St. Michael*, where the czars are interred. He stopped some time to look at the tomb of his father, as he called him, *John Basilowitz II.* and being informed that *Boris Gudenow* was also buried in that place, he ordered the body of this last to be taken up, and carried, with those of his wife and son, to a common church-yard without the city^c. Passing afterwards by his palace, he turned his head another way, and commanded that it should be pulled down to the ground^u.

A. D. 1605. Is crowned.

Sends for the widow of John Basilowitz II.

Her reception.

DEMETRIUS was solemnly crowned on the 29th of *July*; immediately after which, to silence those who might doubt his legitimacy, he sent *Mitisloufki* and *Zuski*, with a numerous retinue, to fetch the widow of *John Basilowitz II.* from the convent to which *Boris Gudenow* had banished her, upwards of six hundred miles from *Moscow*; and upon her approaching that city, he himself went out to meet her at a considerable distance, attended by great numbers of his nobles. To give the greater, and more public marks of respect, he alighted as soon as he perceived the coach she was in, went up to her on foot, and embraced her with all imaginable transports of joy and affection, which she returned with every demonstration of equal tenderness. In this manner, still on foot, and bare-headed, and surrounded by all the lords of his retinue, whose behaviour was the same, he conducted her into *Moscow*, where he assigned the grand duke's palace for the place of her

^a Descript. Russ. Elzevir. p. 126. ex THUAN. MARG. f. 34. PETR. p. 306. Trag. Muscov. p. 22. KOBIERZ. Hist. Uladisl. p. 61. ^c PETR. p. 309. MARG. f. 38. LUBIENSK. Op. posth. p. 31. ^e MARG. f. 39. PETR. p. 311. LUBIEN. p. 32. ^s Page. 313. ^t PETR. p. 314. MARG. ubi supra. ^u Tragœd. Moscov. p. 26. LUNDORP. Sleid. contin. tom. iii. p. 675. Descript. Russ. Elev. p. 130. ex THUAN.

(V) They were killed on the 10th of *July*. Captain where he is copied, seems to think they poisoned themselves. *Margaret* (1), *Lubienski* (2) *Kobierzicko* (3) and *Ludolphus* (4) agree with *Petreius*, that they were strangled. (W) On the 15th of *July*. *Thuanus*, and the Elzevir Description of *Russia* (5),

(1) Page 39.

(2) Page 32.

(3) Page 62.

(4) Tem. i. p. 175.

(5) Page 128.

residence,

- a residence, and behaved to her on all occasions with the deference and duty of a son, visiting her every day, and being received with all the fondness of a loving mother^w. This conduct regained him the public esteem, which he had in a great measure forfeited, by debauching the daughter of the deceased *Boris*, and then shutting her up in a convent^x. But their regard for him did not continue long: for besides abolishing many of their ancient customs, of which they were extremely tenacious, and degrading, as they thought, the dignity of czar by appearing too much in public^y; his caressing some jesuits sent to him by *Antony Longinus*, the Pope's nuncio at the court of *Poland*, and ordering them the best house in *Moscow* for their habitation, indisposed every one in *Moscow* against him. The religion of their forefathers was menaced by the arrival of these visitors, and the priests of the country took care to magnify the danger. Another subject of discontent, immediately upon the back of this, was his sending his chancellor *Offernaci Iwanowitz Vetaci* (X) to *Poland*, in quality of his ambassador, with a very pompous retinue, and several rich presents taken out of the treasury.

The people are displeased.

He sends an ambassador to Poland,

- THE purport of this embassy was, to return the king and the republic of *Poland* his sincere thanks for the signal services they had done him; to propose a treaty of the strictest alliance; to make war upon the *Turks*, and not only drive them from the frontiers of *Poland*, and out of all *Hungary*, but totally from the *Holy Land*, which he saw with grief in the hands of those infidels; and lastly, to desire *Sigismund's* leave, for the czar to marry the daughter of his generous benefactor, the palatine of *Sandomir*. This last article in particular, as well as the stripping the treasury of some of the crown-jewels, which were sent to *Poland*, was excessively displeasing to the *Russians*, who hated the *Poles*, and detested their religion, both of which they feared would be forced upon them in consequence of this marriage^z.

- SIGISMUND* answered *Demetrius's* ambassador, that he was very sensible of the acknowledgments of the czar his master: that he commended his zeal against the *Turks*, and should very willingly accept his alliance: but that he must first deliberate thereon with the republic: and that as to the marriage of the czar with the daughter of the palatine of *Sandomir*, he not only consented to it, but should be greatly rejoiced at it. Upon this the ambassador married *Mariana Mnieski*, in the name of the czar his master. The ceremony was performed by the bishop of *Cracovia* (Y); and *Sigismund*, who gave away the bride, recommending to her at the same time to continue her love for the *Poles* and the *Romish* religion, made a very grand entertainment, at which the new czarina appeared with a magnificence suitable to her rank; *Demetrius* having sent her jewels to a vast value^a.

who marries the daughter of the palatine of Sandomir, by proxy from the czar.

- DEMETRIUS* received homage from all the lords of the empire at his coronation, and gave them, in general, leave to marry^b, which the late usurper had forbid: but very soon after, according to the custom in *Russia*, where the crime of one person commonly involves all his relations and friends, he banished near seventy families, because they were allied, or had been attached to that of *Boris*. This act of justice, as it would have been called in any other prince in that country, was much condemned in him, on account of his having imprudently shewn greater confidence in the *Poles* than the *Russians*, even in the first days of his reign. The people murmured loudly, and scrupled not to say, that these families were banished, merely to enrich strangers with their spoils; which would draw others into the country, likewise to be rewarded at the expence of those who should commit the least fault.

The people grow discontented.

- THESE discontents were heightened every day by the artful management of knez *Theodore Basilius Zuski*, a man of distinguished birth, who, seeing that none were left of the late czar's family, thought he might ascend the throne without much difficulty. To this end, he and his two brothers put themselves at the head of the disaffected party, declared that *Demetrius* was an impostor, an upstart raised from the dust, whose design was to extirpate the nobility, overturn the religion of *Russia*, and render them all slaves to *Poland*; to prevent which, it was necessary that they should take away his life. *Demetrius*, having timely notice of the plot, ordered the three *Zuskis* to be seized and tried. The eldest was condemned to be beheaded, the two others to be banished; and extraordinary preparations were made for the execution, as if it was intended that this example should strike a lasting awe in every malecontent: but it was only to render the czar's clemency to the

A. D. 1606. Zuski heads a conspiracy against Demetrius.

^w PETR. p. 318. MARG. ubi supra. Tragœd. Moscov. p. 28. LUNDORP. Sleid. contin. tom. iii. p. 677. Descript. Russ. Elzev. p. 134. ex THUAN. ^z PETR. ubi supra. ^y Idem, ibid.
^z PETR. p. 321. MARG. PIASEC. Chron. p. 266. LUNDORP. tom. i. p. 201. ^a LUDOLPH. p. 334. Tragœd. Moscov. p. 29. PIASEC. Chron. p. 266. LUNDORP. Sleid. contin. tom. iii. p. 678. KOBIERZ. Hist. Ulad. p. 64. ^b MARG. f. 40.

(X) Others say, his treasurer *Athanasius Iwanowitz Roscow*.

(Y) On the 22d of November.

Is condemned to death, but pardoned.

criminal the more conspicuous : for when he was upon his knees on the scaffold, and waited only for the stroke of the executioner, whose hand was already lifted up, a pardon was proclaimed, and his sentence commuted into banishment with his brothers^c. *Demetrius*, injudiciously, recalled him soon after from his exile, and restored to his favour a wretch who rested not till he had destroyed him.

The discontents of the people increase.

This conspiracy, and its well known causes, ought to have rendered *Demetrius* extremely circumspect and cautious in his behaviour to the *Russians*. He took, indeed, some steps which they seemed to approve of; such as, dismissing several of the *Poles* who had accompanied him into *Russia*, and used to be continually about his person; and coining a great quantity of new money, then much wanted, out of the immense treasures which *Boris* had amassed; but his fondness for two of the jesuits before mentioned, *Nicholas Cnermiow* and *Andrew Lowitz*; his being blindly guided by them, even so far as to allow them publicly to exercise the *Roman* catholic religion in *Moscow*; his marriage with a princess of that communion; his disregarding at least, if he did not absolutely slight, many rites and ceremonies which the *Russians* looked upon as highly necessary to be observed, among which were his not bathing regularly as they did, and his eating veal, which they deemed an unclean meat; his countenancing foreigners, and his endeavouring to introduce their manners, whilst he ridiculed the absurdities of his own people; together with his giving some considerable employments to *Polanders*, whom his subjects looked upon as their mortal enemies; all this lost him the affection of the great men, who in *Russia*, have always a share in the management of affairs, and the disposal of offices, which are very lucrative, and numerous. Every one of his actions were now strictly scrutinised; for the lives of great men are exposed to the censure of the public in proportion to their elevation^d. His laying aside the haughty state of the former czars, by appearing in public more than they had used to do, and his suffering people to speak to him without being commanded, a treatment the *Russians* had not been used to, were deemed derogatory from his dignity, and construed into proofs of his not being the person he pretended^e. The very diversions with which he endeavoured to amuse himself during the interval between the celebration of his marriage and the arrival of his bride were criticized, and found fault with, that even his own servants presumed to behave disrespectfully to him on that account^f.

Demetrius imprudently changes his guards.

THE murmurings of the malecontents were not kept so secret but that they frequently reached the ear of *Demetrius*, who, at length, began to be apprehensive of them; and understanding that they complained, above all things, of his not placing any confidence in his own subjects, but that he was continually surrounded by a guard wholly composed of foreigners, particularly *Poles* and *Germans*; he came to the imprudent resolution of disbanding this guard, and forming another of *Russians*. But soon finding that this complaisance was not sufficient to appease the exasperated minds of the people, he repented too late of having delivered himself up into the hands of his enemies: and to repair this error, he fell into that of adding to his new body of guards, some companies of *Livonians*, *Germans*, *English*, *Scotch*, and *French* &c. One of these was commanded by captain *James Margaret*, a *Frenchman*, whose account of *Russia* we have had frequent occasion to quote.

The Tartars set up a pretender to the throne.

To add to *Demetrius's* perplexities, news was brought him about this time, that four thousand *Cosaks* had assembled between *Casan* and *Astracan*, and brought with them one *Peter*, a youth of about seventeen years of age, who they called the son of the late czar *Theodore Iwanowitz*, and declared they were determined to place him on the throne of his ancestors. *Demetrius* is said to have written a letter to this *Peter*, telling him, that if he would come to *Moscow*, and prove himself to be really the son of *Theodore*, he would resign the crown to him; but that if he knew himself to be an impostor, his best way was to retire immediately. We shall see this phantom appear again hereafter: but in the mean time *Demetrius* was killed before the answer came to his letter, and the *Tartars* dispersed, after having plundered several places^h.

Zuski again conspires against Demetrius.

DURING these transactions, *Zuski*, whose vindictive spirit was as ungovernable as his ambition was boundless, unable to conquer the shame and uneasiness of owing his life to a man whom he had greatly injured, and therefore could not forgive, studied to find out an excuse for the ingratitude with which he was determined to repay that great obligation which *Demetrius* had laid upon him; and at length found that the fine pretext of *Love of his country*, which has in all ages been made a cloak for the most wicked enterprises, would, in his opinion, so far justify whatever he should do, as to render him at least in-

^c MARGARET, f. 40. PETR. p. 323. LUNDORP. Sleid. contin. tom. iii. p. 676. KOBIERZ. p. 67. LUDOLPH. tom. i. p. 202. Descrip. Russ. Elzev. p. 132. ex THUANO. ^d SALLUST. Bell. Catil. ^e MARG. f. 40. b. ^f PETR. p. 324. ^g MARG. Etat. de l'Emp. de Russ. f. 40. PETR. p. 322. Tragœd. Moscovit. p. 33. LUNDORP. Sleid. contin. tom. iii. p. 679. Descript. Russ. Elzev. p. 114, ex THUAN. ^h MARG. f. 41. LUBIENSK. Op. posth. p. 106.

a nocently criminal. He therefore put himself once more at the head of the malecontents, into whose party he found no difficulty to bring the patriarch and most of the clergy, by representing to them the danger that menaced their religion, in lieu of which said he, *Demetrius* had resolved to establish that of the *Romish* church. The death of *Demetrius* was accordingly resolved, as a sacrifice due to the nation: but the execution of this vengeance was deferred till his bride should arrive from *Poland* with the riches he had sent her¹.

b *MARIANA MNIESKI*, the betrothed czarina, set out from *Cracovia* in the beginning of the month of *January*: but the city being three hundred *Polish* leagues from *Moscow*, and her retinue very numerous, she did not reach the capital of *Russia*, till the first day of *May*. Besides her father and her brother-in-law, with their domestics, and those of the *Russian* ambassador, who accompanied her, together with some thousands of armed *Polanders*, by way of guard; many of the *Polish* nobility took this opportunity to see the country, and a multitude of traders of various nations, had put themselves into her train, that they might safely transport their valuable cargoes, by which they expected to make great profit^k. A splendid retinue of *Russians* and *Poles*, at the head of which was *Peter Bosmanoff*, whom the czar had charged with the care of this solemnity, received her at some distance from *Moscow*, and conducted her through that city, amidst the acclamations of the people, the discharge of cannon, and the sound of various instruments of music, first to the palace, and from thence to the convent of *Tebude*, where the czarina dowager was, and where she was to continue till every thing should be ready for her nuptials. On the eighth of *May*, the patriarch performed the ceremony of blessing the marriage; and immediately after, she was crowned czarina, with greater pomp than the *Russians* had ever beheld (Z). The czar and his consort then repaired to the imperial palace, where the court was as brilliant as it was numerous, and nothing was omitted to render the entertainment magnificently sumptuous.

Arrival, marriage, and coronation of the czarina.

d THE very first appearance of the vast train of armed *Poles*, that came with the czarina, displeased the *Russians*, who were quite shocked when they saw them afterwards unload great quantities of arms out of the carriages^l. Their indignation increased daily at seeing these new-comers, these heretics, as they called them, assume airs of authority; and the czarina, imprudently, heightened all their discontents, first, by insisting on being crowned in a *Polish* dress; in which, however, she was over-ruled; and afterwards, by appearing in that habit the very next day, and wearing it from that time^m. None but *Russians* were at the first day's entertainment: but the *Poles* were received afterwards with uncommon distinctionⁿ. The *Polish* ambassador *Alexander Grosenski*, at first, refused to be present, because he was not to be allowed to dine at the czar's table, though the *Russian* ambassador had been admitted to that of the king of *Poland* on a similar occasion. *Demetrius* pleaded the custom of the country; and at last it was agreed that *Grosenski* should have a separate table near that of the czar^o.

Entertainments on that occasion, which give offence to the Russians.

e IN the mean time *Zuski* took care artfully to point out every incident that might contribute to mortify, and consequently exasperate the *Russians*, who, now wrought up to the pitch he wanted, began to exclaim loudly against *Demetrius*, and to brand him with the name of heretic; for that, contrary to the precepts of their religion, he had several times eaten veal, which they were taught to look upon as unclean meat, even during the public festivals; that he had contemned their holy days, by making his greatest entertainments, and receiving the nuptial presents, at those very times^p; and that, though proper baths had been constantly prepared for him ever since his marriage, according to the custom and religion of the *Russians*, he had not only gone to church, defiled and impure, without using them, not even after the wedding night, but had taken his *Polanders* and their dogs with him into their holy temples^q. These speeches were made with such unrestrained insolence, that f some of *Demetrius's* guards seized one of the seditious in the very act of speaking thus treasonably against the czar, who, being told by some of the conspirators that the fellow was drunk when he talked at this rate, let him go unhurt. His father-in-law, and his friend *Bosmanoff*, warned him repeatedly to take care of himself, for that a conspiracy was certainly carrying on against him: but he took no other notice of it, than barely to bid his guards be watchful^r.

Demetrius is warned of his danger; but neglects the advice.

BESIDES the malecontents in *Moscow*, whose number was very great, *Zuski* had now near twenty thousand well armed men dispersed in different parts round about that city,

¹ PIASEC. Chron. p. 226.

^k PETR. p. 331.

^l PETR. p. 327.

^m Idem, p. 340.

ⁿ MARG. f. 42.

^o Idem, ibid.

^p PETR. p. 340.

OLEAR. p. 146.

^q Tragœd.

Moscow, p. 36.

^r PETR. & MARG. ubi supra.

(Z) *Petreius* (1) and *Margaret* (2) give a particular account of the ceremony.

(1) Page 337.

(2) Fo. 42.

The conspirators put their design in execution.

waiting only for his orders to advance. The chief of the conspirators met privately, and settled the time and manner of executing their design, which it was agreed should be on the eve of a grand entertainment the czarina was to give on the 17th of May; whilst the troops were introduced the day before, by different ways, under pretence of their belonging to bojars who were come to see the festival^a.

At six o'clock in the morning of the appointed day, all the disaffected knez and bojars appeared at the head of their troops, and, being joined by some thousands of the populace, likewise armed, seized on the palace, where they found only about thirty guards, unable to make the least resistance. *Peter Bosmanoff*, awaked by the tumult, ran almost naked to endeavour to appease it; but was the first victim to the fury of the people, who immediately began to massacre all that were, or looked like, *Polanders*; whilst *Zuski*, armed with a sabre in one hand, and a cross in the other, ran about every where to animate his countrymen to take vengeance: at the same time ordering the great alarm-bell to be rung, and a report to be spread that the *Poles* had taken up arms to murder all the *Russians*.^b

DEMETRIUS himself arose, and asking what was the matter, was answered by one of the guards, who was in the plot, that it was a fire: but the cries of the dying, and those who fled for shelter, soon taught him the true cause of the tumult: whereupon, catching up a cimeter, he would have gone out to meet the rebels, but was prevented; upon which he jumped out of a window, and in the fall dislocated his thigh, so that he could not rise from the ground^c. In this situation he was taken and carried into the great hall of audience, where *Zuski* set a strong guard over him; whilst the conspirators, breaking open every room in the palace, killed all the *Poles* they met, treated the ladies of that nation with the utmost brutality, seized all their riches, and those of the merchants who had followed the czarina, which last they demanded with bitter imprecations: but an old lady, under whose hoop she was then hid, saved her, by assuring them that she had been sent for to her father's before break of day, and that she was still there.

While the unfortunate *Demetrius* was exposed to the cruel insults of every miscreant now about him, still boldly asserting his birth-right, and appealing to his mother, *Zuski* went to the dowager czarina, and insisted on her declaring upon oath, whether the captive prince was or was not her son. She, at first, declined giving any answer to the question; but, being pressed, at length said, that her son had been murdered many years before^d. *Zuski* returned with this reply: whereupon *Demetrius* desired leave to speak to the people; but this was refused: several questions were put to him, which he answered in such a manner, that though the nobles who asked them, kept his reply secret; yet a *German*, who chanced accidentally to stand by and over-hear what passed, was instantly killed, that he might not divulge them^e. The rest of the conspirators, as if they had waited only for this signal, then fell upon *Demetrius*, and mangled him to death with a thousand wounds. His body was afterwards stripped naked, and dragged through the streets of *Moscow*, to the very spot where *Zuski* had received his pardon when on the point of being beheaded. There it was laid upon a table, with the legs of *Demetrius* extended over the breast of *Bosmanoff*, whose corps was stretched out upon a bench. The rabble vented their invectives against the murdered czar for three days, at the end of which his remains were interred; though they were shortly after taken up, and burned; to such a height had *Zuski* raised the fury of the people^f. The palatine of *Sandomir*, and his daughter, the czarina, were arrested: but promised their liberty, on condition of his paying one hundred and eighty thousand rixdollars, and her restoring all the jewels that had been sent her. They performed this agreement on their side; but, in a few days after, both of them were sent prisoners to *Jaroslaw*. Near two thousand *Poles* perished in this massacre, and the remainder were sold to the *Tartars*^g.

SOME writers say, that the czarina dowager was confronted with *Demetrius*, and that she declared upon oath, that he was not her son: but this does not seem to be sufficiently attested. Others assert, that, upon *Zuski's* returning with her negative answer, *Demetrius* insisting upon confronting her; and that *Zuski* thereupon, without deigning to give him any answer, drew out a pistol, and shot him through the head. As to the czarina's declaration concerning him, even supposing her to have made such a confession, there is no saying what force and menaces, backed by irresistible power, might extort from a woman in her situation.^h

^a PIASEC. Chron. p. 286. PETR. p. 336. ^b PETR. ubi supra. Tragœd. Moscovit. p. 38. MARG. f. 43. LUNDORP. Sleid. contin. tom. iii. p. 631. KOBIERZ Hist. Uladisl. p. 98. ^c STRAHLENBERG, cap. iv. ^d Descript. Moscov. p. 147. ex THUAN. ^e PETR. p. 340. Tragœd. Mosc. p. 41. MARG. f. 42. OLEAR. p. 118. PIASEC. Chron. p. 286. LUNDORP. Sleidan. contin. tom. iii. p. 682. LUDOLPH. tom. i. p. 203. Descript. Russ. Elzevir. p. 145. ^f PETREIUS, p. 358. MARGARET, f. 43.

- ^a GREAT pains were taken immediately to publish the reasons, as they were called, why *Demetrius* had been killed; in order to render his name the more odious to the public. The principal of these were, that he was an impostor; that his real name was *Griska Utrojska*; that he had been a monk; at which time he had served the patriarch in quality of secretary, and fled from his convent to *Poland*; to prove which, people were produced, who called themselves his brothers and sisters: but even his enemies allowed this to be a poor contrivance². Certain it was that *Griska* did fly from his convent to *Poland*; and with him the person supposed to be *Demetrius*. This rendered it necessary to endeavour to make *Demetrius* pass for *Griska*. But this *Griska* returned to *Russia* with *Demetrius*; and captain *Margaret* says, that any one might have seen him and his brothers, who held lands under the family of *Galitzin* in his time; that the *Griska* in question, was thirty-five years of age; whereas *Demetrius* was but twenty-five; and that *Demetrius* himself, displeased at his debaucheries and irregular life, banished him to *Jaroslaw*; to which this author, who, as we observed before, was captain of the guards to *Demetrius*, adds, that an *Englishman* belonging to the factory at *Jaroslaw* assured him he had heard *Griska* declare and affirm upon oath, when the news of the death of *Demetrius* first reached that place, that the *Russians* had killed the real son of *John Basilowitz II.* whom he himself had carried from *Russia* to *Poland*. Captain *Margaret* ends with saying, that *Zuski* sent for this *Griska* from *Jaroslaw*; but that he could not learn what afterwards became of him³. To the principal charge, before mentioned, against *Demetrius*, were added others, suited to the genius of the *Russians*; such as his being a forcerer, and a heretic, in league with the pope; a tyrant, who liked none but foreigners; who despised the *Russians*, embezzled their treasures, contemned their religion, and profaned their churches: crimes, of which the bare mention was enough to make every *Russian* curse him⁴.

- DEMETRIUS* had good natural parts: but he was much too young and too mild to govern so stubborn a people as the *Russians*, who must be ruled with a rod of iron. His education in a convent, could not possibly fit him for a throne. Unexperienced in the artifices of courts, he became an easy prey to a few favourites, who flattered him; and to add to his misfortune, the chief of these favourites, were *Poles*, the most odious of all nations in the eyes of his subjects. His imprudently countenancing them above all others, and giving them some of the finest posts in the empire, whilst the *Russians* were scarcely suffered to appear before him, together with his marrying a princess of that detested country, immediately set all his nobles against him: and his endeavouring to introduce the manners of that hated country, even before he was well seated on the throne, alienated at once the affections of all his people. His stature was of the middle size; his limbs were strong, and nervous; his complexion was brown; and under the right eye he had a wart, which was a mark that had been observed on the avowed *Demetrius*, when a child at *Uglitz*⁵.

- ^e IMMEDIATELY after the death of *Demetrius*, the nobles and senators then at *Moscow* proceeded to the election of a new sovereign; the first free election they had known since the days of *Rurik*⁶. Their suffrages were equally divided between the knez *Basilus Iwannowitz Zuski* and *John Galitzin*: whereupon *Worotinski*, after desiring these two to withdraw, while the assembly should determine which of them to prefer, represented to the electors the great importance of the matter then in debate; that it behoved them to be extremely cautious of chusing a person who had either many or very powerful relations and adherents, lest it should be attended with future evils; and that certain conditions ought to be stipulated with the party elected, such as, particularly, that all private animosities should absolutely be laid aside; and that no alteration should be made in their established laws, nor any new taxes be laid upon the people, without the consent of the senate. All this being readily agreed to, he added, that those who had voted for knez *Galitzin*, as for an honest and prudent man, had done well; but that his family was so numerous and potent, that he could not help recommending to them to consider a little better of this point before they came to a definitive resolution. Upon which one of the assembly answered, "These lords are of equal merit, and we have already done what our duty requires: but to decide this matter, let us consult the people; to the end, that no body may have just cause to blame us". This motion was unanimously agreed to. In the mean time *Worotinski* found means to send a person privately among the people, to tell them, that *Zuski* was chosen, and that as soon as the bojars came out, they should proclaim him. They did so, to the astonishment of the electors, who, knowing none of their body had left the assembly,

His character.

Zuski elected czar.

² Tragœd. Moscov. p. 45. Descript. Russ. Elzevir. p. 153.³ Marg. fo. 54.⁴ THUAN.

& ex eo Descript. Russ. Elzevir. p. 155. Trag. Muscov. p. 45. LUNDORP. Sleid. contin. tom. iii. p. 684.

⁵ MARG. f. 34. Trag. Muscov. p. 51. LUNDORP. Sleid. contin. tom. iii. p. 685.⁶ STRAHL.

p. 208.

looked upon this event as a miracle. *Zuski* was accordingly declared czar, was crowned soon after, and received the homage of the all people^a.

ONE of *Zuski's* first cares was to publish a long manifesto, tending to justify his own conduct, and blacken that of *Demetrius*, whose corpse he then ordered to be taken out of the grave and burnt, and the ashes to be thrown into the *Moskwa*, that nothing of him might remain: and at the same time he sent to *Uglitz* for the body of the young *Demetrius*, said to have been assassinated by order of *Boris*, and gave it a pompous burial in the church of St. *Michael* at *Moscow*, after the patriarch had declared him a martyr, and enrolled him among the number of the saints^f. His next object was, to re-establish the tranquility of the state.

A. D. 1607.
Sends an embassy to the Poles.

THE *Poles* were bitterly incensed at the insult offered to their ambassador and the palatine of *Sandomir*, and exasperated beyond expression at the murder of so many of their nobles as had perished in the late bloody massacre. *Zuski*, therefore, began with publishing a sort of apology; after which he sent an ambassador to king *Sigismund*, to tell him, that there having been found among the papers of *Demetrius*, and the palatine of *Sandomir*, letters which proved that the impostor's enterprize was not the work of the jesuits, as some pretended, and of the palatine only (A), but that the king himself and the republic had countenanced and promoted it, even so far as to lend real succours; the czar and the whole *Russian* nation thought they had a right to complain of such a conduct, which was a manifest violation of the treaties sworn to on both sides; and that it also appeared, that *Demetrius* had sent considerable sums of money into *Poland*, to satisfy those who had been his abettors; all which it was insisted on that his *Polish* majesty should restore, and at the same time disavow the whole undertaking, if he would avoid the consequence of a bloody war^g.

Who agree to his demands.

POLAND was then distracted by the confederacy of the *Rokoschaners*^b, headed by *Radziwil* and *Stadniski*, who demanded the reformation of numbers of abuses both in the church and state, and were particularly exasperated against the jesuits, by whom the king was beset, and whom they looked upon as the authors of all their misfortunes. On the other hand, the states of *Sweden* assembled at *Upsal* had declared *Sigismund* and his son excluded from the crown of that kingdom, and had given it to his uncle *Charles*, duke of *Sundermania*, who was preparing to make good his pretensions to the province of *Livonia*. For these reasons, the *Russians* found more moderation and temper at the court of *Poland*, than could otherwise have been expected. *Sigismund* apologized for what had happened, by acknowledging that himself and all the *Poles* had been the dupes of *Demetrius*, in thinking him the true and lawful heir of the great *John Basilowitz*: that therefore they had not violated the treaties made with that monarch, in aiding his son, as they supposed him, to recover a throne which another had usurped from him; and that as to the damages occasioned thereby, it was but just that they should be repaired on each side; to which end, as well as to restore a good understanding, conferences should immediately be held.

Makes an alliance with the Swedes.

CHARLES IX. of *Sweden*, to whom *Zuski* had also sent an embassy, delighted with the prospect of drawing succours from *Russia* to support his pretensions against *Poland*, readily consented to an alliance between the two states.

Takes measures to secure tranquillity at home.

AT home, the new czar seemed to have nothing to fear, but that the suggestions of strangers might draw the people from their duty, and engage them in new designs: to obviate which, he caused all the *Poles* and *Germans*, that were dispersed about his dominions, to be sought out; and having got together about fifteen hundred, whom the soldiers or the populace robbed of all they had, he divided them into three bodies, ordered them to be cloathed, gave them wherewithal to defray the expences of their journey sparingly, and then sent them home, by the way of *Smolenskow*, *Livonia*, and *Polloczk*.

A second, pretended *Demetrius*.

THESE prudent precautions seemed to promise the *Russians* that tranquillity which they had stood so much need of, since their misfortunes at the end of the reign of *John Basilowitz*, the weakness of that of his son *Theodore*, the troubles of that of *Boris*, and the calamities occasioned by that of *Demetrius*. But a new impostor started up, with the name

^a PETR. p. 376. MARGAR. f. 43. Tragœd. Moscov. p. 44. LUNDORP. Sleid. contin. tom. iii. p. 683.
^f MARG. f. 44. PETR. p. 378. ^g PETR. p. 376. Thrag. Moscov. p. 53. THUAN. & Descript. Mosc. Elzev. p. 158. ^b PIASEC. p. 280, 259. LUBIENSKI Op. posth. de Motu civili in Polon. lib. i. & ii.

(A) Among the historians of those times, who will have it that *Demetrius* was a monkish impostor, some say, that he first discovered his design to the jesuits of *Poland*; desiring their powerful protection, and promising to re-establish their order and the *Roman* catholic religion in *Russia*. With this view, add they, the

jesuits took care to instruct him in every thing that might give success to so great an enterprize, and found means to interest pope *Clement VIII.* in the affair; whilst the palatine of *Sandomir* contributed his money, and the assistance of his friends, in hopes of raising his daughter to the throne.

a of *Demetrius*, and, tho' he never appeared, caused more mischief in *Russia*, than he had done whose name he took, and of whom he was the fatal spectre.

THE knez *Gregory Schacopski*, keeper of the seal to *Demetrius* when he was killed, gave rise to this imposture¹. Seeing all in confusion, and that the enraged populace were seeking for every one who had been attached to that prince, he fled, with two *Polish* gentlemen, dressed like *Russians*, to *Putivol*, a town always faithful to *Demetrius*, from the time of his first bringing it under his subjection. *Schacopski* took great care to publish on the road, that *Demetrius* was not killed, but another, who had been mistaken for him; and that he had happily escaped in the midst of the dreadful massacre, and would very soon return to punish his ungrateful subjects. At the same time he affected to shew great respect to one of his companions, in order to make him pass for *Demetrius*; and on his arrival at *Putivol*, he assured the inhabitants that *Demetrius* was gone to implore succours from his allies; that he sent him to certify to them that he was living, that he would soon see them, and that he desired them to continue firm in their allegiance to him. The people of *Putivol*, upon hearing this, vowed they would sacrifice their lives for their sovereign.

SCHACOPSKI then sent to the *Cosaks*, whose chiefs met him at *Putivol*; while the rest of the partizans of *Demetrius*, who deplored his fate, and treated *Zuski* as an ungrateful man, and an usurper, assembled under a bojar named *Isthoma Bascow*, and marched thither, in hopes of finding their prince. All the country took part with them, and fifteen castles withdrew from the obedience of the czar, who no sooner heard of what passed in the *Ukraine*, but he went thither with all speed, at the head of an army, which, though raised in haste, he imagined would be more than sufficient to reduce to their duty a body of malecontents, who had united by chance, and had not had time enough to put themselves in a posture of defence. But his confidence cost him dear: for his troops were beaten, and he was forced to retire in great disorder to *Moscow*².

The rebels defeat the czar's army.

THE victors, reinforced by twelve thousand *Cosacks*, commanded by *Iwan Isaiwitz Polutnich*, followed him, and were on the point of making themselves masters of *Moscow*, where all was in confusion, when *Polutnich* shewed *Bascow* a commission from the pretended *Demetrius*, enjoining the latter to give up the command to him. *Bascow* was so piqued at this affront, that, having debauched near nine thousand of the *Cosaks*, he went over to the czar, and acquainted him, that there was in reality no *Demetrius* at *Putivol*. Four thousand of the other troops followed the example of the *Cosaks*, and abandoned *Polutnich*, who retired to *Caluga*, which a detachment from *Zuski's* army immediately besieged³. *Schacopski* thus defeated in his schemes, and unable to find any one who would really venture to personate *Demetrius*, sent to the pretended *Peter Theodorowitz*, whom we mentioned before, and offered him his assistance. *Peter* readily accepted it, and advanced with ten thousand *Cosaks*, who raised the siege of *Caluga*⁴. The rebels then fortified themselves in *Tula*; but *Zuski*, advancing against them, forced them to surrender (B) after an obstinate defence, and, contrary to his promise, treated his prisoners with the utmost severity. *Peter Theodorowitz*, as he called himself, was hanged, and *Schacopski* and *Polutnich* were starved to death in prison⁵.

Their ring-leaders are taken and put to death.

A. D. 1608. The Poles set up a third *Demetrius*.

ONE might naturally suppose that even the name of *Demetrius* would have been buried with *Schacopski*: but the *Poles*, whose domestic feuds were now ended; whose troops wanted money, which they could have only from abroad; who longed to revenge the late treatment of their countrymen; and whose interest it was to keep up the phantom that divided and distressed the *Russians*; after looking about some time for a proper person to answer their designs, pitched upon an artful fellow, a school-master at *Socola* in *Polish Russia*, who could speak the *Russian* language, and sent him, with a handsome retinue, to *Putivol* and *Starodub*, where he gave himself out for *Demetrius*⁶. Numbers of malecontents immediately resorted to him from all quarters, and the palatines *Adam Wiesnowieski* and *Ro-manus Rozynski*, together with several other *Polish* nobles, soon joined him with sixty thousand of their countrymen, and eight thousand *Zaporog Cosacks*⁷.

THE king of *Sweden*, knowing that his enemy *Sigismund* of *Poland* would be glad of any opportunity to place a creature of his own upon the throne of *Russia*, in order, thereby to regain *Esthonia* and *Finland*, and perhaps make himself master of *Sweden* also, kept a watchful eye over these transactions⁸, and sent *Peter Petreius*, whose *Muscovite Chronicle* we have often quoted, to the czar, to warn him of the impending danger, and offer him the assistance of some thousands of his troops: but *Zuski*, flushed with his late

The king of Sweden offers *Zuski* his assistance, which is refused.

¹ PETR. p. 380. LUDOLPH. tom. i. p. 206.

² PETREIUS, p. 381.

³ Idem, p. 385.

⁴ Idem, p. 389.

⁵ Idem, p. 400.

⁶ Idem, ibid. PIASEC. Chron. p. 302.

⁷ PIASEC.

p. 303. PETREIUS, p. 402. LUDOLPH. tom. i. p. 253.

⁸ PUFFEND. p. 548.

LUDOLF. tom. i.

p. 142.

(B) On the 28th of October, 1607.

success

The pretended
Demetrius
gains two vic-
tories over the
Russians ;

and lays siege to
Moscow.

Signal impu-
dence of the
impostor.

A. D. 1609.
The Poles be-
siege Smolen-
skow.
Zuski receives
succour from
the Swedes.

success at *Tula*, at first refused, tho' he was afterwards glad to ask them : for the pre-
tended *Demetrius*, continuing his march, came up with the *Russians*, whose army consisted
of one hundred and seventy thousand raw undisciplined men, and defeated them twice, with
great slaughter; the first time near *Bolchow*, a town not far from *Caluga*, and the next near
the river *Chodenka* *. Field marshal *Masalki*, who commanded the czar's army, was taken
prisoner in this last engagement.

THE victors, whose number was encreasing daily by multitudes of disaffected *Russians*
who flocked to them, pursued the vanquished to the very gates of *Moscow*, and would
probably have made themselves masters of the capital, had it not been for five thousand
Muscovites, whom they forced to join them at *Bolchow*, and who, quitted them on a sudden,
threw themselves into the city, and defended it with desperate bravery : notwithstanding
which, its inhabitants would still have capitulated, and received the pretended *Demetrius*,
if this last had not insisted upon the czar *Zuski's* being delivered up to him †.

IN the mean time *Zuski's* uncle got together a body of troops, with which he encamped
within four wersts of *Moscow*. The *Polish* general, who commanded the siege, attacked
him in his camp, defeated him, and took him prisoner. The czar himself attempted
another action : but his army was again repulsed ; and he then saw no way to extricate
himself from the approaching danger, but by engaging king *Sigismund* to withdraw his
forces, and give over his designs. To this end he released the palatine of *Sandomir*, and
his daughter, on condition that they should employ their interest to bring about this point :
but the fictitious *Demetrius*, who was informed of all that passed, and who knew how much
it would forward the success of his enterprize to have these persons in his power, sent a
party of horse to intercept them, and bring them to him. Upon their arrival, he received
them publickly with great ceremony, shed tears, as if the overflowings of his joy, and
embraced the lady as his rescued consort. They immediately saw the imposture, and could
not but express their astonishment at the confidence of the man who so steadily maintained
his part, while he was personating this feigned character ; but the palatine had been too
sensibly affronted and ill-treated by *Zuski*, to let slip so favourable an opportunity of being
revenged on him ; and his daughter could not refuse to concur with him in it, as a means
by which she might re-ascend to that high degree of grandeur from which she was so
lately fallen, and at the same time avenge herself and her murdered husband ‡. Accord-
ingly, after remaining a few days in the camp, she appeared with a splendid retinue in
the tent of the pretended *Demetrius*, whom she acknowledged for her husband, and treated,
to all outward appearance, with the same kindness and respect as if he had been really so.
This public testimonial brought over to the impostor numbers who had doubted till then ;
and the news of it being soon spread, almost all *Russia* declared for him, except *Moscow*,
Novogrod, and *Smolenskow* §.

THE king of *Poland*, taking advantage of the confused situation of *Russia*, in order
to recover the places that had once belonged to his crown, laid siege to *Smolenskow*. *Zuski*,
thus attacked on all sides, and on the point of being driven from the throne, now accepted
the late offers of the *Swedes*, and agreed (C) to relinquish to them for ever, *Kexholm*, and
all pretensions to *Livonia*, on condition of their sending him five thousand men, whom he
was to pay, under the command of count *James de la Gardie* *. With these succours,
which came just in time, *Zuski* was enabled to make head against the pretended *Demetrius*,
but durst not hazard a battle to relieve *Smolenskow*. *Sigismund* himself eased him in this
distress : for rightly judging, that if *Zuski* should be entirely ruined, the *Russians* would
probably substitute in his stead the feigned *Demetrius*, of whom he wanted to make no
other use than to hinder them from assisting *Sweden*, which he intended to attack ; he re-
called the *Poles* that served under the pretended *Demetrius*, who thereupon fled to *Caluga* †.
By this means the siege of *Moscow* was raised : and *Zuski* gained a sort of respite, till his
subjects, weary of him and his government, considering the train of misfortunes that had
attended his reign during five years, and imputing all their calamities to him, as to a per-
son visibly disliked by heaven, resolved to chuse themselves a new master. Accordingly,
after many debates, they offered the crown to *Uladislaus*, the son of *Sigismund* king of *Pol-
land* ; hoping by his means to save *Smolenskow*, to destroy *Demetrius*, and to establish peace :
and perhaps too, from their natural antipathy to the *Polanders*, with a resolution to get rid
of him as soon as their end should be answered.

* PETR. p. 403. § PIASEC. p. 303. PETR. p. 406. I.UDOLPH. tom. i. p. 254. † PIASEC.
p. 304. PETR. p. 407. LUDOLPH. ubi supra. ‡ PIASEC. ubi supra. KOBIERZ. Hist. Uladisl.
p. 71. § PETR. p. 409. PIASEC. p. 305. * PETR. p. 411. LOCCEN. lib. viii. p. 507.
§ KOBIERZ. p. 150. PETR. p. 428. PIASEC. p. 314.

(C) By a treaty concluded at *Wiburgh*.

a *ULADISLAUS* accepted the crown, *Zuski* was deposed, shaved, and put into a monastery^a, from whence he was taken to be delivered to the *Poles*, with all his family, and soon after died of grief^a, or, as some say, by poison. *Demetrius* made head against the *Poles* for some time, till he was massacred at a feast by the *Tartars*, to revenge the death of *Kasimowski* their chief, who had been drowned by his order. His party however, still subsisted for some years; for not only *Zarveki*, the general of the *Cosaks*, proclaimed his son, whom several of the *Russians* acknowledged^b, upon *Zarveki*'s promise to assist them in driving away the *Poles*; but a new impostor took the name and place of *Demetrius*.

A. D. 1610.
Uladislaus
chosen czar:
Zuski de-
throned: and
the pretended
Demetrius
killed.

b This was the clerk of an office, whose real name history has not preserved: but we are told, he was a man of intrigue, bold, enterprising, and who wanted neither wit nor conduct^c. He first appeared in the province of *Novogrod*, where he gave himself out for the true *Demetrius*, the same who had escaped from the hands of the assassins employed by *Boris*, from *Zuski* at *Moscow*, and from the snares of the *Tartars* at *Caluga*. Numbers of soldiers joined him; and such crowds of the meaner people flocked to him by degrees, that he was almost astonished himself to find how strong he was grown. He carried his boldness so far as to send an ambassador to *Charles IX.* of *Sweden*, to demand succours from him, by virtue of the alliance between the two states; and published a manifesto to engage those whom he called his true subjects, to return to their obedience.

A fourth pre-
tended Deme-
trius,

c THE king of *Sweden*, amazed to see this *Demetrius* arising every moment, like a phoenix from his ashes, ordered *Petreius*, who had often seen *Griska Utropeja*, to examine who he was: but the new *Demetrius*, being apprised of this, feigned himself out of order, and sent the *Swedish* minister to his principal secretary, who was then at *Iwanogorod*, where all the country had acknowledged him. *Petreius* desired him to acquaint his master that he had secret affairs, of great importance to communicate to him: but it was of greater importance to him not to be seen; so that the *Swede* was obliged to go away without speaking to him, or being able to determine any thing farther, than that he believed him an impostor. However, he carried on his scheme for some time; till at last some of his own party betrayed him, and sent him in chains to *Moscow*, where he was hanged^d.

who is hanged.

d WHILE *Sigismund* still doubted within himself, whether he should consent to his son's accepting the crown of *Russia*, his ambition being to make a conquest of that empire, he pressed *Smolensko*, which had now sustained a siege of near two years, to surrender to him; to which the governor replied, that he was ready to open the gates to the czar *Uladislaus*. This not satisfying *Sigismund*, who wanted the surrender to be made to him, that he might re-unite it to his crown, and the *Polish* troops before the place beginning to grow weary and dissatisfied, orders were given for a general assault. The attack was made in the night of the 13th of *July*; when the principal inhabitants, finding that their enemies would infallibly over-power them, retired, with all their most valuable effects, into a church, under which they laid a sufficient quantity of gun-powder, and blew themselves up^e. The flames soon communicated to all the other buildings; so that the *Poles*, who entered it sword-in-hand, in about four hours time, became masters of a city reduced to ashes, and almost depopulated; upwards of two hundred thousand of its inhabitants having perished during the siege.

A. D. 1611.
Smolenskow
taken by the
Poles.

f THE *Poles* were continually representing to their king, that the *Russians* sought only to deceive him, and that it would be glorious for him to be the conqueror of their country, than only the father of their czar. In consequence of this idea, tho' he had promised that *Uladislaus* should soon go to *Moscow* to receive the homage of his new subjects, yet he deferred his departure from day to day, and sent in his stead such numbers of *Poles*, that upwards of ten thousand of them were reckoned in the city of *Moscow* alone; a number sufficient amply to revenge the late massacre of their countrymen. The *Polish* general, *Stanislaus Solkowski*, likewise received, in the mean time, the oath of allegiance from the *Russians*, in the name of *Uladislaus*; and, with their consent, which he found means artfully to obtain, put a thousand men in garrison in the castle of *Moscow*. At length, however, the continued delays of the departure of *Uladislaus*, the insolence of the *Poles*, who had forgot how dear their licentiousness had cost them a few years before, and the impatience of the *Russians*, who saw no end of their miseries, all together, spurred them on to meet in great numbers in the place before the castle, where they loudly complained of the outrages they had received from the *Poles*, who ought to have protected and defended them; adding at the same time, that they should be forced to use those remedies which nature

Dreadful in-
surrection at
Moscow.

^a KOBIERZ. p. 289. LUDOLPH. tom. i. p. 335. PETR. ubi supra.

Ludolph. tom. i. p. 375.

^b KOBIERZ. p. 292.

^c OLEAR. lib. iii.

^a PIASEC. p. 327. & ex eo

^d PETR. p. 462

& 475. Relation curieuse de l'Etat. present de Moscovie, p. 457, & seq.

^e KOBIERZ. p. 404.

PIASEC. p. 324. LUDOLPH. tom. i. p. 375.

had put into their hands for their safety, if some better course were not taken. *Solkouski* did all that was in his power to appease them, and even punished severely some of the most culpable among the *Poles*: but this did not satisfy the *Russians*; and the *Polanders*, apprehending a general insurrection, redoubled their guards, and forbade the *Russians* to assemble or bear arms. Incensed at this, they all rose, and met in several parts of the city, in order to oblige the *Poles* to divide their forces. Some parties of the latter, not thinking themselves strong enough to resist, had recourse to an horrid expedient to divert their enemies. They set fire to the city, which then consisted of above one hundred and eighty thousand houses, in three or four different places; and while its distressed inhabitants ran to the assistance of their wives and children, they fell upon them on all sides, and made so dreadful a slaughter, that all the streets were covered with dead bodies. At least one hundred thousand souls perished either by the fire or the sword^f. The czar's treasury was plundered, as well as the churches and convents, from whence the *Poles* took an incredible quantity of gold, silver, and precious stones, which they sent into their own country: even their common men got such riches, that, it is said, some of them loaded their pistols with large pearls^g. About seven thousand *Poles*, who had committed all this mischief, lorded it over the ashes of *Moscow* for fifteen days; at the end of which, leaving a garrison in the castle, but imprudently neglecting to supply it with provisions, they evacuated the ruined city, and went to their king, whom they obliged to advance their pay^h.

The Poles lose
all footing in
Russia.

In the mean time *Zachary Lippenow*, a brave and resolute *Russian*, putting himself at the head of an army raised in haste, laid close siege to the *Poles* in the castle of *Moscow*ⁱ. King *Sigismund*, now master of *Smolenskow*, might easily have sent them succours, and thereby have secured his footing in *Russia*; but he returned into *Poland*, without giving the besieged any assistance, either in men or money; and when he, shortly after, undertook to retrieve his affairs in the empire he had left, none of his designs succeeded, on account of the jealousy of his generals^k. The *Poles* blocked up the citadel of *Moscow*, made several vigorous sallies; but were at length reduced to such miseries, by hunger, that they offered to surrender, on condition that they should be allowed to march home unmolested. The *Russians* agreed to these terms, but basely broke their word, and put most of them to the sword^l. With this place *Sigismund* lost all that he had in *Russia*.

A. D. 1613.
The Russians
proceed to the
election of a
new czar.

ULADISLAUS's election to the crown was set aside, on account of his not coming to accept it; and as soon as the bojars and senators saw the state a little at rest, they proceeded to the choice of a new sovereign. Some of the members of the assembly which met on this occasion, opened the debate, which recommending to the rest, above all things to have such a regard for the welfare of their country in giving their votes, as to avoid all foundation for future troubles; admonishing them, that though the intention of those who were for promoting the interest of a foreign prince might be good, and believed by them to be for the advantage of the empire, yet they might be mistaken, and thereby subject *Russia* to endless woes; that, in electing one of their own body, they ought to take care not to chuse a person whose relations were too numerous, or who had been instrumental in the late unhappy troubles, by which many had made themselves friends, and others enemies, and therefore might easily be the cause of new disturbances: and lastly, that whoever was chosen, should agree to certain conditions drawn up by the assembly, and not be crowned till he had solemnly sworn to observe them.

AFTER several had been named, and rejected, one of the electors proposed *Michael Theodorowitz Romanow*, son of the archbishop of *Rostow*, a youth of seventeen years of age, who was with his mother in a convent at *Castruma*; his father *Theodore Nikitiz Romanow*, or *Philaret*, as he was called, upon his being obliged to take orders, as we observed before, being then a prisoner in *Poland*, whither he had been sent on an embassy^m. This proposal soon gained the approbation of many; and particularly of the people: for in this prince were centered all the circumstances necessary to preserve the tranquility of the state. There were but three males of his family living; he had not been concerned in the late troubles; and his father, being a prelate of known piety and virtue, would rather advise peace, than endeavour to excite new divisions; of which he had given proof, by a letter he found means to convey from his prison to his wife's brother *Czeremetoff*, wherein he exhorted him, as a general and a senator, earnestly to consider the good of the empire, and to persuade the rest of the senate to do the same.

CZEREMETOFF, or, as that family now spell their name, *Sberemetow*, laid this letter before the assembly, whom it immediately determined to fix upon the good archbishop's

^f PIASEC. p. 323. KOBIER. p. 374. PETR. p. 34. OLEARIUS, lib. iii. LUDOLPH. tom. i. p. 374.
^g PETR. p. 40, & seq. ^h KOBIER. p. 381. ⁱ Idem, p. 424. PIASEC. p. 325. ^k KOBIER.
p. 450, 453. PIASEC. p. 378. PUFFENDORF. p. 577. PETREIUS, p. 478. LUDOLPH. tom. i. p. 411.
^l KOBIER. Hist. Uladisl. lib. vii. p. 441, 450. PIASECH. Chron. p. 277. ^m PUFFEND. p. 580.
KOBIER. p. 469. PIASEC. ubi supra. OLEAR. lib. iii. cap. 3. LUDOLPH. p. 463.

a son; a choice which none could object to, though no one present could certify any thing as to his personal qualifications. The noblemen of *Castruma* who were present at the election, had indeed seen him, but could only say, that they believed him good-natured, temperate, pious, and discreet for his age. The assembly was neither willing to set him aside on account of his youth, nor to decide absolutely in his favour, till they were acquainted with his character, and had seen him; for which reason they deputed two of their number to his mother, with a letter, desiring she would send her son to *Moscow*.

b THE tender mother no sooner learnt this purport of their message, than she began to weep and lament her misfortune, in that her only son was to be taken from her to share the fate of so many czars, who had been miserably slaughtered. Full of this idea, she wrote a letter to her brother *Czeremetoff*, earnestly requesting him to use his endeavours with the senate, that her son might be excused, as being too young to be fit for so high a dignity, and having no relations able to assist him with their good advice, as he himself, as well as they, would find, but perhaps too late; wherefore she intreated him to prevail on the electors to think of some other person, more capable to govern both himself and the empire.

c THIS letter, and the report of the deputies, caused a warm debate in the assembly; many taking it amiss, that a woman should thus oppose the will of the representatives of the state; whilst others, considering her reasons, and that she was not ambitious of having her son promoted to the crown, were the more confirmed in the opinion they had conceived of him.

d *CZEREMETOFF*, actuated by much weightier reasons than those which influenced his sister, prudently dissembled, saying, he would not concern himself in the matter: but, at the same time, he worked effectually under-hand, to bring about this election, which seemed to him the only thing that could save his country, and persuaded the metropolitan of *Moscow* to insist upon chusing young *Romanow*. Accordingly the prelate, expecting, undoubtedly, to advance his own interest by it, repaired one day early to the assembly, and declared, with a solemn asseveration, that he had had a revelation; and that, if the *Russians* wished to have a prosperous prince to rule over them, they could not chuse a better than the son of the archbishop of *Rostow*. This declaration had such an effect, that the whole assembly instantly desired *Czeremetoff* to write once more to his sister, and beg of her to let her son come to *Moscow*. To this *Czeremetoff*, fearful lest his nephew should be disapproved of if he came to *Moscow*, either on account of his youth, or for other reasons that might possibly occur to the electors, but could not then be foreseen, politicly answered, with a feigned humility, "I must not oppose the will of God, nor the opinion of this assembly: though I think some regard ought to be paid to the mother's endeavours to avert the election of her son. For my part I will be neutral; lest any one should think I have more regard for my relations, than for the good of the empire, and that I may have a clear conscience before God and this assembly, in case any misfortunes should happen on account of his youth."

e THIS speech, accompanied with many tears, had such an effect, that even those who had been against the election of the young prince, now cried out: "Why should we use so many intreaties in this case, since we have such full power from the Almighty? As to his youth, God, who has chosen him, will also protect him. Let us therefore no longer debate the matter, but acknowledge him our sovereign." With these words they went to the church, and proclaimed him, to the great joy of all that were present, especially the common people, who were mightily taken with the pretended revelation.

f S E C T. III.

From the Accession of the now reigning Family of ROMANOW.

MICHAEL THEODOROWITZ begun his reign with taking every step that prudence could suggest to appease the troubles of his empire, and strike at the root from whence it was apprehended others might arise. His temper was sweet and engaging; he delighted in the arts of peace, and was resolved, if possible, to efface the remembrance of all the cruelties of his predecessors.

A. D. 1613.
Michael
Theodoro-
witz czar.

As soon as he had notified his election to the king of *Poland*, his father, the archbishop of *Rostow*, was immediately set at liberty, and sent home. *Michael* received him as the best of parents; created him patriarch of all *Russia*, upon the death of the then head of

Makes his fa-
ther patriarch
of Russia.

the church of that empire, which happened soon after; constantly treated him with the utmost respect and filial piety; consulting him in all affairs of importance, and gave him the first place in all public assemblies: marks of respect which added greatly to the dignity of the patriarch's office, highly revered before.

Hostilities of
the Swedes in
Russia.

WE have already observed, that *Charles IX.* of *Sweden* had sent to assist the czar *Zuski* against the *Poles*: but the *Russians* not seconding *Janes de la Gardie*, as they ought to have done, he retired with several hundred *Swedes* and *Finlanders*, to seek, at least to make good, the expences the king his master had been at. With this view, he endeavoured to seize on the places which *Zuski* had promised him, and pressed the *Russians*, in particular, to evacuate *Kexholm*: but instead of complying with his demand, they took from his courier the instrument of the treaty he had made with them, which he was sending into *Sweden*, and refused him entrance into *Novogorod*. This perfidy determined *de la Gardie* to take by force, what he found he could not obtain otherwise: and accordingly, having received a reinforcement from *Sweden*, under the command of *Evert Horn*, he made himself master of *Ladoga* and *Kexholm*, and, re-entering *Russia*, invested *Novogorod*, at the time when they were deliberating at *Moscow* about setting aside the election of *Uladislaus*°. He then proposed prince *Charles Philip* of *Sweden* to succeed him, and some of the principal men in the country gave him hopes that this might be brought about: but having observed the irresolution and inconstancy of the *Russians*, he thought he might push the affair with a better prospect of success, if he appeared in a condition to be able to support him. He therefore attacked *Novogorod*, and took it by assault. Those who fled to the castle were allowed to capitulate, on condition of their putting themselves under the protection of *Sweden*, and electing for their sovereign his brother, who, on his side, was to allow them the free exercise of their religion, and to defend them against all their enemies. After this *de la Gardie* put a garrison in this fortress, and took the oaths of all the *Russians* who were found in the city; upon which the people of *Novogorod* sent deputies to offer the crown to prince *Charles Philip*°. But while these things passed, *Charles IX.* died, and his son *Gustavus Adolphus* succeeded him.

Gustavus
Adolphus be-
comes king of
Sweden.

GUSTAVUS, who was much embarrassed with the wars of *Denmark* and *Poland*, not answering the solicitations of the *Russians* so warmly as they expected, all the interest of *Charles Philip* would soon have been suppressed, if *la Gardie* had not taken uncommon pains to preserve it. At length, peace being made at *Knaredb* between *Sweden* and *Denmark*, *Gustavus* thought seriously on the offers of the *Russians*, and believed there was the more likelihood of success, as all the northern part of the *Russian* empire seemed much inclined to a *Swedish* prince. He therefore, receiving fresh solicitations from the people of *Novogorod*, answered with great civility, and assured them that he would soon be with them. The *Russians*, observing that he made no mention of his brother, immediately judged that his design was to annex their empire to his own crown, which was far from being their intention. They therefore, desiring to have a prince of their own, without being under the power of the *Swedes*, and judging that both states could not be well governed by one sovereign in their then situation, answered *Gustavus* with much respect, requesting him to send his brother *Charles Philip* to them without delay, as his majesty had too much employment upon his hands in his own kingdom, to have time to re-establish the affairs of *Russia*, which were in the greatest disorder and confusion.

The prince of
Sweden misses
the crown of
Russia.

No opportunity could have been more favourable: but it was lost; either because the king could not bear to see his brother on the throne of so powerful an empire; or that the queen, his mother, feared to expose him to the inconstant temper of the *Russians*; or that the *Swedish* nobility, who had conceived a jealousy of *la Gardie*, did what they could to prevent an affair of such importance being brought about by a foreigner.

IN the mean time the *Swedish* troops did not remain idle in *Russia*. Their general *Slange* took *Notteburg* by agreement, in the name of prince *Charles Philip*, the intended czar: *Evert Horn*, in the same manner, made himself master of *Coporie*, *Jamagrod*, and *Augdow*, and formed a design upon *Pleskow*, but miscarried in it.

THE *Russians* had waited, with impatience, for the prince of *Sweden*: but disgusted at the indifference, or rather contempt, with which they were treated, their inclinations towards him began to cool; especially when they thought they had reason to suspect, that *Gustavus* sought rather to extend the limits of his own kingdom, than to procure the empire of *Russia* for his brother, and assist them in retrieving their shattered affairs. This reason made them proceed to the election which fell upon *Michael Theodorowitz*, in spite of all the opposition that could be made by *la Gardie*, whose activity among the people of *Novo-*

° PIASEC. p. 284. KOBIERZ. p. 461, & seq.
p. 464. PUFFEND. p. 581. PETR. p. 480.

° PIASEC. ubi supra. KOBIERZ. p. 476. LUDOLPH.
° Autores supra citati.

a gored was such, that he engaged them to take a fresh oath of allegiance to prince Charles Philip, whom the king, his brother, at length, sent to Wyburg, when it was too late^r.

LA GARDIE, having at the same time received succours from Sweden, reinforced the garrison of Novgorod, the inhabitants of which place sent deputies to the prince, to congratulate him on his arrival at Wyburg, and desired him to honour them with his presence. But the counsellors, whom Gustavus had sent with his brother, would not consent to that, pretending, that all the cities in the empire should send deputies, to shew that they were satisfied with the election, and that the disturbances in the state should first be quieted. The Russians persisted, that the prince ought to come and shew himself at Novgorod, which had formerly been the capital of a particular monarchy, separated from the rest of Russia; or at least, that he should go to Iwanogorod, that it might be said he had taken possession of the empire. But neither of these points could be obtained. The Swedish counsellors kept to their instructions, and the Russian deputies retired; though not till after they had consented to renew their oath of allegiance to prince Charles Philip^s.

THE instructions of the prince's counsellors imported also, that if the Russians would not do what was expected from them, the Swedes should seize on the whole province of Novgorod. But la Gardie wisely representing, that this would be impracticable with their few forces, and that it would serve only to draw upon them insults from the Russians, no attempt of that kind was made. On the contrary, Charles Philip, after sending again for the deputies of Novgorod, and reproaching them with the perfidy of their countrymen, resigned to the king, his brother, all his rights to the crown of Russia, in consequence of his having been freely elected to it, and immediately went back to Sweden; by which means the fury of war was kindled between the two nations, instead of the projected union, which miscarried only by neglecting the proper time.

THE czar sent an army against the Swedes, and at the same time he dispatched ambassadors to England, Germany, Denmark and Holland, to notify his accession to the throne; but above all to complain of the conduct of the Swedes^t. La Gardie defeated eight thousand Russians near Brunitz, where they were advantageously encamped to cut off his communication with Novgorod, and again reduce Stara Russia. Evert Horn besieged Augdow, which the Russians had surprised^u; and Gustavus returned to Sweden, where the situation of affairs required his presence. La Gardie accompanied him, and the management of the war in Russia was left, during their absence, to colonel Jasper Andersen Crausen, field-marshal Evert Horn, and Magnus Martensen Palmen, with power also to treat about peace^w.

THOUGH the Russians were greatly distressed, they still demanded terms which the Swedes could not agree to. Gustavus wished for peace; but at the same time thought himself intitled to advantageous conditions. To this end, he had recourse to the English ambassador, who was then at the czar's court; and to give weight to his remonstrances, he came back the next year to Narva, and ordered his troops to besiege Pleskow^x. Evert Horn, with thirty of his men, was killed in the very first attack, in which the Russians lost about seven hundred^y. The czar sent an army of twenty-four thousand men to relieve the place: but Gustavus leaving a sufficient force to continue the siege, met them with the rest of his troops, and attacked them with such bravery, that he killed nine thousand on the spot^z. Pleskow continued to make a brave defence, till, winter coming on, and contrary winds having prevented the arrival of the heavy artillery of the Swedes, Gustavus was obliged to raise the siege.

AT length the differences between the two crowns were mutually submitted to the mediation of England, whose minister, sir John Merrick, accordingly opened the conferences with the Russians at Glebova; where a truce was agreed to, with the preliminary articles of a peace, which was concluded in the beginning of the next year (D) at Stolbowa, a village between Tiffina and Ladoga^a. By this treaty, the czar yielded up to the king of Sweden, Kexholm, and its dependencies, with Ingria; an acquisition which enabled the Swedes to make a strong rampart on that side of Russia, and cut the Russians off from all communication with the Baltic sea: though these last comforted themselves for that loss, by seeing their

A. D. 1615.
The Swedes
gain several
advantages in
Russia.

A. D. 1617.
Peace concluded
at Stolbowa

^r PUFFEND. ubi supra.
LUDOLPH. p. 516, 518.
PETR. p. 486.
lib. viii. p. 530.

^s PUFFEND. p. 582. PETR. p. 481.

^u PUFFEND. p. 587. PERT. p. 486.

^x LOCCEN. lib. viii. p. 529.

^a PUFFEND. p. 591. LOCCEN. p. 530.

^t PUFFEND. p. 586.

^w PUFFEND. p. 588.

^z LOCCEN.

(D) On the 13th of February, 1617.

commerce increase daily in the *White Sea*, by means of the *English* and *Dutch*, with whom they chose to traffic, rather than with any other nations (E). a

Uladislaus invades Russia.

A. D. 1618.
Makes a truce for fourteen years.

A. D. 1625.
Michael Theodorowitz marries.

A. D. 1630.
Birth of the czarowitz Alexis.
The Dutch send an embassy to the czar.

Reception of the ambassadors.

THE czar now turned his whole attention towards re-establishing order and tranquility in his empire, and remedying the abuses that had crept in during the late troubles. There remained no enemies abroad, but the *Poles*; and they were too fully employed by the *Turks*, to give him much uneasiness then: but as soon as their hands were at liberty on that side, they bent all their forces against *Russia*, which prince *Uladislaus* entered at the head of a numerous army, pretending, that, by virtue of his election, the *Russians* ought to acknowledge him for their sovereign. They, on the contrary, reproached him with having abandoned them, and said, that his refusing to come into *Russia*, when his presence was absolutely necessary, discharged them from their oaths of allegiance to him. He penetrated to the very gates of *Moscow*, and let his *Cossaks* ravage all the adjacent country: but finding, at length, that the *Russians* were determined to support their new czar *Michael*, he consented to an accommodation, and concluded a truce at *Diwielina*, for fourteen years, the basis of which was, that each should enjoy what he was then actually possessed of^b. b

RUSSIA was now at peace with all her neighbours, and the czar in a condition to execute the prudent and salutary measures he was taking for the prosperity of his people. One of these was, his marrying, that they might have an heir to the crown, of his own blood. His choice fell upon *Eudocia*, the daughter of *Lucojan Streschnew*, a poor, but virtuous gentleman, whom the czar's messengers sent to acquaint him with the elevation of his daughter, found, as we have already related, helping his own domestics to cultivate his patrimonial inheritance, at the distance of near two hundred miles from *Moscow*. *Streschnew* was ordered to court, and created a bojar; but soon preferred the sweets of his rural retreat, to which he begged leave to retire. c

EUDOCIA, as virtuous as she was fair, soon gained the love of the whole nation by her prudent conduct. The religion of her country, and innocence, when distressed, always found in her a sure patroness: the poor never applied in vain. In the first year of her marriage she had a daughter, and afterwards successively three more. The czar, taking it very much to heart that she had not borne him a son, began to think of being divorced from her: but his mother prevailed upon the senate to endeavour to divert him from that resolution; and they succeeded so well, that he altered his mind. The very next year, she was delivered of a prince, who was christened by the name of *Alexis*, and became the bond of inseparable union between his happy parents. p

SHORTLY after the birth of the czarowitz *Alexis*, two ambassadors arrived at *Moscow* from the States General of the *United Provinces*, to treat about affairs of trade. The *Dutch* had, for many years, found the way to *Archangel*, where their traffic consisted chiefly in exporting tallow, saltpetre, corn, and skins; but the *English*, jealous of them, endeavoured to obstruct their commerce. Their factors there now found it difficult to send any corn from thence, on account of the high duties demanded by the *Swedes*, who were masters of the *Baltic*; and there being a great scarcity in *Holland*, at this time, their high mightinesses, at the request of several merchants, resolved to send an embassy to the czar, to endeavour to gain some new advantages with respect to this article. e

THE ambassadors were received at the distance of about three miles from *Moscow*, by a bojar and a diack, accompanied with some hundreds of other noblemen and gentlemen, magnificently cloathed, and sent by the czar to compliment them on their arrival. They made their public entry into *Moscow* in two of the czar's sledges, with the same honours as the ambassadors of crowned heads. On the day appointed for their audience, they were preceded by near six hundred persons, who carried the presents designed for the czar, the czarowitz (F), and the patriarch, consisting of arms, jewels, and rich stuffs. Their gentlemen were mounted on white *Persian* horses, taken out of the czar's stables, and marched two and two before those who publicly carried the credential letters. The ambassadors themselves were in a sledge of the czar's, lined with crimson satin, and two pristaffs, or introducers, were each in a sledge beside them. They were conducted in this manner to the palace, through all the garrison under arms, and were received at the entrance of the hall of audience by a knez and a diack. When they entered, the proper officer proclaimed with a loud voice that they were the ambassadors from the most high and mighty lords the states f

^b PUFFEND. ubi supra. LUDOLPH. p. 561.

^c STRAHLENBERG, cap. 4. OLEAR. lib. iii.

(E) As most of the writers who have hitherto been our guides, bring their accounts no lower down than to this peace, with which, indeed, many of them were contemporaries; the reader must not expect the sanction of equal authorities for every event in the future part of this history, over which great darkness still prevails; owing chiefly to the incommunicative temper of the

Russians, particularly in regard to the affairs of their empire.

(F) The title of Czarowitz is given only to the czar's son, and to the descendants of the ancient czars of *Siberia*; other *Russian* princes being stiled Knezes. A czarina is called, in the *Russian* language, Czaritza; and a princess of the blood, Czarewna.

- a general, and from the great prince of *Orange*. The czar was seated on his throne, with his crown upon his head, enriched with diamonds and pearls, the sceptre in his hand, and cloathed with a robe finely embroidered with gold. On his right hand was the patriarch, his father, in the habit of an ecclesiastic, having on his head a globe of gold surmounted with a cross: at his left hand was a gilt pyramid, upon which was a crown, to represent the czarowitz; and at his feet were four stolwicks, or pages of the table, in white robes and white bonnets, with chains of gold about their necks, a cross hanging at their breasts, and a golden hatchet on their shoulders. All round the hall were seated the kneezes, ministers, bojars, and fifteen bishops in their pontifical robes. When the ambassadors came near the throne, the chancellor told them, that his czarish majesty permitted them the honour of kissing his hand. They then delivered their credentials, and made a long speech, in which, among other things, they congratulated him, in the name of their high mightinesses, and the prince of *Orange*, upon the birth of the czarowitz.

- b This embassy gave the czar occasion to send one in his turn, to the states of the united-provinces; the rather as, the truce with *Poland* being near expiring, he foresaw that he should want the arms, and other ammunition, which their high mightiness had offered him by their ambassadors, as an acknowledgement for his granting them the contract of corn which they desired: and indeed, before his ambassadors could arrive there, he sent an officer, named *Lesty*, to *Holland*, with orders to purchase military stores, and to raise troops. The ambassadors, when they came, requested succours of men and money: but the public, c drained by a war of sixty years against *Spain*, and not in a condition to comply with their desire, could only grant them leave to buy and send away arms and ammunition, without paying the usual duties to the government.

A. D. 1631.
The czar sends an embassy to the States General.

- d THE *Poles* had manifestly violated the truce concluded at *Dixvelina*: for their prince *Uladislaus* not only claimed the title of czar, which he was to have relinquished; but the troops made continual incursions into the *Russian* provinces bordering upon *Poland*, and actually seized on several places in them. Frequent complaints were made on this account to the diet of *Poland*; but no sort of satisfaction could be obtained. Incensed at this procedure, and at the behaviour of the *Polanders*, who were continually sending priests of the *Romish* communion into *Russia*, where they left no method untried to make converts to that persuasion, the czar resolved to declare war against *Poland*, without waiting for the expiration of the truce, and the rather as he had received ambassadors from *Sweden*, and the grand signior, who seemed likewise highly exasperated against *Poland*.

The Poles violate the truce with the Russians:

who therefore declare war against them.

- e JUST as the war was, in which the czar engaged, it was not successful. An army of one hundred thousand *Russians*, commanded by *Michael Borissowitz Szekin*, besieged *Smolenskow*, but were defeated with great slaughter, and obliged to raise the siege; *Uladislaus*, who had succeeded his father *Sigismund III.* coming to the relief of that important place, with a vast force. The conqueror, pursuing his advantage, entered *Russia* the next year, and laid siege to *Biela*, while his *Tartars* made incursions on all sides. *Szekin*, and his camp-marshal *Ishmael Gossen*, were accused of not having behaved well before *Smolenskow*, and lost their heads: but this act of justice did not re-establish the affairs of the czar, whose counsellors advised him to make peace with *Uladislaus*. A negotiation was accordingly begun, and at length, with much difficulty, brought to a conclusion; *Uladislaus* renouncing the title of czar, in consideration of *Michael Theodorowitz's* yielding to his son for ever, the provinces of *Smolenskow* and *Czernickew*, with their dependencies.

A. D. 1633.
But are defeated.

A. D. 1634.

Peace concluded between the Russians and Poles.

- f A LITTLE before this (G), *Michael* lost the best of friends in the person of the patriarch *Theodore*, or *Philarct Nikititz Romanow*, his father, and principal counsellor. He had always so great a respect for this venerable parent, that, besides giving him the highest rank next the throne, his name was constantly inserted with the czar's in all public acts, which ran in the name of the czar *Michael Theodorowitz*, and his majesty's father, the most holy patriarch. As he had joined the mitre to the sword, having been a general in the army before he was an ecclesiastic, the affable and modest behaviour, so becoming the ministers of the altar, had tempered and corrected the fire of the warrior, and rendered his manners amiable to all that came near him. He had been an eye-witness to all the revolutions that had happened from the time of the death of *John Basilowitz II.* whose consort was his aunt. He had profited by all the errors committed by the czars *Theodore*, *Boris*, *Demetrius*, *Zuski*, and *Uladislaus*; and had drawn from their conduct such lessons, for the instruction of his son, as effectually made him appear without any of the faults of his predecessors, unless it be, that he had too high an idea of his own power, which made him neglect to cultivate those alliances with his neighbours, which might have enabled him to execute great things, especially in the then situation of affairs between *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and *Poland*.

Death and character of the czar's father.

(G) Towards the end of the year 1633.

THE

Embassy from
the duke of
Holstein to
the czar.

THE peace between the *Russians* and the *Polcs* had not been concluded above two months, before an embassy arrived at *Moscow* from *Frederick* duke of *Holstein-Sleswick* (H), who had built the city of *Frederickstadt* upon the *Eyder*, where he was desirous to establish that important branch of commerce, the silk-trade; to derive which, advantageously, from its source in *Persia*, it was necessary for him to maintain a correspondence between his little court and that of the sophy. His views were to carry on this commerce either by the way of *Narva* or *Archangel*: but that could not be done without leave of the czar to bring his merchandise through *Russia*. Such was the object of this embassy, which arrived at *Moscow*, soon after another from *Sweden* on the same subject. The czar granted to the duke of *Holstein* what he refused to several princes; perhaps because he was pretty well satisfied that the undertaking could not succeed.

Morosou ap-
pointed gover-
nor to the czar-
owitz.

THE peace which the *Russians* now enjoyed, enabled their czar to apply himself more than ever to regulate the disorders of the state, and look into the concerns of his own family; for the welfare of which it was of high importance to provide for the education of the czarowitz, who was to succeed him in the throne. With this view, he appointed for his governor *Boris Iwanowitz Morosou*, whom we shall find acting a great part under the reign of his pupil.

MICHAEL THEODOROWITZ was so respected by his neighbours, for his equity, prudence, and piety, that, during the remainder of his life, his court was constantly graced with ambassadors from all the princes about him, as well in *Asia* as *Europe*, who courted the friendship of so great a monarch. Even the *Cossaks*, ill treated by the *Polish* nobility, against whom they were often obliged to take up arms in order to preserve the privileges they had acquired by their services against the *Turks* and *Tartars*, offered to put themselves under his protection, and assist him to take vengeance on their then allies, the *Poles*, for the mischiefs they had occasioned in *Russia*. But the czar, religiously adhering to his treaties, and preferring the advantages of peace and tranquility to any acquisitions that might be made by war, declined their proposals, and contented himself with keeping up a good understanding with them.

Death of the
czar Michael
Theodoro-
witz.
A. D. 1646.

THIS pacific prince, deservedly beloved by all his subjects, who looked upon him as their father, died on the 12th of *July* 1645, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-third of his reign^d. He left two children, the czarowitz *Alexis Michaelowitz*, who succeeded him, and the princess *Irene*, who was betrothed to a count of *Holstein*, *Christian Wolmar*, natural son of *Christian IV.* king of *Denmark*, but died in the year 1656, without being married.

Alexis Mi-
chaelowitz
crowned czar.

MOROSOU was too well acquainted with the fickle temper of the *Russians*, to give them time to form designs, or enter into cabals against the heir to the crown, whose youth might perhaps, otherwise have offered them a plausible pretext, for he was but in the sixteenth year of his age. He therefore immediately assembled the knez and bojars, and they crowned *Alexis Michaelowitz* the very next day after the death of his father, without observing the tedious ceremonies usually practised at the coronation of the czars.

Ambition of
his prime mi-
nister Moro-
sou.

AFTER the coronation of the young czar, *Morosou* changed his office of governor, into that of confident and prime-minister; and took upon him the same authority in affairs of state, as he had over the prince in the life-time of his father. The czarina, widow of *Michael Theodorowitz*, died eight days after the coronation of her son, who shewed his regard for her, by the favours he bestowed on all her family: though the ambitious *Morosou*, whose interest it was not to have spies upon his actions about the court, took care that their promotions should be such as kept them at a distance from *Moscow*; while, on the other hand, he introduced his own relations, friends, and creatures on whom he could rely, their fortune depending on his, and placed them about the person of the prince.

MONARCHS can neither see, nor do all things themselves: wherefore a faithful minister, who has the interest of the state, which is really that of the prince, at heart, and sacrifices all private views to the welfare of his country, is an inestimably treasure. It would have been happy for the young czar, if these had been the principles of *Morosou*, who certainly loved him tenderly, but with too much regard to his own interest, and too determined a resolution to be, at least, the first subject in the empire.

To secure his favourite point, he had recourse to two very important measures: the first was, to keep the czar as much as possible from concerning himself in affairs, by continually engaging him in parties of pleasure; and the next, to provide for him a wife, who, being obliged to him for her good fortune, might make her influence over the czar subservient to his purposes. With this view he cast his eyes upon the two daughters of the

^d OLEHR. lib. iii.

(H) The ambassadors were *Philip Crysus* and *Otho Brugman*. *Adam Olearius*, whom we have often quoted, was secretary to this embassy.

- a bojar *Ilia Danilowicz Miloslauski*, a nobleman of small fortune, but strongly attached to him. Both these ladies were extremely handsome, especially the eldest, who was called *Maria Illychna*^c; and *Morosou* resolved to marry himself her whom his master should not make choice of: by which means he would not only become brother-in-law to the czar, who, for that reason, would be the more engaged in his preservation; but, by means of his wife, would be able to insinuate into the czarina, and by her into the czar, whatever he should think proper. This project succeeded. The daughters of *Miloslauski* were invited to court, and the czar no sooner cast his eyes upon the eldest, but he was charmed with her, and, without debating long on the matter, told *Miloslauski*, the same day, that he would honour him with his alliance, and marry his daughter. This compliment was accom-
- b panied with such presents as enabled the whole family of the intended bride to appear at court in a manner suitable to their high station. The czar and the young lady were soon betrothed, according to the custom of the *Russians*, and the nuptial ceremony was performed eight days after, with the utmost magnificence. *Morosou* married the other sister, at the end of another week^f. From this time *Morosou*, now the czar's brother-in-law, and his father-in-law, *Miloslauski*, associating themselves with *Leponti Stepanowicz Plesseou*, first judge of the *Smenskoi Duor*, or principal court of judicature in *Moscow*, formed a kind of triumvirate, which, for a while, governed the whole *Russian* empire.
- TOWARDS the end of the reign of the czar *Michael Theodorowicz*, a daring impostor appeared in *Poland*, and pretended to be the son of the great duke *Basilus Iwanowicz Zuski*.
- c His real name was *Timoska Ankudina*, and he was the son of one *Demko*, or *Demetrius Ankudina*, a linen-draper at *Wologda*, where he was born. *Demko*, perceiving somewhat more than ordinary in this child, had him brought up to reading and writing, in which he soon made such progress, as to pass for a very extraordinary person among his illiterate countrymen. His voice, and skill in singing hymns at church, recommended him to the archbishop of the place, who took him into his service, in which he behaved so well, that the prelate, conceiving an affection for him, married him to his grand-daughter^g. This alliance, which might have been very advantageous to him, proved his ruin: for he presently began in his letters to assume the quality of son-in-law to the waivode of *Wologda Welicopermia*. Having squandered away his wife's fortune, after the archbishop's death, he went with his
- d family to *Moscow*, where, upon the recommendation of a friend of the archbishop's, he found an employment in the *Nova Zetvert*, an office where those who keep public houses are obliged to take all the liquors they sell. *Timoska* was made receiver there; but lived with such extravagance, that he could not make up his first payment of taxes due to the czar; and as great exactness is expected in all accounts of that kind, he set his invention to work to supply the deficiency, which amounted to two hundred rubels. To this end, he went to one of his fellow officers, named *Basili Gregorowicz Spilki*, who had done him several kindnesses, and told him, that one of the chief merchants of *Wologda*, to whom he was under great obligations, being come to *Moscow*, he had invited him to dinner, and should be glad to let him see his wife, if *Spilki* would do him the favour to lend her his
- e wife's pearls and rings, that he might present her in a condition suitable to his employment. The other immediately complied, without asking any sort of writing or acknowledgement for what he had lent, tho' the jewels were worth above a thousand rubels. *Timoska*, instead of pawning them to make up his accounts, sold them outright, made use of the money, and impudently maintained to his friend, that he had never lent him any thing. *Spilki* arrested him; but could not detain him in prison, for want of a proof of his demand. Shortly after, *Timoska* had some difference with his wife, who often reprimanded him with his perfidiousness, and other vices too shocking to mention: upon which, fearing on one hand to be called to account for what he was in arrear with the czar; and on the other, that his wife might, perhaps turn evidence against him; he sent his son one day to a friend
- f of his, shut his wife up in a stove, and set fire to the house, in which the poor woman was burnt.
- AFTER this, he went into *Poland*, but so secretly, that it was thought at *Moscow* the same fire had consumed him, with the rest of his family. It was about the year 1643 that he went away: but hearing in 1645, that the czar was going to send an embassy to the king of *Poland*, and that his being at *Warsaw* was known in *Russia*, he went in the year 1646 to *Chmielnisky*, general of the *Cossacks*, and begged his protection against the persecutions which he suffered, for no other cause, said he, than that the czar knew he was nearly related to the prince *Basilus Iwanowicz Zuski*.
- He carried on this imposture with such art, and insinuated himself so far into the
- g favour of *Chmielnisky*, that he began to grow considerable; when a *Moscovite* officer, named *Jacob Kossou*, who was sent to this *Cossack* general, happening to know him, advised him to

A. D. 1647.
Thro' whose means the czar marries one sister, and he the other.

A counterfeit Zuski.

Son of a linen-draper.

His first pre-ferment.

Cheats his fellow officer.

Burns his wife

and flies to Poland.

^c STRAHLENBENG, cap. 4.

^f OLEAR, ubi supra.

^g Idem, lib.iii.

return to *Moscow*, and endeavour to make up the sum he owed to the czar, which was not so great but that he might afterwards obtain his pardon, by the intercession of friends; for it was not yet known that he pretended to be the son of the czar *Zuski*.

TIMOSKA, reflecting on this incident, began to think himself not safe in *Poland*; and therefore, in the year 1648, made the best of his way to *Constantinople*, where he abjured the Christian religion, and was circumcised. The fear of punishment for crimes committed at *Constantinople*, drove him from thence to *Rome*, where he became a Roman catholic. From *Rome* he went to *Vienna*, in the year 1650, and from thence into *Transylvania*, to prince *Ragotzky*, who gave him letters of recommendation to *Christina*, queen of *Sweden*. This princess received him kindly, and, giving credit to his story, allowed him an honourable subsistence. The *Russian* merchants then at *Stockholm*, soon acquainted the czar with the imposture that was carrying on by this man, who now stuck not to give out every where, that he was the son of *Basilus Iwanowitz Zuski*. The czar immediately sent *Kossou*, who had seen him with *Chmielniski*, in the *Ukraine*, to desire the queen to deliver up the impostor: but *Timoska*, who knew that inquiry would be made after him, was gone. His man, or rather his companion, whose name was *Kostka*, or *Constantine*, having staid behind on some business, was taken and sent chained to *Moscow*, where *Timoska's* mother and kindred were put to the rack, and some of them executed. Shortly after, *Timoska* himself was discovered at *Reval* in *Livonia*, where the queen ordered him to be arrested; but having found means to escape out of prison, he fled to *Brussels*, and there saw the archduke *Leopold*. From thence he went to *Wittemberg*, and *Leipzig*, where he made profession of the *Lutheran* religion, and writ himself his confession of faith in *Latin*. From thence he went to *Neustadt*, in the duchy of *Holstein*, where *Peter Micklaf*, in consequence of letters from the czar to the duke of *Holstein*, got him secured. He was carried to *Gottorp*, and put under a strong guard, till the czar sent express orders for bringing his person to *Moscow*.

ONE of the messengers sent for this purpose was the very *Spilki*, whom *Timoska* had cheated of his wife's pearls and rings. He desired to see the prisoner and speak to him in the presence of some of the officers of the court: but *Timoska* behaved as if he did not know him, and would not speak the *Moscovite*, but the *Polish* language, purposely to perplex the other, who could not speak it well. *Spilki* asked him, whether his name was not *Timoska Ankudina*, and whether he had not robbed the czar's treasury, and committed several other enormous crimes? To which he replied, that *Timoska Ankudina* might have robbed the czar's treasury, or applied the money to his own use, with which he had no concern; that his name was *Johannes Sinensis*, in the *Polish* language *Zuski*; artfully avoiding even to hint at his former pretence to be the son of *Basilus Iwanowitz Zuski*. But when *Spilki* asked him, whether he did not remember his past life? The other derided him, gave him injurious language, and added that he could not look upon him as a *Poslanick*, since he was only a poor shop-keeper, a seller of pins; alluding to his name, *Spilki*, which signifies a pin-maker.

TIMOSKA, one day intreated the duke of *Holstein*, to appoint his chancellor, and some others of his council, to receive the state of his affairs from his own mouth. They asked him, what house and family he was of? whether he was a-kin to the czar? why the czar persecuted him, and wherein he could any way prejudice him? He answered, "that it was well known his name was *Johannes Sinensis*, in the *Polish* language *Zuski*; that, at his baptism, he had been named *Timotheus*: that he was the son of *Basil Domitian Zuski*, and that he had been so named from a city of *Russia*, called *Suia*: that he was originally a *Moscovite*, but born and brought up in *Poland*, in the province of *Novogarka Severskio*, and that he was hereditary lord of *Hukragina Severska*, upon the frontiers of *Russia*: that the czar was not his kinsman, the czar's father being only a gentleman, whereas his was a prince born; which was the reason why the czar persecuted him: that the khan of *Tartary*, who was then at war with the king of *Poland*, would have employed him in a war against the czar; but he had too great affection for the country of his ancestors, to disturb her quiet: that it was in his power to send above a hundred thousand men into *Russia*; but that God of his goodness had turned his heart from any such attempt."

THE *Poslanick* who came from *Sweden*, having entered into a sort of familiarity with him, had advised him to write to the patriarch, as the most likely person to procure his pardon. He did so; and desired the *Poslanick* to convey his letter, the substance of which was, That he was indeed a *Moscovite*, and had received at his baptism the name of *Timothy*, the diminution of which is *Timoska*. That he had once had a great desire to enter *Russia* with an army of three hundred thousand men; but that the guardian-angel of his country had diverted him from that pernicious design. That he thereupon came to himself, and was now resolved to return to the place of his nativity: that, had he been minded to continue his wicked life, he could easily have got out of prison at *Neustadt*; but that his intention

a was to return to *Moscow* voluntarily, with those whom the czar had appointed to conduct him. The *Postanick*, not doubting but that his producing this letter would extort such a confession as might convince every one present, opened it, and read it in his presence. But he had to do with a man, whom a small matter would not force to betray himself. *Timoska* endeavoured to persuade the duke of *Holstein*, that the *Postanick* was a cheat, and the letter a forgery; for that he had never written it: as a proof of which he immediately wrote another letter, in a stile and character so very different, that the *Postanick*, losing all patience, threw it in his face: whereupon *Timoska* took it up, and tore it to pieces.

b At length, the distraction of his conscience became indisputably apparent in the inconsistency of his depositions, and the declaration he had made, both by word of mouth, and in writing: for one while, he said, he was the son of czar *Basilius Iwanowitz Zuski*; and another, that his father's name was *Basilius Domitian*. Sometimes he would be thought a *Polander*, and would confidently maintain, that he was no *Russian*, and that there was not any thing in his person, language, or manner of life, that could induce a sensible man to think him such. Indeed his beard was trimmed quite differently from the usual fashion of the *Russians*: he spoke the *Latin*, *Italian*, *German*, and *Turkish* languages fluently; and had such an art in counterfeiting all sorts of hands, that it would have been very hard to have convicted him by that which he wrote in his first employment.

Timoska varies in his depositions.

c *TIMOSKA*, preceiving that all his evasions would not serve his turn, fell into despair, and would have killed himself: for, in the way to *Travemunde*, where he was to be shipped off, not far from *Neustadt*, he threw himself headlong from the waggon, and endeavoured to get under the wheels, in hopes of being crushed to death: but the ground being soft and sandy, he received no hurt, the carriage was immediately stopped, and he was put into it again, so fastened that he had no chance of making another escape. He then appeared satisfied; tho' he at the same time tried all the means he could to destroy himself: but he was so narrowly watched, that, at last, being out of all hopes to effect it, his pretended composure of mind was much abated, and on his arrival at *Novogrod*, he fell into a deep melancholy, notwithstanding which, even amidst the greatest tortures, he expressed an admirable constancy, if one may so call the resolute obstinacy in which he persisted with regard to his first depositions: whether he intended thereby to confirm strangers in the opinion he would have imprinted in them, or that he considered within himself, that his confession could not prevent his execution, nor alleviate his doom.

Endeavours to kill himself.

d As soon as he came to *Moscow*, he was put to the torture, in the presence of several of the nobility: but he impudently told them, that, of all the bojars, he would not deign to speak to any one but the *Knez Nikita Iwanowitz Romanow*, with whom, tho' he knew him only by fame, on account of his goodness and courage, he should be glad to have some discourse. While two bojars were gone to fetch *Nikita*, *Timoska* desired somewhat to drink; upon which some *quas* was offered him in a wooden bowl: but he would have e mead, and that in a silver cup; though, after they had so far complied with his humour, he only put it to his lips, and would not drink. Seeing *Nikita* come in with the two bojars, he saluted them, but still affirmed, that he was the son of *Basilius Iwanowitz Zuski*; though it was plainly proved, that he was the son of *Demko Ankudina*, linen-draper at *Wologda*, and that the czar *Zuski* had no children, but only two brothers, both of whom died without issue male.

Is put to the torture.

f WHILST he was first under the torture, his mother was brought to him, and exhorted him to acknowledge his crime. He seemed, at first, to be moved at her presence, but persisted in affirming that he knew her not; no more than he would one *John Pescou*, with whom he had left his son, when he quitted *Russia*. This man represented to him how much he was to blame for behaving as he did; desired him to throw off the masque under which he had cheated the world, and disturbed his country; and conjured him to consider his child, and not rely any longer on illusions and impostures, which would only aggravate his misery, and bring upon him a redoubled weight of the vengeance of the Almighty. This affected him to such a degree, that he would not speak a word afterwards, tho' there were brought before him divers persons who had known him when he was in the *Nova Zetvert*, or Tavern-office. He was then examined and found to be circumcised. The next day, he was put again to the torture, but would not speak at all: upon which he was carried to the chief market-place, where his sentence was pronounced, and immediately put into execution. His right arm was first cut off, with an ax, below the elbow, and his left leg below the knee; then his left arm and right leg, and last of all his head. The trunk was left on the ground, where dogs devoured it in the night; and the members, which had been stuck upon stakes, were dragged the next morning by the executioner's servants, to the place where all the filth of the city was thrown.

KOSTKA

KOSTKA, the impostor's man, was pardoned, because he had confessed the truth: but, in regard to his having been unfaithful to his prince, he was sentenced to lose three fingers of his right hand. However, the patriarch, representing that the religion of the *Russians* obliges them to make the sign of the cross with the right hand, obtained that this sentence should be executed on the left of the criminal, who was afterwards banished to *Siberia*^a.

A *Polish* envoy, who was to have his public audience of the czar on the day that *Tomoska* was put to death, was conducted through the market-place, just at the time of the execution, that he might be an eye-witness of it, and be able to give the *Poles* an account of the end of that impostor, whom they had looked upon as the son of the czar *Basilus Iwanowitz Zuski*. But even this did not hinder them from afterwards producing another impostor, as we shall see.

Oppressions of
Morosou and
his associates.

THE triumvirate of *Morosou* and his colleagues was supported with such impudence and haughtiness, that the people, accustomed to the mild and wise government of the late czar *Michael Theodorowitz*, knew not how to bear the insolence of these favourites. *Plesseou*, in his office, sold justice, and not satisfied with the presents which he received with both hands, he would reduce the parties to the utmost misery by studied delays; and as to those who were accused of any crimes, he had always false witnesses ready to serve any purposes, particularly to bring in charges against such as were rich enough to redeem themselves from his persecutions; imprisoning and oppressing them, till they purchased their liberty with the ruin of their estates. One of the instruments of his tyranny, was *Peter Tichonowitz Trochanistou*, who had married his sister, and was of the rank of those the *Russians* call *Ocolnitz*, from among whom the bojars are chosen. He had the management of the *Puskarsé Pricase*, that is to say, was superintendant of the armourers, cannoniers, and all other workmen, belonging to the arsenal, whom he greatly oppressed: for instead of paying them monthly, as was the custom in *Russia*, where all who were in the czar's service were so punctually paid, that if they came not the first day of the month for their money, it was sent home to them; he, on the contrary, kept them out of it several months, and then forced them to compound, and give receipts for the whole sum, tho' they received but part of it.

BESIDES these grievances, trade was obstructed, monopolies were granted, and no employment could be had, but by dearly purchasing the good pleasure of the favourite *Morosou*. One got a patent, prohibiting the farther use of the ordinary *arselines*, in order to oblige the people to buy iron ones with the czar's mark upon them: but instead of selling them for eight or ten copeiks a piece, which was the most they were worth, they could not be had under a rubel: A vast sum was raised by this means, because those measures were necessary in all parts of the empire. Another contrived raising the *pud* of salt to thirty copeiks, which before cost but twenty. But instead of making any advantage of this, it was found at the year's end, that the dearth of salt had so hindered the sale of it, that not only the czar's revenue was very much diminished, but great quantities of fish were lost for want of being properly cured. All this made it plain, that the design of the ministers was rather to oppress the people, than to promote the service of their prince; for otherwise they would soon have abolished this new impost.

A. D. 1648.
The Muscovites discontented.

THE inhabitants of *Moscow*, who had lived very quietly under the reign of the late czar, could not help shewing their resentment at these grievous concussions. They had their assemblies about the churches at the hour when their devotion led them thither, and resolved, at last, to petition the czar: but as no one single person would or durst undertake to deliver the petition to him, they agreed to do it in a body, as he should come out of the palace. Their greatest anger was against *Plesseou*, and their desire, that his place might be filled up by some person of honour, from whom they might expect more justice. They had their petition ready, and endeavoured two or three times to give it to the czar; but the bojars, who attended him, took it from them, and reported it as they were instructed by *Morosou*; so that no answer was returned, nor any grievance remedied. This happened so often, that the people at last resolved to take another method, and make their complaints by word of mouth, as soon as an opportunity should offer.

An insurrection at Moscow.

ON the 6th of *July*, 1648, they took their advantage of a procession which the czar made to a monastery in the city, called *Stertenskoi*. The people assembled, as usual, in the market-place, to see him pass by: but at his return they broke through those who had attended him, and laying hold of the bridle of his horse, stopped him, and intreated him to hear their complaints concerning the injustices and violences committed by *Plesseou*, and begging that some other person might be put in his place, who should better discharge

* OLEAR. ubi supra.

the

a the duty of so important an office. The czar, tho' startled at their procedure, kept his countenance, seemed moved with the grievances of his good subjects, and promised to enquire into the matter, and that they should receive satisfaction. The people desired no more, and were going away well contented with that answer, when the bojars, friends of *Plesseou*, began to give them abusive language, thrust some off their horses, and struck others with their whips. The people, incensed at this treatment, threw such volleys of stones at the aggressors, that it was with great difficulty these last got into the palace, though the czar's guards interposed: a circumstance which inflamed the populace to such a degree, that they threatened to force even the czar's apartments, and take away all they found there, if *Plesseou* was not immediately delivered up to them.

b *MOROSOU* went out into a balcony, and endeavoured to appease the people, exhorting them, in the name of his czarish majesty, to go back to their homes, and make no farther disturbance: but they told him, that they had as much to say to him as to the other; and accordingly, some of them went immediately to his palace, which they forced, ransacked, and demolished in a moment, after throwing one of his servants out of the window, for having attempted to resist them. Their fury was such, that they spared not even the images of their saints, for which the *Russians* used always to have a great veneration: but they shewed some respect to *Morosou's* wife, only taking away her jewels and pearls, which they threw into the street, and frightening her by saying, that if they had not looked upon her as sister-in-law to the czar, they would have cut her to pieces.

c FROM the house of *Morosou* they went to those of *Plesseou*, *Trachanistou*, the chancellor, and of all who had any relation to, or dependence on the favourite, where they found such riches, that pearls were sold by the handfuls so cheap, that one might have bought a hatful for thirty rubels; and the finest fables, and gold and silver stuffs, were sold for next to nothingⁱ.

NAZARI IWANOWITZ TZISTOU, chancellor of *Russia*, who had farmed the impost upon salt, was one of the victims to this popular fury. He lay, at that time, sick in bed, having received a dangerous hurt by a fall from his horse: but hearing that *Morosou's* house had been ransacked, and not doubting but that his would share the same fate, he hid himself under a heap of wood, that was piled up to serve the stoves, and over which some fitches of bacon were laid, the more effectually to take away all suspicion. This stratagem would certainly have saved his life had he not been betrayed by one of his servants, who, taking advantage of his master's misfortunes, laid his hands on a sum of money and made off with it to *Nischnovogorod*, after having discovered to the people the place where the chancellor was concealed. The enraged multitude took him out by the heels, and dragged him down stairs into the court, where they beat him to death. His body was thrown upon a dunghill, and the house plundered of every thing that was in it^k.

The chancellor of Russia murdered by the people.

WHILE these disorders were committed in the city, care was taken to secure the palace against the outrages of the people, who continued in arms all night between the 6th and 7th of *July*, in such a manner, as shewed they only waited for day-light to begin again: whereupon orders were sent to the *German* troops then in *Moscow*, to meet at their several rendezvous in the city, and from thence to proceed directly to the castle, to defend the czar. They marched with drums beating and colours flying; and the *Moscovites*, instead of opposing, gave them way, telling them, that they had no quarrel against them, for that they knew them to be men of honour, who did not approve of the oppressive proceedings of the ministry.

f THE czar then sent out the knez *Nikita Iwanowitz Romanow*, to disperse the tumultuous assembly of the people, who, he knew, had a very great respect for him. *Romanow* addressed them with great civility, and told them, that he thought they ought to be satisfied with the czar's assurance, given the day before, that he would remedy the disorders of which they complained: that his majesty had commanded him to tell them as much, and to advise them to return to their respective homes, that he might the better perform what he had promised them. The people answered, that they were not dissatisfied with the czar, but with those who, under his name, abused his authority; and that they would not stir till *Morosou*, *Plesseou*, and *Trachanistou* were delivered up to them, to be punished for the injuries they had done to the whole empire. *Romanow* commanded them, for their loyalty to their sovereign, and assured them, that he would immediately acquaint his majesty with their affection for him: that he doubted not but orders would be given for executing those three lords; but that he could safely take his oath that *Morosou* and *Trachanistou* had made their escape; and as to the third, he should instantly be put to death. Accordingly, *Romanow* was no sooner returned to the czar, than word was sent to the people, that *Plesseou*

ⁱ OLEAR. lib. iii.

^k Idem, ibid.

Plesseou put to death.

Trachanistou put to death.

A great fire at Moscow.

The czar intercedes for Morosou.

Who is pardoned.

would be brought out directly; that the two others should also be delivered to them, as soon as they could be taken; and that they might send for the executioner to do his office. He was soon found, being at the castle-gate with his servants: and in about a quarter of an hour, *Plesseou* was put into his hands, to be led to the market-place, and there beheaded. But the people, impatient to be revenged, fell upon him so violently with sticks and clubs, that they killed him before he reached the intended place of execution, and then dragged his body through the streets, following it with the most bitter curses; till, at last, a monk, whom the deceased had ordered to be cudgelled, cut off his head¹.

MOROSOU had indeed made his escape, and was so fortunate as to avoid those that were in search of him, till he got into the castle again by private ways: and that it might not be thought the czar had connived at the escape of any one, messengers were sent to apprehend *Trachanistou*, who was found near the *Troitzskoi* monastery, about twelve leagues from *Moscow*. The next day he was brought to the *Smenskio Ducr*, the tribunal where *Plesseou* had sat as judge, and the czar commanded his head to be struck off. This execution wrought so much upon the people, that, though they were informed that *Morosou* had been seen in the country, and none knew what was become of him, they forbore pressing the czar any farther to deliver up a man, who, they thought, was not in his power; and about eleven o'clock in the morning every one retired to his own home.

In the afternoon, several houses in the *Metroski* and *Twerski* quarters of *Moscow* were set on fire. The people immediately ran thither, with an intention rather to steal than quench the flames, which soon consumed the part of the city called *Czargorod*, reducing to ashes every thing between *White-wall* and the river *Neglina*, and then, spreading to the czar's taverns and magazines of strong waters, raged with such violence, that it was feared the palace could not possibly escape; especially as all the firemen, instead of being ready for their duty, had got so drunk, that they lay weltering in the streets, where many of them were suffocated by the smok of the buildings burning around them. At length a monk, dragging along a heavy burden, called to some to help him to cast it into the fire, saying, that it was the carcase of the abominable *Plesseou*, and that nothing else could quench the flames^m. The fire abated soon after, which was attributed to this pretended miracle.

SOME days after this terrible accident, the czar treated the *Strelitzers* with strong waters and hydromel; and his father-in-law, *Ilia Danilowitz Milofauski*, invited several of the citizens to dine with him, and spent many days together in entertainments. The patriarch also enjoined the priests and monks to endeavour to pacify the people, and to exhort them to that respect and obedience to the higher powers, which their religion required, and their consciences ought to oblige them to. These means had the desired effect; especially when they found that the czar had filled the places of those who had been executed, with honest and upright men, capable of performing the duties of their respective employments. But *Morosou* was still in danger; from which the czar resolved to endeavour himself to extricate him. To this end, he took the opportunity of a procession to speak to the people, having *Nikita Iwanowitz Romanow* by his side; and told them, that he was extremely grieved to hear of the injuries and violences done by *Plesseou* and *Trachanistou*, under his name, but contrary to his intention: that he had put in their places, persons of integrity, who, being acceptable to the people, would administer justice impartially, and without corruption; and that they might not fail therein, he himself would have an eye upon them: that he repealed the edict by which the additional duty had been laid upon salt, and that he would immediately abolish all monopolies; for that his subjects should enjoy all their privileges, which he would even increase, if there should be occasion. The people bowed down to the ground, and thanked his majesty, who thereupon resumed his discourse, and said, That it was true, indeed, he had promised to deliver up to them the person of *Boris Iwanowitz Morosou*, whom he acknowledged he could not absolutely justify, though, at the same time, he could not resolve to condemn him: that he hoped the people would not deny the first request he should make to them, which was, that they would pardon *Morosou*, only for that time; that he himself would be answerable for him for the future, and assured them his behaviour should be such as to give them cause to rejoice at their lenity: that if they would not have him be any longer of his council, he would dismiss him; but that he desired them to look upon that lord as one who, had been a father to their prince, and one who, having married the czarina's sister, must needs be extremely dear to him, and consequently, that it would be very hard for him to consent to his death. The tears which accompanied this conclusion of the czar's speech, shewed plainly his affection for that favourite, and so moved the people, that they all cried out, "God grant his majesty a long and happy life. God's and the czar's will be

¹ OLEAR. lib. iii.

^m Idem, ibid.

a "done." The czar, highly rejoiced, thanked the people for this obliging proof of their zeal and affection for him.

SHORTLY after, *Morofou* appeared in public, among those who attended the czar on a pilgrimage to the *Troitzkoi* monastery. He went uncovered from the castle to the city-gate, saluting the people on both sides with great submission; and from that time he embraced every opportunity to gratify and assist those who applied to him on any business they had at courtⁿ. and becomes a different man.

b EVENTS of this kind, where the people exert their power, are sometimes necessary to re-establish that justice and good order which insolent favourites, or covetous and ambitious courtiers, have trod under-foot: and in this we find, that even the *Russians*, slaves as they are on most occasions, can use desperate means to recover their freedom, when the oppression of bad ministers grows insupportable to them.

c NOT long after this tumult was quieted, another broke out in a different part of the empire, upon the following occasion. A war between *Russia* and *Sweden* had seemed almost inevitable, for some time, on account of the disorders committed on the frontiers of the two states by the subjects of both crowns, who left their own habitations, and passed over to the other country, to avoid paying their debts. The *Russians* made great complaints: but when his czarish majesty, in the year 1649, sent his ambassador *Boris Iwanowitz Puschkin*, into *Sweden*, to queen *Christina*, and the affair was examined into, it was found, that there were many more *Swedes* in *Russia*, than *Russians* in *Sweden*: whereupon it was agreed, that this transmigration should be forbidden on both sides for the future: but as the czar, by this means, had acquired a great number of subjects, he was to pay to the queen of *Sweden*, by way of indemnification, one hundred and ninety thousand rubels, part in money, and part in rye; and the first payment was to be made in the spring of the year 1650. Accordingly the queen of *Sweden's* commissary, coming into *Russia* at the time agreed on, received the money: and an order was sent to *Theodore Amilianou*, a merchant at *Pleskow*, to provide as much rye as amounted to ninety thousand rubels. A. D. 1649.
The czar sends an embassy to queen Christina of Sweden.

d THIS avaricious man, taking advantage of the opportunity to enrich himself, caused all the rye, where-ever it was, to be seized, and would not permit any private person to purchase even a single bushel without his leave, which they were sure to pay dear enough for. A. D. 1650.
A tumult at Pleskow.

e The inhabitants of *Pleskow*, sorely aggrieved by this oppression, complained loudly of the covetousness of the *Swedes*, charged *Puschkin* with prevarication in his employment, and perfidy to his prince; and imagining that this negotiation was concluded contrary to the czar's intentions, endeavoured to engage the city of *Novogorod* in this quarrel, which went so far, that, some of the chief merchants having declared for them, the waivode had much ado to prevent a general insurrection. Both these and the others resolved, that they would stop the money when it was to be transported into *Sweden*, and that they would no longer submit to the contract made for the rye; because it would, in all probability, starve the country. They therefore chose three deputies, a merchant, a *Cosack*, and a *Strelitz*; and ordered them to go to *Moscow*, to know whether this treaty was made, and put in execution, with the czar's consent.

f IN the mean time, without waiting the return of their deputies, they ransacked *Amilianou's* house, and tortured his wife, to make her confess where her husband, who had fled, had laid up his money. The waivode came, in hopes of preventing the disorder, but was forced out of the city; and the neighbouring nobility were invited to come in, and join against monopolizers and patentees. As soon as the three deputies arrived at *Novogorod*, the waivode ordered them to be put in irons, and sent them in that condition to *Moscow*, whither the waivode of *Pleskow*, and the merchant *Amilianou* likewise repaired at the same time. Intelligence was also brought, that the people of *Pleskow* had robbed and abused a *Swedish* merchant; whereupon the czar sent back the waivode, and with him a bojar, to prevent any farther disorders. Those of *Pleskow*, who would not receive them at first, at length opened their gates; but it was only to put the waivode in prison, and affront the bojar, who, very imprudently, at so unseasonable a time, treated the people with such severity, that they fell upon him with sticks, and beat him so, that he was left for dead.

HOWEVER, the czar executed his treaty with *Sweden*, but paid money instead of rye, and sent with the *Swedish* commissary a strong guard of *Strelitzers*, to conduct him to the frontiers. At the same time he ordered *John Nikitowitz Gavenski* to assemble the nobility of the neighbouring provinces, who, supported by a good body of troops, besieged *Pleskow*, and took it; the inhabitants being forced to make their peace by delivering up the seditious, who were put to death, or sent into *Siberia*.

THE reign of *Alexis Michaelowitz* was troubled with several tumults of this kind, which, however, did not prevent his doing great things, and maintaining two important wars, one with *Poland*, and the other with *Sweden*.

THE *Poles* had been terribly harrassed during the last years of the reign of *Uladislaus*, by the revolt of the *Cosaks* under the command of the famous *Chmielniski*: but they may be said to have drawn all their misfortunes upon themselves, by their manner of treating the chief of the *Cosaks*, and the rest of that warlike nation. When *Uladislaus* died, they had penetrated a great way into *Poland*, where they committed unheard-of cruelties and devastations, and were so powerful, that it was thought, that whoever had the support of the *Cosaks* might be chosen successor to *Uladislaus*. The czar *Alexis* had then on foot a fine army, which he offered to employ in the service of the *Poles*, if they would give him the vacant crown: but they not listening to his proposals, he used menaces, which had likewise no effect: for *France*, having made it a point to place upon the throne of *Poland* a prince who should be devoted to her, employed her money so properly, to engage the *Cosaks* to withdraw during the time of the election, that she got the prince *John Casimir*, brother of *Uladislaus*, to be chosen, on condition that he should marry the princess of *Gonzague*, his brother's widow.

John Casimir
chosen king of
Poland.

THE new king would not meddle in the differences between the *Poles* and the *Cosaks*, but thought the latter so much in the right, that when the nobles urged him to put himself at the head of an army to chastise the rebels, as they called them, he answered, it was not well done to burn the mills of *Chmielniski*, or to abuse his wife and children. At length the *Cosaks*, abandoned before *Zbaras* by their allies the *Tartars*, who offered to make peace with *John Casimir*, were forced also to make their peace: but as a great many of them could not confide in the *Poles*, some sought protection under the *Turks*, and others under the czar.

A. D. 1654.
The czar de-
clares war a-
gainst Poland.

ALTHOUGH the czar *Alexis* had not been irritated by the contempt with which the *Polanders* treated the advantageous offers he made them to obtain their crown, he would not have wanted reason for declaring war against them. *Smolenskow*, *Kiow*, *Czernichow*, which had been ceded to them by the last treaty of peace, were losses too considerable for the *Russians* to put up with quietly. They had not gained them, but by taking advantage of the distressed condition to which they had reduced the empire, by patronizing so many impostors; and therefore the czar thought he had the same right, in his turn, to profit by the deplorable state in which he found these mortal enemies of his country. He marched to *Smolenskow*, and sat down before it, with three hundred thousand *Russians* and *Cosacks*.

Recovers Smo-
lenkow,
A. D. 1655.
Wilna,

THIS siege was long: which is not to be wondered at, if we consider that *Smolenskow* is one of the strongest places on the frontiers, and that the *Poles*, foreseeing the rupture that was likely to happen between them and his czarish majesty, which this monarch however did not resolve on without the advice of his whole empire represented in senate, had furnished it with a large garrison, and every thing necessary for a vigorous defence. After a full year, the town surrendered; and this conquest opened a door for the *Russian* army into the heart of *Lithuania*, where they besieged *Wilna*, which did not hold out very long. The *Russians* lived at large in this country, and caused such misfortunes as were long felt in the great duchy.

the province of
Czernichow,
and the city of
Kiow.

WHILE this army found nothing to stop its course almost to *Prussia*, another body more numerous, on account of fresh supplies from the *Cosaks*, went on with as little opposition to the banks of the *Dnieper*, where the whole province of *Czernichow*, and the important city of *Kiow*, returned to the obedience of their former sovereign; whose dominions were, in the mean while, desolated by a dreadful plague.

A. D. 1656.
Truce between
Russia and Po-
land.

THE misfortunes which *Poland* laboured under, were greatly increased by the king of *Sweden*, *Charles Gustavus*, falling suddenly upon her. *John Casimir* had, with very little prudence, endeavoured to prevail upon *Christina*, queen of *Sweden*, to protest against her abdication in favour of her cousin *Charles Gustavus*, and solicited the archbishop of *Upsal*, and the states of the kingdom, to take this step in her absence. *Charles*, justly incensed at so irregular a conduct, entered *Poland*, and almost entirely subdued it in less than three months. His *Polish* majesty, having some apprehensions of this blow, had made a long truce with the *Russians*, to whom he left all their conquests within the ancient limits of *Russia*, upon condition that a certain sum should be paid him at different times.

Hostilities be-
tween the Rus-
sians and the
Swedes.

THE czar *Alexis Michaelowitz*, having thus had the honour to blot out the shame which the loss of three fine provinces had brought upon his country, thought he might be at leisure to apply himself to the peaceable acts of government: but the jealousy that almost all the nations of *Europe* had conceived of the king of *Sweden's* arms in *Poland*, obliged him to come again into the field, to stop the rapidity of that prince's conquests. He had reason to complain of the *Swedes*, who in attacking their common enemy, not satisfied with the many provinces they had taken, had, by a treaty between *Magnus de la Gardie*, and *Radziwil*, appropriated to themselves the great duchy of *Lithuania*, which the czar might look upon as his conquest. This last was sufficient cause for him to carry his arms into

a into *Carelia*, *Ingria*, and *Livonia*. The troops which the czar sent into the two first of these provinces made no other progress than ravaging the open country; but were beaten in several places. The weight of the war was in *Livonia*, where the *Russians* took *Duneburg* and *Kakenhausen* by storm; from whence they advanced to *Riga*, which they cannonaded for seven whole months, without being able to make one assault, though they were assisted by the *Poles*, and their army amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand men. *De la Gardie* and *Helmsfeld*, who were in the place, defended it with such bravery, and made so many successful sallies, that the besiegers were obliged to decamp, with very great loss. The two nations then agreed to a truce, which was afterwards changed into a peace, by the treaty of *Cardis*, concluded the 2d of June 1661.

Conquests of
the Russians;
who are re-
pulsed before
Riga:

and conclude,
first a truce,
and after-
ward a peace.

b TOWARDS the end of the reign of *Uladislaus* of *Poland*, a new *Demetrius* had appeared in that kingdom. Mere chance, as it is said, discovered him, and he himself was ignorant of his own birth: but it is more likely that *Uladislaus*, an ambitious prince, who could not digest the loss of the *Russian* crown, had raised him up, and instructed him how to behave, that he might serve as a pretext for his declaring war against the czar *Alexis*, if the *Cosaks* had not found so much employment for him, that he had no time to execute his project, which was, as protector of this *Demetrius*, to endeavour to place him upon the throne, and, if he succeeded, to put the crown afterwards upon his own head.

Another De-
metrius pro-
duced by the
Poles.

c THIS *Demetrius* was a *Cosak*, and brought up among that people. He was well-made, wanted not wit, and seemed to be about twenty-five years of age. It is said, that as he was going into a bath in the little town of *Samburg* in *Polish Russia*, some marks of an extraordinary kind were observed upon his back; that *Dmielouski*, the treasurer of the crown, being told of it, sent for him, asked him several questions, and afterwards examined these strange characters; but not being able to make any thing of them, he sent for a *Russian* priest, who immediately read, *Demetrius the son of Demetrius*. As learned antiquaries every day explain their obscure inscriptions according to their own fancies, so these characters were made to signify, that this young man was the son of *Griska Utropeja*, the first usurper that took upon him the name of *Demetrius*. It was said, that his mother, the daughter of the palatine of *Sandomir*, had been delivered of him in prison, and that the wife of a *Cosak*, who was in her service, being brought to bed at the same time, had taken the son of that princess, and given her own in his stead; that a *Russian* priest having baptized the son of the princess, and seeing it was likely to continue unknown, and pass only for the son of a poor peasant, had imprinted these characters that were between his shoulders, with a certain indelible liquor. This was the story founded upon the characters, which, without doubt, were put upon the back of the *Cosak* for the present purpose; and to render this event the more miraculous, and make it believed that Providence had the greater hand in the discovery of this youth, it was given out, that his supposed father and mother were both dead, no body knew where or when; so that some of the domestics, with whom the princess had intrusted the secret at her death, had sought for them in vain.

d IT is very easy to detect the imposture of this affair, if we recollect that of the second *Demetrius*, massacred by the *Tartars* at *Caluga*, and the manner in which the daughter of the palatine of *Sandomir* was put to death. However, this impostor appeared at the court of *Poland*, where he was treated as the son of the czar till the death of *Uladislaus*, and where he had contracted a strict friendship with the famous *Galga* (I), the *Tartarian* prince, prisoner of *Uladislaus*, to whom that king generously gave his liberty, that he might not lose the opportunity of ascending the *Tartarian* throne, to which he was the next heir.

e AT the death of *Uladislaus*, the face of affairs was entirely changed, by the election of *John Casimir*, especially with respect to this *Demetrius*, who, fearing he should be delivered up to the czar, with whom the new king seemed desirous to live in peace, retired to *Reval*, and from thence to *Sweden*; but not thinking himself in safety there, f he went into *Holstein*.

WE have already seen that the duke of *Holstein* had sent an embassy to *Russia*, in order to settle a trade of silk into *Persia*. One of the duke's ambassadors, *Otto Brugman* of *Hamburg*, going thither a second time upon the same business, abused the confidence of his master, by borrowing large sums of money in *Russia*, of which he could give no account. The czar expected the duke should discharge the debts of his ambassador, and the thing was reasonable: but the duke had not yet done it, when a *Russian* factor, who was in *Holstein* at the time that this new *Demetrius* appeared there, gave the duke to understand, that his czarish majesty would remit this large debt, if he would deliver the impostor into his hands; which, upon these conditions, was agreed to. The pretended *Demetrius* was accordingly seized, and sent to *Moscow*, where he was confronted by an old

Who is deli-
vered up to the
Russians, and
put to death.

(I) The title of the next heir to the throne; like dauphin in *France*, or prince of *Wales* in *England*.

woman, who declared herself his mother. He was prosecuted as a cheat, and a disturber of the public repose, convicted, and condemned to have his head cut off, his body quartered, and his quarters hung upon as many gibbets.

Civil government of the czar Alexis.

THE czar *Alexis* employed every means to settle the tranquility of his dominions, and made numbers of excellent regulations for the welfare of his people. Though a stranger to foreign languages, he caused an epitome of several sciences to be translated from them into the *Russian* tongue, and took great delight in reading it himself. The laws of the several provinces of his empire were collected and printed together, by his order, in one body, which, in the *Russian* language, was called *Ulogenie*: but for want of a good lawyer to digest them into proper order, it is but an imperfect and confused collection. He likewise introduced several new manufactures, particularly of silk and linen^p. He added to the city of *Moscow* two suburbs, called the new and the old *Meshanskoja*; and built in other parts of his dominions several market towns, such as *Wolda*, and others, which were peopled by *Lithuanians* and *Poles*. He endeavoured to extend the prerogatives of the crown farther than any of his predecessors had done, but with great circumspection; and was the first who created a privy council for trying causes concerning his person. When he suspected any one, he proceeded very cautiously, as well in administering the torture, as in executions; but when a person was found guilty, he generally ordered him to be executed privately. His daughter *Sophia* is said to have learned this method from him. He was also the first who made a distinction among the bojars, by calling the chief and oldest of them *Kommatnye Bojars*, of which his privy council, for foreign affairs, consisted.

THE wars in which *Alexis* was engaged in the beginning of his reign, necessarily required great expences. His revenues were no more than five millions of rubels: yet he kept a magnificent court, maintained a great army, and, by his œconomy afterwards, left his treasury very rich. What enabled him to do this, was, the vast contributions raised during the *Polish* war, and his paying only the foreign officers, and regular troops: for the *Russian* nobles, though obliged to serve as long as they were able, looked upon it as a disgrace to receive any salary. When any such were grown incapable of service, or had sons old enough to replace them, they were freed, and their toils were rewarded with the gift of lands which had devolved to the crown^q, either by confiscation (K), or by the extinction of families; or they were promoted to the government of provinces. He greatly improved the culture of his dominions: many deserts were rendered habitable in his time, and peopled with prisoners taken from the *Poles* and other nations. He also intended to have had fleets in the *Caspian* and *Black Seas*; for which purpose he sent for shipwrights from *Holland* and other places; but the compleating of this work was reserved for his august son, *Peter the Great*; an ambitious rebel now checking the designs of *Alexis*.

A. D. 1669.
The rebellion of Stenko Razin.

STENKO RAZIN, chief of the *Don Cofaks*, who have been under the protection of *Russia* ever since the year 1559, excited a dreadful rebellion against the czar *Alexis Michailowitz*. The cause of his discontent was said to be the ignominious death of his brother, who had commanded the *Cofaks* that served in the *Russian* army, in the campaigns of 1654 and 1655, against the *Poles*. The knez *George Alexowitz Dolgorucki*, commander in chief of all the forces employed in the expedition, pretended to keep the *Cofaks* in the field as long as he pleased: but they, not used to be forced in their actions, abandoned the *Russian* general, and went to receive orders from their own chief. *Dolgorucki* took upon him to call this chief, who was *Stenko Razin's* brother, to an account for the conduct of his men, and, without much deliberation, ordered him to be hanged. This was *Stenko's* pretext for arming against his sovereign: but ambition soon appeared to be his real motive, since he not only made war against the czar, but also against the king of *Persia*.

His first depredations.

He first began his depredations upon the river *Wolga*, where he took all the small shipping he could meet with, plundered them, and killed their men, unless they would join his company. After this first act of hostility, putting himself at the head of an army of his countrymen, he ransacked every place, church, and monastery, near the *Wolga*, and marched from thence to *Jaik*, a town situated on the river of the same name, which di-

^p STRAHLENBERG, cap. v. § 18, & 19.

^q Idem, ibid. § 37.

(K) In former times, it was customary among the *Russians*, that if a nobleman was found guilty of embezzling the effects belonging to the crown, such deficiency was, in some measure, demanded of the whole family, which, if the delinquent was convicted, and condemned to be beheaded, lost twelve degrees of nobility, and all their estates. This made the families watch each others conduct: the consequence of which

was, that a poor relation, if honest, was assisted in every shape; but a spendthrift and libertine was deprived of the means of undertaking any thing of moment. Nay, the family itself, if they disliked the management of a person who had a public employment, would protest against his conduct; after which they were not made answerable for any deficiency, nor were their estates then liable to confiscation (1).

(1) *Strahlenberg, ubi supra.*

a vides the kingdom of *Astracan* from the country of the *Calmucks*. From *Jaik*, which was easily mastered, he proceeded to the *Caspian* sea, and from thence returned to the *Volga*, doing great mischief by destroying numbers of houses and villages. He then marched to the town of *Terki*, in *Georgia*, and advanced to the frontiers of *Persia*, where he did great damage both to the subjects of the czar and to those of the *Ichah*.

THE inhabitants of a small town in *Persia*, being informed of his approach, betook themselves to a neighbouring fort for security: whereupon *Stenko* sent them word, that they had no reason to fear, and invited them to return, assuring them, that he and his men were not come to do them any hurt, but to buy provisions and other necessaries for his troops. The people, believing him, came back to their town with great confidence, and b opened their shops, where *Stenko* and his soldiers began to lay down ready money for what they wanted: but upon a signal given to his *Cosaks*, they fell upon the inhabitants, and butchered them without mercy.

THE governor of *Astracan*, knez *John Simonewitz Prosoroffski*, sent a considerable number of troops against him, to stop these cruel proceedings; whereupon *Stenko*, finding himself too weak to resist, and apprehending no good issue, asked pardon, which *Prosoroffski* promised him in the czar's name, on condition that he would make his submission, and demean himself, for the future, as a loyal subject. *Stenko* and his companions, upon this, went to *Astracan*, where they were kindly received, and, in return, made rich presents to the people, out of the apparel, jewels, and other ornaments of which they had c robbed the houses of many gentlemen. *Stenko Razin* himself was not to be distinguished from the rest, but by the marks of respect that were shewn him by his followers, who always saluted him by the name of *Batske*, "Father." He was tall, and well proportioned; somewhat pitted with the small-pox, but not so as to be unbecoming, and of a stately mien and deportment; but of a cruel disposition, as will appear from the following action.

HE had with him, when at *Astracan*, a *Persian* princess, whom he had taken prisoner with her brother. The brother he presented to the governor of *Astracan*, but kept the sister for his concubine. Being one day on board his yacht, diverting himself on the *Volga*, and full of wine and frolic; after boasting of the many rich presents he had given and d received since he had been restored to the czar's favour, he on a sudden broke out into these extravagant expressions, addressing himself to the *Volga*: "Well, said he, thou art "a noble river, and out of thee have I had much gold, silver, and other things of "value. Thou art both the father and mother of my fortune and advancement! "whilst I, unthankful man, have never offered thee any thing. But now I am resolved "to manifest my gratitude." With these words, he took the princess in his arms, and threw her into the *Volga*, in all her rich attire, and ornaments of pearls, diamonds, and other precious stones. What heightened the barbarity of this act was, that the lady was deservedly as much admired for the endowments of her mind, as for the beauty of her person, and had always behaved with the utmost complacency towards him.

Remarkable instance of his cruel disposition.

e *STENKO RAZIN*, after a short stay at *Astracan*, returned with his associates to their own homes, on the borders of the river *Don*, and carried with him several *Russians*, whom his money and promises had bribed to join him.

THE governor of *Astracan*, understanding that several persons in the service of the czar, his master, had withdrawn, and enlisted themselves among the rebels, sent one *Wederos*, a captain of the *strelitzes*, to *Stenko*, with instructions to demand the *Russians*, and order him to send them back, on pain of the czar's displeasure, which he might not so easily appease a second time, as he had done before; but perhaps he compelled to make satisfaction for his former offences and his present together. *Wederos* went accordingly to *Stenko*; but the haughty *Cosak* would scarce admit him to an audience: and when he began to insist upon his sending back the men whom he had inveigled from their duty, he f flew into a violent passion, drew his sword, and threatened to kill him if he dared to persist any longer. The *Russian* officer, being a discreet man, had then recourse to fair speeches, by which he somewhat pacified his fury; so that *Stenko* only asked him, how he dared to make such an impudent demand. "Shall I then, said he, betray my friends, who have deserted "their nearest allies, and their fortunes, out of pure inclination to me? And shall I be "threatened with the loss of favour to boot? Prithee, go tell thy master, that I value the "czar no more than I do him: and let him know, that I shall be with him before he is "aware on't, and reward him for his presumption." This insolent answer made the governor rightly judge, that he might expect another visit from the rebel: nor was he g mistaken; for within three days after, *Stenko* began to march towards the *Volga*, where he had eighty *stroegs*, or barks, besides other shipping, well provided with men and ammunition. However, he did not, at first, commit any act of hostility. The governor of *Astracan* assembled his council, who agreed, that as long as *Stenko* offered no violence to any

His insolence to the governor of Astracan.

any place belonging to the czar, they should not oppose him, till the arrival of a fleet a which they expected.

Whose fleet he becomes master of by treachery.

ABOUT fourteen days after the fleet arrived, consisting of a great many vessels, with six thousand strelitzes, well furnished with all kinds of provision and ammunition. *Stenko*, having intelligence of all their designs, by his emissaries, ordered some of his own people, in whom he could best confide, to run away, and join the governor's forces, under pretence of desertion. Accordingly, when they came to the *Astracan* fleet, they feigned great discontent at the treatment they had received from *Stenko*. The adverse party received them with open arms, in hopes of discovering, by their means, the intentions of their rebel master. But as soon as they were under sail, and almost close upon the enemy, the traitors, on a sudden, fell upon the officers, murdered most of them, and surrendered the rest, with the whole fleet, into the hands of the *Cosaks*. *Stenko*, enriched by this prey, immediately ordered his men two months pay before-hand, with a promise, for their farther encouragement, of enjoying freely whatever they could make by plunder.

THE governor was not a little dismayed at this event; especially when he heard how much the common people murmured against him, and how well *Stenko* was spoken of, not only in *Astracan*, but in all the towns round about, which were under the dominions of the czar. The strelitzes, who had not received any pay for a long time, and had heard of *Stenko's* generosity to the men, began to mutiny, so generally, that the governor and officers durst not oppose them by any rigorous methods, but were forced to sooth them by fair words and large promises.

STENKO RAZIN, finding his strength increase daily, and having now near sixteen thousand men under his command, landed part of his forces, some of which went to *Czaritza*, and others to *Czarnojar*, whilst he himself remained with the fleet, where he was as highly respected as if he had been a sovereign prince. When he was warm with liquor, few of his officers dared to appear in his presence; for it was a common thing with him, at such times, to behead a man for a very trifling offence, even though he was his greatest favourite. The meaner sort were in no danger from him; for they were wont to flatter him, and, upon a wink, would dispatch their officers when he had taken any dislike to them. Thus, by shewing a greater regard for the common men than the officers, he became the more dreadful and formidable; for the sole command and direction of the whole army lay in himself. This also gave such encouragement to the rabble, that, in the space of four or five days after he had got the *Astracan* fleet, his army was raised from sixteen to twenty-seven thousand men, who were a mixed multitude of peasants, slaves, *Tartars*, *Cosaks*, and men of restless minds from all parts, pleased with the thoughts of the free enjoyment of plunder. These miscreants, over-spreading the country, committed many inhuman acts, and murdered such of the gentry as could not escape from them, which many did, by disguising themselves in the habit of slaves.

Sends an embassy to the court of Persia.

STENKO, being arrived to this pitch of grandeur and authority, was as much puffed up as if he had conquered the whole empire. It is true, he refused the title of king or emperor, saying, that his desire was not to rule as a lord, but to live with his countrymen as a brother, and to pull down that tyranny and oppression which they, for many years, and their progenitors, for many ages, had been forced to endure, contrary to reason and the law of nature. Yet, notwithstanding this pretended moderation, he had the impudence to send ambassadors to the court of *Persia*, with letters in which he assumed the most pompous titles, and stiled himself the sophy's brother. The purport of this embassy was to invite the sophy to enter into an alliance with him, to supply him with ammunitions of war, and whatever else he might have occasion for, upon paying their value. The ambassadors were ordered to ask these things at first in gentle terms: but if they met with a refusal, they were to menace the sophy, and give him to understand, that their master had two hundred thousand men ready to invade his territories, and that he might take an opportunity to visit him when he should be least expected.

The sophy's treatment of his ambassadors.

As soon as the sophy understood that these ambassadors were instructed to threaten him, in case he refused to comply with the demands of the rebel their master, he sent for them, and immediately ordered their heads to be chopped off, and their bodies to be thrown to the dogs; except one, whose life he spared, that he might go back to tell his master how they had been received at the *Persian* court. But this proved only a reprieve for the poor surviving ambassador: for upon his relating to *Stenko Razin* the success of their embassy, this last flew into such a rage that he ordered the executioner to cut him to pieces.

He seduces many of the czar's troops.

AFTER this, *Stenko* left no means untried to increase his fleet and army; for which purpose he sent several of his emissaries to debauch the *Russian* soldiers, and entice them to desert the czar's service, in many towns upon the *Volga*; judging those the fittest for his turn, as they were best acquainted with the military affairs of *Russia*, and therefore could be the most useful, in attacking any place he might have a design upon. In this he succeeded

a cceeded to his wish : and having mustered his forces, he sent to *Camiskinska* a body of strelitzes, who, pretending they were imperial troops sent by the czar for the defence of the town, in case it should be attacked, were readily admitted, and so much confided in, that they soon found an opportunity to kill the governor, and almost all the officers of the garrison; having before seduced the rest, and brought them into their party. When this was done, a signal was given, by firing a gun, to *Stenko*, who came up, and surprized the town, which he garrisoned with *Cosaks*; removing the *Russian* strelitzes into his navy.

Takes *Camiskinska* by treachery;

b THE news of this event occasioned great alarms at *Astracan*; none knowing who was a friend, or who an enemy; upon which the governor, *Prozoroffski*, considering that the common people, who delight in novelty, and are generally soon tired, even of the best of governments, might form designs of joining the enemy, called together his council, to consult what was best to be done in so dangerous a conjuncture, in order to quiet the minds of the people, and defend the city. After mature deliberation, it was agreed, that the surest way to effect the former, would be, to proceed cautiously in the latter; for that the stopping of the growing power of the rebels, would soon pacify the common people at home; but it would not be safe to put any confidence in the strelitzes.

c UPON this resolution, numbers of gentlemen immediately offered to go as private men, in this sudden, but urgent expedition: and on the 16th of *April* 1670, eight hundred horse, of which four hundred were *Russians*, and the rest *Nogayans*, set out under the command of *Levonti Bogdanoff*, to reinforce the garrison of *Czaritza*, and furnish that city with ammunition and provisions. But on the 28th, an express arrived at *Astracan*, from *Bogdanoff*, with an account, that the *Cosaks* had already taken *Czaritza*, and killed twelve hundred *Muscovite* strelitzes, who were but newly come thither before the siege. After this intelligence, which was extorted from a *Cosak*, who fell into *Bogdanoff's* hands, and was put to the torture, the *Russians* marched to *Czarnojahr*.

A. D. 1670.
Becomes master of *Czaritza*,

d By this time the czar *Alexis Michaelowitz* had full intelligence of all that had been done in this second revolt of the *Cosaks*, and of the designs of *Stenko*, together with the cruelties he had already committed, and the continual ravages he was making: whereupon he gave orders for levying new forces, and equipping immediately as many vessels as could be got ready with speed. The towns upon the *Volga* did their utmost to compleat a fleet of forty sail, each of which had only one great gun, but a sufficient quantity of small arms, and other ammunition, for as many men as the barks could properly carry. On board this fleet were two thousand six-hundred strelitzes, and five hundred volunteers, under the conduct of *Simon Iwanowitz Elboff*, a knez, who was appointed commander in chief of the expedition. These forces left *Astracan* on the 25th of *May*, when the people of that place began to murmur against their governor more than ever, even abusing him as he passed through the streets; whilst he did not dare to check them, for fear of greater commotions, till he should be informed of the success of *Iwanowitz Elboff*. On the 4th of *June*, a gentleman, who had made his escape, brought intelligence that *Czarnojahr* had been taken by the rebels, just before the *Russian* general arrived there; that the governor and all the officers had been massacred, and their bodies thrown into the river; and, what was still worse, that the private soldiers, under the knez *Elboff*, had murdered all their officers in the fleet, declared for the *Cosaks*, and surrendered all the shipping to *Stenko Razin*, tho' immediately before their coming to *Czarnojahr*, they had unanimously sworn to live and die with their leaders. Tho' the governor of *Astracan* endeavoured as much as possible to stifle this bad news, the people learnt it, and grew so excessively insolent and outrageous, that neither magistrates nor officers dared to appear or assemble to consult how to remedy these misfortunes.

Czarnojahr,

f STENKO RAZIN, having intelligence of this, marched to *Astracan*, the gates of which were immediately opened to him. The governor, *Prozoroffski*, was then at church, from whence he was forced away in the midst of divine service, and cast headlong from the top of a high steeple, which stands in the middle of the city, as a mark to direct those who navigate on the *Caspian* sea, or travel over the vast and little frequented neighbouring desert. It is said, that *Stenko* whispered something in *Prozoroffski's* ear, as the russians were dragging him along; probably by way of trying to bring him over to his party: but the faithful knez shook his head, and refused to comply. The cruel rebel, not stopping here, put to death *Prozoroffski's* brother, and many noblemen, who would not come over to him, with several *German* and other officers, and some sailors, who, though they ran to the *Caspian* sea, were fetched back again to be slaughtered. The churches, cloisters, and houses of the richest citizens, were plundered: the records of the chancery were burnt, the czar's treasury of the kingdom of *Astracan* was carried away; and numbers of foreign merchants, *Persians*, *Indians*, *Turks*, *Armenians*, and others, who happened to be in *Astracan* at that time, were butchered with the rest. *Prozoroffski's* two sons were first hung up by

Astracan,

by the legs upon the walls of the town, and afterwards tortured to death; and his lady and daughters were delivered to the *Cosaks*, who were told, that they might take them for wives, or use them as they pleased.

Tzamatoff,

and Sim-
bierske.

Where his far-
ther progress is
stopped.

AFTER the taking of *Astracan*, which happened on the 28th of July, *Stenko* marched to *Tzamatoff*, which he soon plundered and destroyed, after putting its inhabitants to the sword. From thence he went to *Simbierske*, which he besieged, took by storm, and reduced to ashes; tho' with the loss of a great part of his *Cosaks*.

THE governor of this place, *John Bochdaenwitz Micoslawski*, defended it with such valour, that *Stenko*, hitherto conqueror of all the places upon the *Wolga*, was stopped here from proceeding any farther: otherwise, he intended to have marched to the royal city of *Casan*, which was not a great way beyond *Simbierske*. He was not only driven back from the walls of this town, but so dangerously wounded, that he was forced to return to *Astracan*. His emissaries were, all this while, busy in every quarter, endeavouring to stir up the place to rebellion. Some of these incendiaries were seized at *Oestiga*, and hanged: but that did not deter others from going about, in other places, or from publishing, that their master would restore the people to liberty, and free them from the yoke of the nobles, under which they had long groaned. Even in *Moscow*, many began to speak openly in his praise, as if he sought only the public good, and the freedom of the nation.

Power, and
increase of the
rebels.

STENKO was now master of all the land about the *Wolga*: the whole country, as far as the towns of *Accatour* and *Arsa*; was engaged in his rebellion; and the number of rebels amounted to two hundred thousand. The greatest part of the *Czeremisse* and *Morduate Tartars*, and all the peasants in those parts, whose fertile lands belonged to *Russian* lords, rose up against their governors, and hanged them, or cut their throats.

Who are de-
feated by Dol-
gorucki,

IN the mean time the czar had given orders to raise troops in every part; but could not bring an army into the field, strong enough to make head against the rebels, till the month of September. He gave the command of this army to the knez *George Alexowitz Dolgorucki*, whose first exploit was against a flying camp of the enemy, consisting of fifteen thousand men, whom he overthrew, tho' they fought with great bravery, and returned four times to the charge.

and treated
with inflexible
severity.

AFTER this conquest *Dolgorucki* settled his quarters and tribunal at *Arsamas*, where he executed so severe a judgment upon the rebels, that the avenues to that place resembled the dreadful entrance of the *Tartarus* of the poets. In one place lay heaps of headless carcases, almost covered in their own blood: in others were wretches impaled alive, many of whom did not expire till the third day, with hideous cries, and in bitter agonies; and all around were gallows, each of which was loaded with forty or fifty men. Within the space of three months, above eleven thousand men were put to death by the common executioners, after being condemned in a legal way: for the *Russian* army, going out by parties, brought in numbers of the rebels every day. Happily for the czar, they were dispersed in different places: otherwise, it would have been very difficult for his forces to have mastered them.

AMONG the prisoners who were brought to *Dolgorucki* was a nephew of *Stenko Razin*, and a nun in man's habit, put over her monastic dress. This nun had commanded seven thousand men, and acted with much valour in the war. When taken prisoner, there appeared not the least alteration in her, nor any fear of death when she was sentenced to be burnt alive: for among the *Russians*, the deserting a monastery was, in those times, thought a crime never to be forgiven. A little before her death, she wished that many more had behaved as courageously as she had done; and then, said she, the knez *George* would have found his best safety in his heels. Being come to the place of execution, she signed herself after the *Russian* manner, with the cross on her forehead and breast, and then laid down quietly upon the pile, where she was burnt to ashes.

The rebellion
entirely quelled.

WHEN the rebellion was pretty well quelled in those parts, the czar sent the knez *Constantine Zarbatoff* to disperse the rebels about *Tamhoff*, a town situated on the river *Don*, in the province of *Rezan*, about fifty wersts on the north-east of *Sergog*. This was soon effected, and all the discontented countries were reduced to their former obedience, after the destruction of about one hundred thousand men, killed in the field, or put to death by the hangman. The czar was exceedingly grieved at the melancholy necessity of taking away so many lives; but there are occasions when such severities are absolutely requisite, and a sovereign is forced to sacrifice some members, to save the body of the state.

STENKO RAZIN, alarmed at the loss of his friends on every side, knew not where to seek for safety for himself. He suspected every one, and feared lest some of his own people should follow the example of the inhabitants of *Lysko*, who had delivered up the chiefs of the rebels, in order to make their peace with the czar. Full of this idea, he betook himself to the deserts, and wandered there from place to place, till at length he fell into

into the snare he hoped to guard against, and was betrayed by the person in whom he had the greatest confidence. This was his godfather, *Cornelius Jacoloff*, a commander of the *Cosaks*, who had remained faithful to the czar, but was always so highly respected by *Stenko*, that this last could not imagine he had reason to distrust him. But he did not consider, that, by revolting against his lawful sovereign, he had lost all title to the favour of honest men.

JACOLOFF, entering into serious conversation with him about the state of his affairs, after representing the danger he was daily in of being murdered by assassins, betrayed by false friends, or overpowered by the superior forces of the czar, which it would not be possible for him long to resist, advised him to think of making terms with his prince. *Stenko*, dejected by his late misfortunes, listened to the proposal: upon which *Jacoloff* proceeded to tell him, that the czar himself, sensible of the many important services it was in his power to render him, desired a reconciliation, and wished to see him at *Moscow*; adding, that he was authorised to assure him, that he would be received there with great distinction; that all the inhabitants of that city would come out to meet him; that he would be allowed to make a public entry; and that extraordinary honours would afterwards be conferred upon him.

STENKO, wrought upon by these, and many other similar persuasions, which the gloomy aspect of his situation contributed not a little to enforce, at length consented to go to *Moscow*, upon a farther assurance that he should see the czar himself, and plead his own cause. His brother *Trolka*, who was forced to accompany him, blamed *Stenko* for all the mischief that had been done, and for the step he then took: but this last endeavoured to comfort him, by telling him of the great honours they should receive at *Moscow*.

UPON their arrival within a verst of that capital, they were met by a prodigious croud of people, in the midst of whom was, instead of a triumphal car for their public entry, a waggon, with a gibbet erected in it, to which *Stenko* was immediately fastened by a chain about his neck and hands. His brother *Trolka* was made to walk on foot, chained to the side of the waggon. In this manner they were conducted through thousands of spectators, on whom *Stenko* never once looked, but kept his eyes on the ground. They were carried to the *Smenski-Dor*, and some days after put to the question, when *Stenko* was condemned to the punishment inflicted on criminals guilty of high treason; which is, to have their arms, legs, and head cut off, and their bodies thrown to the dogs (K).

STENKO suffered without a groan, after his sentence had been publicly read to him at the place of execution. *Trolka* was also brought to the scaffold, but pardoned, upon his promising to discover where his brother had concealed his treasure.

THE death of this rebel was immediately followed by the surrender of *Astracan*; *Sjourteous*, surnamed the *Devil's Whisker*, whom the traitor *Stenko* had left to govern that city, being poisoned by his own soldiers, who hoped thereby to get their pardon from the czar: but as there are always some men, whom neither the fear of committing crimes, nor the dread of punishment can deter, one of *Sjourteous's* guards put himself at the head of those who continued in the revolt. However, the *Russian* commanders soon hemmed them in on all sides, and prevented their escape. All the other places which *Stenko* had taken, returned directly to their due allegiance.

WHILE *Russia* was agitated by this rebellion, *Poland* was not less disturbed. The *Zaporog Cosaks*, headed by one of their chiefs called *Dorosensko*, did as much mischief there, as *Stenko's* ruffians upon the borders of the *Volga*. The weak *Michael Wiesnoiwieski* was just elected in the room of *John Casimir*, who, from cardinal, had been made king, and had now changed his crown for the abbey of *St. Germain* in *Paris*.

KING *Michael*, at his first coming to the throne, sent an embassy to *Moscow*, and renewed the treaty of friendship between the *Russians* and the *Poles*. At the same time the *Turks*, solicited by the *Tartars*, who were in alliance with *Dorosensko*, and yet more strongly tempted by the deplorable situation of the kingdom of *Poland*, rent by the unhappy divisions which reigned among her nobles, took up arms, to make their advantage of these misfortunes. The czar, not doubting but that after ravaging *Poland*, where little resistance could then have been made, they would turn their arms against *Russia*, sent a minister to *Constantinople*, to notify to the divan the renewal of this alliance, and to declare, that he could not avoid breaking with the *Ottoman Porte* if they attacked *Poland*.

(L) *Strahlenberg* says (1) he was decoyed to *Moscow* by a crafty secretary, on pretence of an accommodation: that he was first imprisoned there, and then carried through the city on a triumphal chariot, upon which stood a gallows; and that he was at last hanged

upon another high and costly gibbet; because his design was to have usurped the kingdom of *Astracan*, and to assume the title of king. The author of the *Veranderdes Russland* says (2) that he was quartered.

The Turks
seek to quarrel
with Poland.

In the mean time the *Tartars* and *Dorofensko's Cofaks* continued their hostilities, and made themselves masters of a great part of the *Ukraine*, of which the *Turks* pretended that the *Poles* had no right to complain, because, said they, that province was entirely free, and its inhabitants, the *Zaporog Cofaks*, had always been under the protection of the *Ottoman* empire.

Peace made be-
tween them.

It was thought that the grand signior would not have taken up arms but at the instigation of *France*, who had many subjects of complaint against the court of *Poland*, and, besides, sought to find employment for the emperor, whose interest to oppose the progress of the *Turks* could not but oblige him to enter into this quarrel. All *Europe*, except *France*, was on the side of *Poland*. It is true the United Provinces, *France* and *England*, were then at war among themselves. The czar assisted *Poland* with an army of twenty thousand men, commanded by old *Gowaski*, whilst a body of *Don* and *Zaporog Cofaks* made an irruption into the *Crim*, which caused a diversion very favourable to the *Poles*, but could not prevent the taking of the important fortress of *Kaminiec*. The *Calmucks* were then ordered to march, to continue the invasion: upon which a peace, such as it was, was made between the king of *Poland* and the sultan. The *Tartar* khan, *Selim Girey*, being obliged to quit *Poland*, in order to succour the *Crim*, covered his departure under the honourable pretext of making himself mediator of this treaty, which was concluded in a very short time, as it usually happens between two powers, when one of them is entirely exhausted. *Kaminiec* and *Podolia* were to be ceded to the *Turks*; the *Cofaks* were to have the *Ukraine*; and satisfaction was to be made to the khan of *Tartary*, by paying him eleven thousand crowns, and a yearly pension of the same value. A tribute of twenty-two thousand ducats was also to be sent every year to the *Porte*. Nothing was stipulated in favour of the *Russians*. The *Turks* and *Tartars* took and killed, in this short war, upwards of three hundred thousand *Poles*.

Haughty an-
swer of the
czar to the
grand signior.

THE divisions among the *Cofaks* having obliged them to seek protection, one part from *Russia*, and the other from the grand signior, this last expected, that, in consequence of the late cession of the *Ukraine*, the czar should evacuate all the places he possessed there; and to this purpose sent an aga to *Moscow*. The czar told him, that "he was not capable of so much baseness as to submit to a Mahometan dog, and that, if the grand signior threatened him with his scymetar, he hoped his sabre would not be useless."

The Turks re-
new the war
against the
Poles.

NOTWITHSTANDING this resolute answer, the divan, dissatisfied with the peace with *Poland*, obliged the sultan to take up arms again; and after debating for some time, whether they should make war against the czar or *Poland*, determined for the last; not doubting but if they conquered that kingdom, *Russia* would afterwards become an easy prey. Fraught with this idea, the sultan sent back a *Moscovite* ambassador, who was then at *Constantinople*, with orders to notify to his master the czar *Alexis*, that if he any ways assisted *Poland*, his highness would fall upon him with such forces as should soon over-run *Russia*.

The sultan's
answer to a
letter from the
czar.

THESE menaces produced a letter yet more haughty than the foregoing answer; and, at the same time, the czar sent a solemn embassy to the king of *Poland*, to assure him, that he might depend on twenty thousand *Russians*, and every other service in his power. *Alexis* not only kept his word in regard to these succours, but ordered twenty-two thousand more to advance to the borders of the *Dnieper*, to be ready to cross that river on the first notice: besides which, the *Cofaks* and *Calmucks* were directed to make a fresh irruption into the *Crim*, where they gave the *Tartars* employment enough to prevent their joining the *Turks*, as they would otherwise have done. In the mean time the sultan laid the czar's letter before his council, and, with their advice, returned him the following answer.

"MOST excellent of christian hospodars, &c. After saluting you kindly, we declare to you, that upon receiving your letter to our most high, most clement, and most glorious imperial majesty, master of the universe, and equal in power to *Alexander the Great* (may the Almighty still increase our strength!) we caused the same to be translated and read: and we find, that in the hopes of succouring your friend and neighbours, you speak to us in terms, which are not usual among kings and monarchs. Though, by the particular providence of the Almighty, our imperial house is raised above all others, and not accustomed to expressions so injurious and indecent; yet we shall give you for answer, that we cannot but be greatly astonished, that you, who do not hold the first rank among the Christian kings and potentates, and who would not have obtained even an equality with them, had you not procured from our majesty peace for yourself and subjects, should dare to make use of such terms: terms which not only offend our majesty, but might cost you your dominions. As to what concerns *Poland*, we have executed what we have resolved upon; and by the help of Providence, which directs all events, every thing on that side is in a good condition, so that nothing more

- a “ more is to be said about it: but as to your desiring to assist your good friend and
 “ neighbour, the king of that country, why did you not do it before the war, by giving
 “ him wholesome advice? You might even have been a diligent and faithful mediator
 “ between the most high *Ottoman Porte* and him. But at present, when you threaten us,
 “ that the kings your neighbours will not suffer the progress of our arms, of which they
 “ are jealous; Know that we ourselves pay little regard to such menaces; being satisfied,
 “ that they are not ignorant of the justice of our cause, which has made us masters of so
 “ many provinces, towns, and countries: and since it hath pleased God, that those should
 “ be disappointed who had any ill designs; be persuaded also, that, as soon as we shall be
 “ informed how you intend to act towards us, you shall receive good for good, and evil
 b “ for evil.”

THE czar, finding that the *Turks* were determined to renew the war with *Poland*, used his utmost endeavours to arm all the powers of *Europe* against those enemies of the Christian name; to which end he sent ambassadors to every court in Christendom. His minister to pope *Clement X.* tho' he was a *Roman catholic*, refused to kiss his holiness's slipper, saying, that so mean an act was beneath the dignity of the prince he had the honour to represent. He declared to the pope, in a writing which he delivered in *Latin*, that the czar, his master, had resolved to make war against the *Turks*, to stop their progress into *Poland*; that he had nothing more at heart than to see all christian princes in the same disposition, and wished they would unite against those tyrants; that his czarish majesty had, for that purpose, sent ambassadors to all the potentates of *Europe*; and that he exhorted his holiness to put himself at the head of a league so powerful, so necessary for the welfare of the church, and from which every Christian state might expect the greatest advantage.

The czar sends to all the princes of Christendom to form a league against the *Turks*.

- c THIS ambassador of the czar *Alexis* was greatly caressed at *Rome*. The pope assured him, that this resolution of his sovereign was extremely agreeable to him; and the cardinals *Altieri*, *Barberini*, *Orsini*, *Chigi*, and *de Hesse*, paid him the highest honours. But when they were to give his holiness's answer in writing, they framed great difficulties about the czar's title, because the court of *Rome* supposed, that the *Russians* understood this word to be equivalent to emperor. Several congregations were held upon this subject; and it was resolved, that, rather than give this potentate the title of czar, which was not refused him by any other nation, the pope's answer should be sent to his nuncio in *Poland*, and be transmitted from thence by his auditor. The other ambassadors of his czarish majesty were equally well received every where; and the king of *Spain*, in particular, gave a most favourable reception to the minister at his court: but all ended in empty promises. The situation of *Europe* was such, at that time, that every sovereign had enough to do to manage his own affairs.

- d THE czar had some reason not only to be dissatisfied with the king of *Poland*, but even to distrust him: for though he had assisted him against the *Turks*, as soon as he was attacked, he had not taken any sort of care of the interests of the *Russians*, who were not so much as mentioned in his late treaty: and after the peace was made, the *Polish* minister at *Moscow* had only presented a simple copy of the treaty to the czar; subsequent to which he had several conferences with a *Turkish* chiaoux, without informing his czarish majesty of what passed in them. At length the jealousy, or rather the natural antipathy between the two nations, gave *Alexis* room to doubt whether the *Polish* monarch was sincere in his acknowledgement of the services done him. He therefore ordered his ambassador in *Poland* to demand a farther explanation from the king, and at the same time to assure him, that the *Russian* army, which was on this side of the *Dnieper*, was ready to cross it, as soon as the *Turks* should appear beyond the *Niester*.

- e THE king of *Poland* answered the *Russian* ambassador, that he had the deepest sense of gratitude for the services his czarish majesty had done him, by the irruptions he had made in the *Crim*, by his *Calmuks* and *Don Cossaks*, and for the arms and ammunition he had so generously sent to the *Zaporog Cossaks*. That, though *Komor Orsanski* had communicated to the minister of his czarish majesty, the peace concluded with the *Turks*, and had left them a copy of the articles; nevertheless, since his majesty desired it, he had sent one more authentic, sealed with his seal, to shew him that the treaty contained nothing prejudicial to his czarish majesty. That there had, indeed, been some conferences, since the conclusion of the peace: but that they were only to obtain the liberty of the hostages of the city of *Leopold*: and lastly, that there was no likelihood that this new treaty would subsist long; but, on the contrary, that the sultan would break through it as soon as possible, upon the advices he had received, that all the Christian powers were arming in favour of *Poland*, which he had resolved to conquer; thinking nothing more invincible than his arms, since he had subdued the fortress of *Kaminiec*: though neither his majesty, nor the

republic, had given him reason to violate the peace. His *Polish* majesty besought the czar to give orders to the army, which was near *Kiow*, to join that of *Lithuania* and *Poland*, that they might march together into *Podolia*, and jointly oppose the efforts of the common enemy.

THE king of *Poland* assembled the diet; in which, among other resolutions, was taken, that of intrusting the operations of the crown-army to the grand general *John Sobieski*. The forces of the *Turks*, though very formidable, fell greatly short of their former boastings; the plague in *Europe*, the revolt of the *bassa* of *Aleppo*, and their fear of being attacked by the *Persians*, who had got together a considerable army, having prevented the execution of their vast designs. *Poland* and *Russia* were in a different situation. The grand general had assembled an army of forty thousand men at *Rubieffou*, in the palatinate of *Bielz*, where the *Lithuanian* army of twelve thousand men, beside some horse, was to join them. The czar had one hundred and fifty thousand men in the *Ukraine*; and *Siesko*, chief of the *Cosaks*, had undertaken to find such employment for the *Tartars*, that they should not be able to go to the assistance of *Hussain Bassa*, who was at the head of the *Ottoman* troops. In effect, the *Cosaks* made so successful an irruption into the *Crim*, that, after killing great numbers, they carried off above twenty thousand prisoners, reduced upwards of forty villages to ashes, and spread terror through the whole country.

THIS diversion contributed not a little to the glorious victory obtained by *John Sobieski* over the *Turks* near *Cochim*: a victory, by which that general merited the crown of *Poland*, restored the honour of his nation, obliged the *Porte* to agree to honourable terms of peace, and for which the *Poles* were in a great measure indebted to the generous assistance of the czar.

Michael king
of Poland.
dies.

MICHAEL WIESNOWIESKI, king of *Poland*, died at *Leopold*, on the 10th of *November*, the eve of the day on which *Sobieski* gained the victory we have been speaking of. An *inter-regnum* ensued till the 22d of *May* following, during which several candidates appeared for the crown, as usual. There were three parties: the first, which was composed of *Lithuanians*, and had the famous *Patz*, chancellor of the grand duchy, at its head, proposed the prince of *Lorraine*: the senate, a part of the nobles, and the *French* faction, supported the prince of *Neuburg*; and the third, and most formidable party, being the whole army of the crown, was devoted to the grand general *John Sobieski*, who publicly excited the army to demand a *French* prince for their king, but worked effectually, under-hand, to place the crown upon his own head.

THE czar also thought, that he had some right to hope for this crown for his son; and his ambassador at *Rome* had already endeavoured to obtain the pope's interest to that end, by representing to him the advantage which all *Christendom* might expect from the union of these two states under the same sovereign, who might alone be able to make head against the mortal enemy of the *Christian* faith.

THE affair was of a delicate nature. The pope had not altogether rejected the proposal: but only given the ambassador to understand, that it was not a proper time to do any thing in it, king *Michael* being still alive. The party against *Sobieski*, proposed in the diet, that it should be forbid to elect a *Piast*, that is to say, a natural *Polander*; and those who were inclined to the czar readily seconded them.

HIS czarish majesty offered to unite *Poland*, *Lithuania*, and *Russia*, in the same manner as *Poland* had been united with *Lithuania* under the last of the family of *Jagellon*; and promised faithfully to maintain the catholic religion in *Poland*: to pay the debts of the nation, and to furnish it with an army capable of forcing the *Turks* to abandon all their conquests. Advantageous as these offers might seem, in the then situation of affairs, they made no impression, unless it was to the prejudice of the czar: for the *Poles*, who could not see one hundred and fifty thousand *Russians* in the *Ukraine*, without being jealous of so vast a power in a neighbour that had never liked them, disapproved of his pretensions, saying, that he had no other view in soliciting their crown, but to take vengeance on them for the ravages they had committed in *Russia*.

John Sobieski
elected king of
Poland.

AT length the *Poles* united, and chose for their king *John Sobieski*, whose great qualities gave them just reason to hope for a speedy deliverance from the shameful tribute which the *Turks* had imposed upon them, and which they exacted with haughtiness and menaces. The new king sent an embassy to the czar, to court his friendship: and, on the other hand, *Alexis Michaelowitz* was particularly interested to manage matters so, that the *Poles* might not make peace without him; lest all the forces of *Turkey*, which nothing could hinder from being very considerable at the opening of the next campaign, should fall upon *Russia*. To prevent this, his czarish majesty sent another army into the *Ukraine*, stronger than the former, under the command of general *Romanowski*, who divided these forces into

a into three bodies. The first marched towards *Czeberin*, a town at the south extremity of the *Ukraine*, upon the river *Tesziun*, which falls into the *Dnieper* at *Kyrlow*, the place of residence of the famous *Cosak* rebel, *Dorofensko*, who had been the author of this war, by taking up arms against *Poland*, and drawing the *Turks* into the *Ukraine*. The second body took the route of *Kaniorw*, one of the principal towns of the *Cosaks*, upon the *Dnieper*, about ninety miles from *Kiow*: and the third, which was commanded by the *Cosak* *Hanenka*, advanced towards *Czirkassy*, a town on the *Dnieper*, about sixty miles from *Kiow*. This last division met a body of *Dorofensko's* *Cosaks*, who fought with great fury, but were almost all cut to pieces. The *Russians* attacked *Czeberin*: but *Dorofensko*, finding himself too weak to defend so large a place, set fire to it, and retired to the castle, with hopes
b of being soon succoured by the *Tartars*. The *Russian* general contented himself with keeping him shut up in this fort, and employed the rest of his army in reducing all the little places of the *Ukraine*, and destroying the straggling parties of *Tartars* that ran up and down the country.

In the mean time the czar, to penetrate into the real sentiments of the *Poles*, caused a report to be spread, that the sultan desired nothing more than to make peace with them, if they would help to drive the *Russians* out of the *Ukraine*. The *Poles*, whose jealousy had been excited by the conquests which the *Russians* had made in that province, fell into the snare, and shewed, that they were not against such an accommodation. The czar then ordered his minister to complain of this to their king, and at the same time offered to
c join his forces to the crown-army of *Poland*, that they might act in concert: but nothing could get over the diffidence of the two courts, nor conquer the jealousy of the *Poles*, who cared not to share the honour of a victory with their neighbours.

WHILST affairs were in this posture towards the *Dnieper*, the king of *Sweden*, *Charles XI.* who had succeeded his father, found himself much embarrassed. He had taken, as that prince had done, the part of *France*, from which he drew large supplies: and to hinder the elector of *Brandenburgh* from declaring for the *Dutch*, he had sent troops into that electorate, where they were beaten near *Febrberlin*. This battle was followed by a league between *Denmark*, *Brandenburgh*, *Holland*, *Lunenburgh*, and *Munster*, united against the *Swedes*, who could not possibly have been able to resist, if the czar, then in strict corre-
d spondence with the *Dutch*, had joined in the confederacy, and carried the war into the heart of *Sweden*, while the others attacked her only in the most distant parts, her dominions in *Germany*. To dissuade *Alexis* from any such design, if it should be suggested to him, and at the same time to be exactly informed of the affairs of *Russia*, the king of *Sweden* sent a solemn embassy to *Moscow*.

A. D. 1674.
The Swedes
send an embassy
to the czar.

THE czar, who was not altogether ignorant of the motives of this embassy, was willing to give the *Swedish* ministers to understand, that tho' he had actually one hundred and fifty thousand men in the field, in the *Ukraine*, he had still other troops enough to act elsewhere, in such manner as he should judge most adviseable. In this view, the ambassadors were received with extraordinary magnificence, and treated sumptuously for some
e weeks at *Nicolsko*, about three miles from *Moscow*, in their way to which capital they were met by twenty-four regiments of foot, of one thousand men each, and eight thousand horse, of six different nations, all compleatly armed, well cloathed, and well mounted. This long train of troops was followed by several companies of merchants, richly dressed, and by two hundred pieces of cannon, of which some were gilt with gold, and some were plated with silver. As soon as the ambassadors entered the city, three *Prastoffs* received them in the czar's coach, while seventy sumpter horses were distributed among their retinue. The czar's master of the horse began this second procession at the head of a fine company of the nobility, magnificently dressed, and superbly mounted. Among this number was the czar's brother. But when the ambassadors were to have their audience,
f count *Oxenstiern* would not consent to make his speech to the czar with his head uncovered, which the *Russians* insisted upon, because the *Swedes* had exacted the same thing from a *Russian* ambassador at *Stockholm*, a few years before. An express was sent to the king of *Sweden* on this account; which *Oxenstiern* was not displeased at, as it gave him the more time to make his inquiries.

DOROSENSKO, blocked up in the castle of *Czeberin*, pressed the grand signior, without ceasing, to send an army into the *Ukraine*, to drive the *Russians* from thence. The
g Ottoman emperor desired nothing more than to withdraw his troops with honour from *Poland*, and by some means to engage the new king, whose valour he feared, to listen to peace. To this end the *Turkish* army, now consisting of near four hundred thousand men, crossed the *Niester* on a sudden at *Sorakka*, entered the *Ukraine*, and seized on *Kosniek*, *Sciama*, *Jampul*, *Kuzsyn*, with several other little places; after which they sent five thousand men to succour *Dorofensko*: but the *Russians* having intercepted them in their march, put them
all

The Turks
enter the
Ukraine, and
lay that coun-
try waste.

all to the sword. This irritated the rebels to such a degree, that, consulting with the *Turks*, they agreed to lay waste all the *Ukraine*, in order to force the *Russians* to retire for want of subsistence. This barbarous design was but too well executed: for in less than a fortnight all that fine province, covered with a plentiful crop, and all sorts of fruits, was reduced to a mere desert.

The king of
Poland
marches
against them.

JOHN SOBIESKI, judging that the sultan would not have taken this step but with a design to fall with greater force upon *Poland*, after he should have beaten the *Russians*, resolved to march to the assistance of his allies: and accordingly, upon the news of the *Turks* having ravaged the *Ukraine*, taken several places, and sent one hundred thousand men to besiege the great city of *Human*; he advanced with the crown-army towards *Jawaroff*, from whence he made four large detachments, to divide the forces of the enemy, and give the *Russians* an opportunity not only to save *Human*, but also to take *Czeberin*, which they still kept besieged, and, at the same time, to seize the rebel *Dorosensko*. *Sobieski* had likewise a great number of vessels ready to throw a bridge over the *Niester*, in order to carry the war into the enemy's country.

COUVANSKI, at the head of the *Calmuck Tartars*, marched into the *Crim*; but too late to save *Human*, of which the *Turks*, springing eight great mines at the same time, whereby a large passage was opened to them to begin the assault, made themselves masters, after killing near one hundred thousand men. *Romadonowski* revenged this massacre, as much as he could upon the *Tartars*, commanded by their khan in person, who returned to succour the *Crim*. The *Russian* general attacked them, and defeated them with great slaughter: but upon a report of the whole *Turkish* army being on the march, *Romadonowski* thought proper to retire behind the *Dnieper*. This occasioned such terror at *Mostow*, that the czar immediately sent a reinforcement to his army, of which he gave the command to the knez *Dolgorucki*, till he should join it himself: for he intended to head these troops in person; and therefore caused his son *Theodore Alexowitz* to be acknowledged his successor, to prevent disturbances during his absence. In the mean time, the crown-army of *Poland*, commanded by *John Sobieski*, lay between *Leopold* and *Kaminiec*, in order to harraßs the garrison of this last place; and the *Turks*, seeing no more enemies, and finding that their forces diminished daily through sickness and famine, returned back by way of the *Dnaube*. Thus the czar lost, on a sudden, the fruits of two campaigns, in the course of which he had subdued the greatest part of the *Ukraine*.

A. D. 1676.
They retire.

THE *Poles* now discovered all their jealousy. They sent a plenipotentiary to *Kudzin*, to treat with the *Russians*, of whom they complained, for not having restored *Kiow*, as they had promised to do. The *Russians*, on their side, complained of several writings of the *Polanders*, in which they had not shewn the czar the respect that was due to him, and proposed an equivalent for *Kiow*.

The Poles be-
come masters of
almost all the
Ukraine.

DURING these altercations, the *Polish* army, now headed only by some rebel *Cosaks* of *Dorosensko's* party, went on from conquest to conquest, till, in less than six weeks, they had subdued all the *Ukraine* as far as *Kiow*. The *Russians*, jealous, in their turn, of this new progress, refused to furnish the *Poles*, who were encamped in the neighbourhood of this fortress, with any provisions, till, upon complaint of their king, who was returned to *Warsaw*, the czar sent orders to the waivode of *Kiow*, not to refuse any thing to the army of the allies: but at the same time he took care not to forget any circumstance that might hinder *Dorosensko's* making his peace with *Poland*, because the surrender of *Czeberin* would have put that crown in possession of all the *Ukraine*.

Death of the
czar Alexis
Michaelow-
witz.
His marriages,
and issue.

SUCH was the situation of affairs when the czar *Alexis Michaelowitz* was taken ill, and died, in the forty-sixth year of his age. He had two wives: one the daughter of *Ilia Danilowitz Miloslawski*, of whom we have already spoken; and the other, the daughter of *Cariloff Nariskin*, a captain of hussars. This last, to whom he was married in the year 1671, survived him, and lived till the year 1694. By the former of these consorts he had four sons, *Simon*, *Alexis*, *Theodore*, and *John*, the two first of which died before him; and four daughters, *Catharine*, *Theodosia*, *Mary* and *Sophia*. The children of the second marriage were *PETER*, justly surnamed *the Great*, and a princess, who was called after her mother's name, *Natalia*. All the daughters died unmarried.

BESIDES these, he had a natural son, whom he created knez, and whose mother he married to a nobleman called *Muschin Pusckin*. But when the czar married his second wife, this lady, having through jealousy dropt some injurious expressions against the new czarina, was sent with her son to *Astracan*, where they died.

ALEXIS MICHAELOWITZ was one of the greatest princes of his time; and one of the best and wisest that *Russia* had known for many years. Though valiant he never

- a made war but when he could not avoid it. He was a father to his people, whose happiness he constantly studied, and endeavoured to render his government as easy to them as possible. Neither care nor expence was spared by him to form them for war, by drawing into his service, with large pensions, foreign officers, capable of instructing them in military discipline. It were, indeed, to be wished, that he had, at the same time, obliged them to adopt some of the customs and manners of those foreigners, which might have established a good correspondence between them and the more civilized people of *Europe*: but the great father of their religion, the patriarch, whose power was not yet curtailed, opposed to this the antient usages, and the fear that such communication might corrupt the established faith. *Alexis* loved his people, loved justice and peace, and endeavoured, during the rest of his reign, to repair the ills which his favourites and ministers had occasioned in his youth, by abusing his too great confidence in them.

THEODORE ALEXOWITZ, born in the year 1657, was just turned of eighteen when he ascended the throne. His father had caused him to be acknowledged his successor, the year before his death, when he thought of putting himself at the head of his army in the *Ukraine*, as we mentioned before. This young prince found his affairs somewhat embarrassed. The war in the *Ukraine* had lasted three years, and followed immediately that which the czar had been obliged to make against the *Cosaks*; so that his finances could not be in good order. However, he continued his father's design upon the *Ukraine*; and with the more vigour, as he wanted to bring the enemy to a good peace.

Theodore
Alexowitz
czar.

- c THE king of *Poland* had now made peace with the *Turks*, in whose hands he left *Kamieniec* and their respective armies had quitted the field. That of *Poland*, reduced from fifty-seven to twenty-three thousand men, went into winter quarters; and that of the sultan passed the *Niefter*, and the *Danube*. By one of the articles of the treaty, the *Turks* offered the *Poles* their assistance to retake the provinces which the *Russians* had conquered from them. *Sobieski* had, indeed, not accepted this offer: but at the same time he did not reject it with that cordiality which would have become a good ally on the like occasion. By another article of the same treaty, the *Turks* surrendered to *Poland* all that part of the *Ukraine* which lies on the west of the *Dnieper*, and reserved to themselves the southern part, then under the obedience of *Dorofensko*.

Peace concluded
between
Poland and
the *Turks*.

- d THE *Russians* had, by this means, a fair field open to them, in which they found no enemy to oppose their enterprizes: so that they soon brought back again to the subjection of the czar, not only all the towns in the *Ukraine*, which the *Turks* had kept for themselves, among which was the strong city of *Czeberin*, but also some other places yielded to the *Poles*; and what still enhanced the value of this conquest was, their taking the rebel *Dorofensko*. This *Zaporog Cosak*, dissatisfied with the *Poles*, as we observed before, had devoted himself to the *Turks* and *Tartars*, whom he invited into *Poland*, and particularly into the *Ukraine*. He had often endeavoured to make his peace with *Poland*, but always with an intent to deceive: and though the grand signior had sent him the general's staff, he sought the protection of the czar *Alexis*, to whom he sent this mark of his dignity, that he might hold it only from him: after which he treated with the king of *Poland*. So true it is, that a traitor will always be a traitor, what party soever he embraces.

The *Russians*
recover their
possessions in
the *Ukraine*.

- e THIS expedition drew upon the czar all the forces of the *Turks*, whose first exploit was the siege of *Czeberin*, where the *Russians* received them with so much valour, that they retreated in confusion, after having lost a considerable part of their army, with their baggage and artillery. Checked by this repulse, they attempted nothing farther during the remainder of the campaign: but as there was room to apprehend that they would return the next year to revenge this affront, the czar sent a minister to *Poland*, to demand, in his turn, the succours which he himself had been ready to give his neighbours, when distressed. But the *Poles* were so far from being disposed to return the favour, that they not only excused themselves, on account of the melancholy situation into which the late troubles and the last war had thrown them, as also of the new treaty concluded with the *Porte*, which would be infringed by granting the succours demanded; but their king himself sent to *Moscow* two ambassadors, *Zeverinski* and *Sapieha*, to take advantage of the czar's distresses, and exact from him advantageous terms. They demanded, "That *Dorofensko* should be put into their hands as a rebel; that *Kiow* and *Smolensko* should be surrendered; and that satisfaction should be made them for not joining them with a body of thirty thousand men, as had been stipulated by the last treaty:" without considering that the diversions which the *Russians* had made in the *Ukraine* and the *Crim*, had been of greater service to the crown-army, than the junction of fifty thousand men.

A. D. 1677.
Where they defeat the
Turks.

Ungrateful
behaviour of
the *Poles* to
the *Russians*.

- g At length, after some debates, a new treaty was concluded, in which it was agreed: 1. That the truce should be continued for fifteen years, including the time that had elapsed since the last treaty. 2. That the czar should pay to *Poland*, as an equivalent for *Kiow* and *Smolenskow*, two hundred thousand rubels, half in ready money, and the

Terms of
agreement be-
tween them.

other half in the ensuing month of *November*. 3. That his czarish majesty should evacuate to *Poland* the towns of *Vielisse* and *Nievel*, situated on the frontiers of *Lithuania*; and that the restitution of some other places, concerning which they could not then agree, should be discussed in the next diet. 4. That all prisoners on both sides should be set at liberty. 5. That a resolution should be taken in the diet, with respect to the succours demanded, and the junction of the armies against the *Turks* and *Tartars*.

A. D. 1672.
The *Turks*
re enter the
Ukraine,

and take
Czeherin.

Are obliged to
retire for want
of provisions.

A. D. 1679.
Deliberations of
the Polish diet
in regard to
Russia.

THE apprehensions of the *Russians* in regard to the return of the *Turks* were but too well grounded: for they re-entered the *Ukraine*, at the opening of the next campaign, with a force still more formidable than the year before, and a determined resolution to carry *Czeherin*, cost what it would. *Romadonowski* was sent against them with four hundred thousand men, and gained some advantages, but could not force them to raise the siege. On the contrary, having made a large breach in the walls, they took the place by assault, and put above thirty thousand men to the sword. This so intimidated the *Russians*, that, numerous as they were, they immediately retreated, and the *Turks* pursued them as far as *Bukzin*, harrassing the rear, and defeating several small detachments made purposely to amuse them, till such time as the body of the army got to a place of safety. The *Russian* general fell deservedly into disgrace with the czar, who rightly judged that he might at least have faced, if not defeated the enemy, with this vast army. However, this retreat, shameful as it was, obliged the *Turks* to make an end of the campaign: for being in an enemy's country, without provisions or magazines, they found themselves unable to undertake any thing, and therefore retreated, in their turn, beyond the *Niester*.

THE *Polish* diet assembled at *Grodno* in the beginning of the year 1679, when the question was put, whether the peace newly concluded with the *Porte*, should be adhered to, as it was not very honourable for *Poland*? or whether it should be broken, and the army of the crown be joined to the forces of the czar, that they might attack the *Turks* together? The emperor's party, and the pope's nuncio, and a part of the diet, were for the last: but the *Poles* in general, thinking to act cunningly with the czar, and imagining he could not do without the succours he had demanded, were willing to make him purchase them with the restitution of the places which they had ceded to *Alexis Michaelowitz*. To this end, their king *John Sobieski* sent an ambassador to *Moscow*, to make the proposition. But the czar, knowing what he had to expect from his jealous neighbours, answered, that he was resolved not to pay any subsidy to *Poland*, and that he required nothing but the junction of forces, that they might act in concert against the common enemy, to constrain him to agree to an honourable peace with both states.

Behaviour of
the czar with
respect to the
Poles.

THE *Turks* found no advantage in a war with *Russia*; for all the conquests they could make in the *Ukraine*, were not worth a quarter of the expences they were at in bringing their army into that province. The divan, therefore judged, that it would be for the interest of the *Porte* to make peace with the czar; and the sultan accordingly ordered the khan of *Tartary* to offer his mediation to his czarish majesty. The design of the *Porte*, which had just renewed the truce with the emperor of *Germany*, for twenty years, was to get rid of all her enemies, that she might afterwards fall upon *Poland* with the greater force, and take *Podolia*. *Spendowski*, ambassador of the crown at *Constantinople*, had penetrated into this, and given advice of it to the king his master, who thereupon requested succours from all the princes of *Chriftendom*, and particularly from the czar, who, when he found himself sought after, imitated the policy of the *Poles*, and offered to join them with a numerous army, on condition that they should renounce all pretensions to places then in the possession of *Russia*. The *Poles* did not reject this proposition: but desired the czar to send them a minister with full powers to regulate the affair, and settle the time and place of the junction of their forces.

A. D. 1680.
Peace concluded
between the
Russians and
the *Turks*.

THE proposals of this minister were very agreeable, but still accompanied with such hard conditions, that it was not difficult to perceive he did not desire they should be accepted. The *Poles* saw that the *Russians* fought only to amuse them, and that if they had not already made, they were on the point of making their peace with the *Turks*, and were not willing to break it without finding considerable advantages thereby: and indeed, those who made the judgment, were not mistaken; for the czar, declaring that he would prefer a tolerable peace with the *Turks*, to the conditions that were to accompany the new treaty of alliance with the *Poles*, actually came to an agreement with the *Porte*. The *Cosaks*, who had put themselves under the *Ottoman* protection, were abandoned, and the grand signior became guarantee of a treaty between the czar and the khan of *Tartary*, by which this last engaged to hinder his subjects from making any inroads into the provinces of *Russia*.

THEODORE had been too much busied with military affairs ever since his accession to the throne, to have time to execute his great designs, for the good of his people, and the

- a the embellishment of the city of *Moscow*; towards both which, he, however, did many things. Faithfully attached to the wise maxims of his father, he protected, as he had done, foreign officers whom he drew into his country from all parts, and gave great encouragement to every useful art. He paved the streets of *Moscow*, erected several edifices of stone in that city, instead of the former wooden buildings, and took great pains to have many other cities repaired. He lent money out of the treasury, to be repaid in ten years, and furnished materials to private persons, who were not in a capacity to build such houses in the city as he required. He was a great lover of horses; which proved very advantageous to the empire, by his sending for stone-horses and mares from *Prussia*, and forming several studs, from which a breed was raised, in a short time sufficient, in some measure, to supply the occasions of the court, as well as of the army. Among other regulations, he also introduced a new police, for the better government of the city of *Moscow*, the streets of which he commanded to be shut up at night, and a watch to be kept there¹.

Civil administration of the czar Theodore.

- THINKING it absurd and unjust that any should pretend to be of course intitled to vast distinctions, high honours, and the first employments of the state, merely because they happened to be born with a great name, though they had no sort of merit to support it; he ordered all his nobles to attend him, with their patents and charters of privileges, which he threw into the fire, declaring, that, for the future, their prerogatives should be grounded only on merit, and not upon birth². But, laudable as this design might be, it could not be carried into execution. Every country has its nobles; and the distinction annexed to birth seems necessary, in order to preserve a proper subordination, and good order, in a state.

- THEODORE, now freed from the embarrassments of war, thought of marrying, and chose for his bride *Opimia Routofski*, a niece of the bojar *Simon Iwanowitz Sabarofski* (M). His nuptials were celebrated with great pomp, in the month of *August* 1681: but this young lady dying in the beginning of the next year, his chief favourite and privy-counsellor, *Jafykow*, persuaded him, notwithstanding his extremely weak state of health, for this prince had always been very sickly, to marry, almost upon his death-bed, *Martha* or *Marva Matweowna*, the daughter of a newly created nobleman, called *Matthias Appraxin*; merely to hinder, if he could, the succession of his half-brother *Peter*. The marriage-ceremony was performed in the month of *May* 1682; but was soon followed by a general mourning: for death snatched away this excellent monarch, to the inexpressible grief of all his subjects, whose welfare he was determined to use his utmost efforts to promote.

A. D. 1681. His marriages.

A. D. 1682. and death.

- THEODORE ALEXOWITZ had no children, but left two brothers, *John* and *Peter*, the first by the same mother as himself, the latter but his half-brother; so that most people imagined *John* would have been appointed his successor. But *Theodore*, having a greater regard for the welfare of his country, than for a bad custom, which, in spite of all objections, prefers the right of primogeniture to every other consideration, judged his brother *John*, who was subject to the falling sickness, and weak in understanding, as well as fight, unfit to provide for the necessities of a state just beginning to emerge from barbarism, and therefore declared *Peter* his successor.

after appointing Peter I. to be his successor.

- THE princess *Sophia*, third daughter of the emperor *Alexis Michaelowitz* by his first wife, leaving her retirement in a convent, to which an ancient custom had subjected the female issue of the czars, few of whom ever married, had been uncommonly assiduous about her brother *Theodore*, during his illness, and even found means to engross a considerable share in the administration of affairs. Her genius was vast, and might have been of great service to the state, had it not been accompanied with an unbounded ambition, which prompted her to aim at no less than making herself mistress of the empire, by endeavouring to set aside the nomination of *Peter*, and to substitute in his stead the weak prince *John*, under the shadow of whose name she hoped to govern *Russia*.

Ambitious designs of the princess Sophia.

THEODORE was scarcely dead when the nomination of a prince but ten years old to be his successor in the throne, the exclusion of his elder brother, and the intrigues of the princess *Sophia* their sister, excited among the *strelitzes* one of the most bloody rebellions ever known³; exceeding the barbarities even of the *Janissaries*, or *Prætorian* guards. On the second day after the funeral of the czar *Theodore*, they ran in arms to the imperial

Horrid sedition of the strelitzes.

¹ STRAHLENBERG, cap. v. Pierre le Grand, p. 93.

² Idem, ibid.

³ VOLTAIRE, Hist. de l'emp. de Russie sous

(M) Strahlenberg (1) calls her *Agaphia Simionowa*; La Combe (2) makes her of the Polish family of *Lupropini*, and gives her the name of *Mary Euphrosina*.

(1) Cap. 5.

(2) *Revolutions de Russie*, p. 106.

palace at *Moscow*, and began with complaining of nine of their colonels, who owed them some arrears of pay. The ministry were obliged to break the colonels, and to give the *strelitzes* the money they demanded. The mutineers then insisted on having these officers delivered up to them, and, of their own authority, sentenced them to suffer the *battogen* (N). The colonels thus treated by their soldiers, were even obliged to thank them for the chastisement they had received; like criminals in the east, who kiss the hand of their judges, after they have been punished. To these thanks, they added a sum of money; which, indeed, was not customary.

WHILE the *strelitzes* began thus to render themselves terrible, the princess *Sophia*, who encouraged them under-hand, in order to lead them from one crime to another, convened an assembly of the princesses of the blood, the generals of the army, the bojars, the patriarch, the bishops, and even the principal merchants, to whom she represented, that prince *John*, by right of seniority and merit, ought to have the empire; of which she hoped in secret to hold the reins: and upon quitting the assembly, she promised the *strelitzes* an increase of pay, besides making them presents. At the same time, her emissaries inflamed the soldiers against the family of the *Nariskins*, and especially against the two brothers of the young czarina dowager, the mother of *PETER I.* The *strelitzes* were made to believe that one of those brothers, named *John*, had put on the imperial robes, seated himself on the throne, and attempted to strangle prince *John*: to which was added, that *Daniel von Gaden*, a German physician (O), had poisoned the czar *Theodore*. At length *Sophia* gave them a list of forty lords, whom she stiled enemies to their corps, and to the state; and as such declared them worthy of death. There cannot be a stronger image of *Sylla's* proscriptions, and of those of the *Roman* triumvirs. *Christian* the Second had renewed these shocking scenes in *Denmark* and *Sweden*; by which we see that all countries have been subject to the like calamities, in times of anarchy and confusion.

THE massacre began with throwing the knezes *Dolgorucki* and *Matheoff* out of the windows: the *strelitzes* received them upon their pikes, and after stripping them naked, dragged their bodies to the great square. After this they rushed into the palace, where meeting with one of the czar *Peter's* uncles, *Athanasius Nariskin*, brother to the young czarina, they murdered him in the same manner: then, forcing the doors of a neighbouring church, where three of the proscribed had taken sanctuary, they dragged them from the altar, stripped them, and stabbed them to death with knives. So great was their fury, that a young lord of the family of *Soltikoff*, which they loved, and who was not in the list of the proscribed, happening to pass by at that time, and one of them mistaking him for *John Nariskin*, of whom they were in search, they killed him in an instant. A striking instance of the manner of those times, is, that the assassins, upon discovering their error, carried the body of the young nobleman to his father, that he might have it interred; and the unfortunate parent, far from daring to complain, rewarded them for having brought him the mangled corpse of his son. His lady, his daughter, and the wife of the deceased, with a flood of tears, reproached him for his weakness. "Let us wait for an opportunity of being revenged," said the old man to them. Some of the soldiers, having overheard the words, they returned quite furious into his apartment, dragged him out by the hair, and cut his throat at his own door.

OTHERS of the *strelitzes*, who were in search of *Von Gaden*, happening to meet that physician's son, asked him, where his father was. The young man, trembling, replied that he did not know: upon which they immediately killed him. Another German physician falling in their way, "You are a doctor, said they to him, and if you have not poisoned our master *Theodore*, you have poisoned others, for which reason you deserve death;" and saying this they murdered him in an instant.

AT length, having discovered *Von Gaden*, who had disguised himself in a beggar's habit, they dragged him before the palace. The princesses, fond of the good man, and reposing some confidence in his skill, begged hard for his life, assuring the *strelitzes*, that he was a very able physician, and had taken great care of their brother *Theodore*. The soldiers made answer, that he not only deserved to die, as a physician, but likewise as a forcerer; for that they had found a large toad, dried, in his room, and the skin of a snake. They added, that young *John Nariskin*, whom they had been seeking for two days, must absolutely be delivered up to them: that they were sure he was concealed in the palace; and that they would set fire to it directly, if he was not produced. *Nariskin's* sister, and the other princesses, terrified with these menaces, went to the place where this young nobleman lay concealed: the patriarch heard his confession, and administered to him the viati-

(N) For the nature of this punishment, see page 62. note M.

(O) He was *Theodore's* body-physician.

a cum and extreme unction; after which, taking up an image of the virgin *Mary*, which was said to perform miracles, he conducted the youth by the hand, and advanced towards the *strelitzes*, presenting the image to their view. The princesses, dissolved in tears, encompassed the victim, kneeled down before the soldiers, and conjured them, in the name of the holy virgin, to spare their relation's life: but the barbarians dragged him away to the bottom of the stair-case, where erecting a kind of tribunal, they put him and the physician to the torture. One of the soldiers who could write, drew up an indictment against them; and they were condemned to be cut in pieces (P). They then stuck their heads, feet, and hands, upon the iron spikes of a balustrade. While these glutted their fury in the presence of the princesses, others laid violent hands on every one that was odious to them, or obnoxious to *Sophia*.

b THIS horrid tragedy ended with proclaiming (Q) the two princes *John* and *Peter*, joint sovereigns, and associating their sister *Sophia* to the government, in quality of co-regent. She then approved of all the crimes of the *strelitzes*, and not only rewarded them with the forfeited estates of the proscribed; but gave them leave to erect a monument, on which were inscribed the names of the persons they had murdered, who were represented as traitors to their country; and lastly, she gave them letters-patent, by which she thanked them for their zeal and fidelity.

John and Peter proclaimed joint sovereigns; and Sophia made co-regent.

c SUCH were the steps by which the princess *Sophia* in reality ascended the throne of *Russia*, without being declared czarina, and such the first examples that *Peter* the Great had before his eyes. *Sophia* enjoyed all the honours of sovereignty: her bust was upon the public coin; her hand to all dispatches; she had the first seat in council, and a power without controul. She had wit at command; composed verses in her native language: spoke and wrote extremely well; and was agreeable in her person. Her ambition alone sullied all these accomplishments.

d To make her brother *John* be the more looked upon by the *Russians*, she singled out a wife for him, in the manner of which we have already seen several examples. *Paraskowia*, a young lady of the house of *Soltikoff*, and of the family of the nobleman of the same name who had been murdered by the *strelitzes*, was sent for from the midst of *Siberia*, where her father commanded a fortress, in order to be presented to the czar *John* at *Moscow*. Her beauty triumphed over all the artifices of her rivals, and *John* was married to her in 1684. At every marriage of a czar, it seems as if we were reading the history of *Abasuerus*, or that of the younger *Theodosius*.

1684. Marriage of the czar John.

e IN the midst of the nuptial entertainments, the *strelitzes* made another insurrection, the cause of which, who would think it? was religion. Had they been mere soldiers, they would not have become controvertists: but they were also citizens of *Moscow*. Whosoever has the knack of influencing the populace by his speeches, is capable of founding a sect: of this we have had instances in all ages; especially since the passion of dogmatizing became the instrument of ambition, and the means of enslaving weak minds.

Singular quarrel about religion.

f RUSSIA had already experienced some disturbances in consequence of the dispute about the sign of the cross, whether it should be made with three fingers, or two. A priest, called *Abakum*, who had been degraded, now broached some new doctrines at *Moscow* in regard to the Holy Spirit, which according to the gospel enlightens all the faithful, and likewise with respect to the equality of the primitive christians, and the following words of Christ, *Among you there shall neither be first nor last*. Several burghers, and a great many *strelitzes*, embraced the opinions of *Abakum*, and the new doctrine gained ground. At length these enthusiasts rushed one day into the cathedral, at the time of divine service; and driving the patriarch and his clergy from thence with stones, devoutly placed themselves in the seats of those ecclesiastics, in order to receive the Holy Ghost. They called the patriarch, *the wolf in sheep's clothing*; a title which all sects have liberally bestowed upon one another. The princess *Sophia*, and the two young czars, were immediately informed of these disturbances; and the other *strelitzes*, who maintained the good cause, were told that the czars and the church were in danger. A party of these *strelitzes*, and the principal burghers, came to blows with the faction of the *Abukamists*: but, as soon as mention was made of convening a council, the carnage ceased. A council was accordingly assembled directly in a hall of the palace. The convocation was not difficult, all the priests that could be found being summoned. The patriarch and a bishop disputed against *Abakum*; and at the second syllogism, they pelted one another with stones. The council ended with beheading the leader, and some of his faithful disciples, who were put to death by the sole order of the three sovereigns, *Sophia*, *John*, and *Peter*.

^w Idem, ibid. p. 102, & seq.

(P) This is the death usually inflicted on parricides in *China* and *Tartary*, where it is called the punishment of ten thousand slices.

(Q) On the 25th of June 1682.

Couvanski
conspires a-
gainst the
state.

Punishment of
some of the
conspirators,

and submission
of the rest.

Rise and cha-
racter of prince
Basil Galit-
zin.

1686.
The Poles cede
Smolenskow
and the Uk-
raine to the
Russians.

1687.
First embassy
of the Russians
to France.

DURING this time of confusion, *Couvanski*, general of the *strelitzes*, thinking no reward too great for the services he and his *ruffians* had done the princess *Sophia*, dared to carry his ambitious views even to the crown; as a step towards which, he audaciously proposed a marriage between his son and the princess *Catbarine*, *Sophia*'s younger sister. We may readily believe, that *Sophia* was not disposed to give quite so great a proof of gratitude, and that his insolent proposal was treated as it deserved. Incensed at this, he put himself at the head of the devotees, the persecuted *Abukamists*, and also raised a party, composed of the *strelitzes* and the people, in defence of the cause of God. This conspiracy was of a much more serious nature than the enthusiasm of the dogmatizing priest; for an ambitious hypocrite is sure to carry matters much farther than a simple fanatic. *Couvanski*, disappointed in his former scheme, now resolved to leave nothing unattempted to open his way to the throne; even by murdering the two czars, and *Sophia*, with the other princesses, and all that were attached to the imperial family. The czars and the princesses were obliged to retire to the monastery of the *Trinity* (R). There they were safe, rather from the strength than from the sanctity of the place. From thence *Sophia* negotiated with the rebel, whom she found means to decoy to come half way, where he was seized and beheaded, with one of his sons, and thirty-seven *strelitzes* who accompanied him.

As soon as the body of the *strelitzes* were informed of this, they flew to their arms, and marched to the convent of the *Trinity*; threatening death and destruction. The imperial family prepared to defend themselves; the bojars armed their vassals; all the gentlemen of the country flocked to the monastery; and *Russia* seemed to be at the eve of a bloody war. The patriarch exerted his rhetoric to appease the *strelitzes*, and made some impression on them; but when they heard that the other troops of the empire, their implacable enemies, were advancing against them on all sides, their fury was at once succeeded by fear, and their fear by the most abject submission; a change not uncommon with the multitude. Three thousand seven hundred of them, followed by their wives and children, went in procession, with halts about their necks, to that very convent, which, three days before, they had threatened to reduce to ashes. In this condition the unhappy wretches proceeded two and two, carrying a block and a hatchet: and prostrating themselves on the ground, they waited for their punishment. They were pardoned, contrary to their expectation, and returned to *Moscow*, blessing their sovereigns; but still ready, without knowing it themselves, to commit the same crime again upon any other occasion.

THESE convulsions being ended, the state recovered its tranquility. *Sophia* was still possessed of the chief authority; *Peter* being held in tutelage, and *John* abandoned to his incapacity. In order to strengthen her power, she shared it with prince *Basil Galitzin*, who was created generalissimo, minister of state, and chancellor. *Galitzin*, descended from the last duke of *Lithuania*, of the house of *Jagellon*, was superior in every respect to any other person in the tempestuous court of *Moscow*: he was not only polite, but magnificent; full of great designs; and learned far beyond any of his countrymen, because he had received a better education. He was master even of the *Latin* tongue, then almost utterly unknown in *Russia*. His active spirit, his indefatigable application, and extensive views for the welfare of his country, would have enabled him to reform the manners of the *Russians*, had he but had time and power equal to his inclination. This is the character given of him by *La Neuville**, at that time the *Polish* envoy in *Russia*; and the elogiums of foreigners are the least liable to suspicion.

THIS minister, after curbing the immoderate power, and consequently the excessive insolence of the *strelitzes*, by distributing the most mutinous of their corps among the several regiments in the *Ukraine*, in *Casan*, and *Siberia*, wisely brought about a peace with *Sweden* and *Poland*, which last, long the rival of *Russia*, ceded all her pretensions to the vast provinces of *Smolenskow* and the *Ukraine*; in return for which, the czars obliged themselves to make war upon the *Crim Tartars*, and oppose their incursions into *Poland*.

TOWARDS the beginning of the next year, the *Russians*, by the advice of *Galitzin*, sent their first embassy to *France*, which had then been twenty years in the zenith of her splendor, by her numerous conquests, by the new institutions and magnificence of *Lewis XIV.* and especially by the improvement of the liberal arts, without which a prince may have external grandeur, but no real glory. *France* had not yet entered into any sort of correspondence with *Russia*: to whose empire she was then so great a stranger, that the academy

* Relation de *Moscovite*, p. 55.

(R) This monastery, about thirty-six miles from *Moscow*, was at the same time a convent, a palace, and a fortress; like mount *Cassin*, *Corby*, *Fulda*, *Kempfer*, and many others belonging to the *Latin* church.

It is encompassed with deep ditches, and brick ramparts, on which is planted a numerous artillery. The monks were possessed of all the country round about, for the space of twelve miles.

a of inscriptions celebrated this embassy by a medal, as if it had come from *India*. But in spite of the medal, the ambassador *Dolgorucki* miscarried in his negotiation, and even underwent a good deal of uneasiness from the ill-conduct of his domestics. It would have been better, says M. de *Voltaire* ^v, to have overlooked their faults. But little did the court of *Lewis XIV.* at that time foresee, that *Russia* and *France* would one day esteem it a considerable advantage to be united in a close alliance.

RUSSIA now enjoyed tranquillity at home. She was indeed pent up on the side of *Sweden*, but had began to extend herself towards *Poland*, her new ally. The *Crim Tartars* kept her in perpetual alarms; and a misunderstanding had arisen between her and *China* in regard to their frontiers. But what galled her most of all, and plainly shews that her
b empire had not yet attained a regular and vigorous administration, was the khan of *Crim Tartary's* (S) continuing to demand an annual tribute of 60,000 rubels: a humiliation to which the *Turks* had likewise subjected *Poland*.

To wipe off this disgrace, and at the same time fulfil the new engagement with *Poland*, endeavours were used to animate all the powers of *Europe* against the *Turks*, and a vast army was raised to invade the *Crim*. *Galitzin* named several lords, as fit to command the expedition; but was answered by his secret enemies, of which his encouraging foreigners had made him many, that none was so capable of it as himself. He would gladly have declined this honour; rightly judging, that he should meet with nothing but obstacles in the enterprize, in spite of all his precautions, and well knowing that he could reap no benefit from the command of a multitude of raw undisciplined peasants: for the *Russian* armies, in those days, had no idea of order and regularity, nor were they clad in uniform, or well armed. It is true, the men were inured to labour and hard living; but they had such an incumbrance of baggage, as is not to be matched, even in our most luxurious camps. He foresaw that his absence would be more prejudicial to the state, than the conquest of the *Crim* could be of service to it or him: and he likewise considered, that his adversaries would not fail to make the most of this opportunity, to ruin him. However, it being insisted on, generals were appointed under him, and he set out for the army, after having obtained the princess's leave that his son should officiate as chancellor in his absence.

1683.
Unsuccessful
expedition of
the Russians
against the
Crim.

THE *Russian* commander traversed the dreary deserts of *Tartary*, till, that country having
d been already ravaged, and burnt up by the excessive heat of the sun, there was no possibility of proceeding any farther for want of forage: upon which he led his troops back to the river *Samara*, where he did what, we believe, was never done any where else. He employed 30,000 men in building a town upon the *Samara*, in order to erect magazines for the next campaign. It was begun this year, and finished the next in three months. The houses indeed were of wood, except two of brick; and the ramparts were of turf, but well lined with artillery, and in a good state of defence. Nothing more was done in this ruinous expedition, the miscarriage of which was imputed to the hettman of the *Cosaks*, *John Samuelowitz*, in such a light, that orders were sent from *Moscow* to depose him, and chuse another in his stead. The unfortunate hettman was accordingly seized, and con-
e veyed bound to a tent pitched for that purpose in the general's quarter. The next morning he was brought before *Galitzin*, and confronted by some of the principal *Cosaks*, who, pursuant to the instructions they had received before-hand, charged him with holding intelligence with the khan, and directing him privately to burn all the forage. *Samuelowitz* was banished to *Siberia*, and *Mazeppa* was appointed to succeed him.

THIS *Mazeppa* was a *Polish* gentleman ^z, born in the palatinate of *Podolia*, and had been brought up as one of the pages to king *John Casimir*, in whose court he had acquired some taste for polite literature; but having in his youth an intrigue with the wife of a *Polish* lord, and being discovered, the offended husband caused him to be severely scourged, and afterwards tied naked on a wild and ungovernable horse, which was then turned loose.
f The horse returned to the *Ukraine*, from whence it had been brought, and carried thither *Mazeppa*, half dead with fatigue and hunger. In this distress, he was succoured by some countrymen, with whom he continued a long time, and signalized himself on many occasions against the *Tartars*. The superiority of his understanding made him much respected among the *Cosaks*; and his reputation increasing daily, *Theodore Alexowitz* had made him prince of the *Ukraine*.

THE *Russian* army, which had now retreated to the river *Marle*, was disbanded by order of the czars; and every general, as well as the inferior officers, and even the private sol-

^v Hist. de *Russie*, p. 108.

^z *VOLTAIRE*, Hist. de *Charles XII.*

(S) *Crim Tartary* is the ancient *Taurica Chersonesus*, celebrated in history for the commerce of the *Greeks*, and still more by their fables: a fruitful, but barbar-

ous country; called *Crim* from the title of their first khans, who took this name before the conquests of the sons of *Jenghiz*.

diers and strelitzes, received rewards, which *Galitzin* had obtained of his patroness *Sophia*, with a view artfully to appease the murmurs of the troops against him; for they began to be greatly dissatisfied with his conduct. This piece of policy had its desired effect: the prince returned to *Moscow*, was graciously received by the princess, and resumed the direction of affairs, with greater authority than ever.

THE czar *Peter*'s friends and relations, being apprehensive of the designs of *Sophia* and her favourite, began to concert measures for counter-plotting them; and for this purpose they called in the assistance of prince *Boritz Galitzin*, cousin to the prime minister, but despised by him on account of his drunkenness and debauchery. However, the confederates managed their matters so well, that he soon became the favourite of *Peter*. This being accomplished, and the czar's party gathering new strength every day, they came to a resolution to get the command against the *Crim* imposed a second time upon *Basil Galitzin*, in which they likewise succeeded; and this prince having obtained whatever he pleased to demand, all the forces were ordered to be at their rendezvous, on the first of February 1689. In December, the troops set forwards from all parts, except *Siberia*, which was excused from sending soldiers, on account of the war that province then maintained against the *Tartars*.

1689.
Galitzin's second expedition against the *Crim Tartars*.

THE preparations for this campaign were much greater than for the last, and most of the troops were commanded by the same officers as before. They prudently marched, before the frost broke, to the other side of the river *Marle*, where the infantry encamped; the cavalry being posted in the towns along its banks. Prince *Galitzin* and the generals pitched their tents on the farther side of that river on the first of April, and on the sixth all the forces met at the river *Samara*, which they passed, after being joined by *Mazeppa*, and in a month's time reached the *Crim*. Their heavy baggage and artillery somewhat retarded their marches.

ON their arrival at *Kairka* upon the *Dnieper*, they learnt from some *Tartars*, who were taken prisoners, that the khan was not at *Precop*, but at *Bondgiac*, little expecting so formidable a force to come against him. On the thirteenth of May, upon advice from the scouts that the enemy was at hand, they began to prepare for their reception. After making the necessary dispositions, the *Tartars* charged the vanguard commanded by *Schein*, and after some slight skirmishes, fell upon *Sheremetow*'s forces, and put them to the rout. The enemy had well nigh carried off the baggage; but prince *Galitzin* sending a reinforcement, the *Tartars* were forced to retire and leave the *Russians* a free passage to *Thorna d'Oliva*, where they encamped for the conveniency of water. A body of *Tartars* under sultan *Garka*, having taken more prisoners, got from them intelligence, which was carried to the khan at *Kalantscheck* river, two leagues from *Precop*: for upon hearing that the enemy had entered the *Crim*, he had quitted *Bondgiac*, and marched with 4000 horse to defend his dominions. On the 16th the khan removed to *Zelona Dolina* with all his forces, consisting of thirty or forty thousand horse, with which he insensibly surrounded the *Russians*, and obliged them to halt.

As soon as the *Muscovite* cavalry were attacked, they fell into disorder. They however made good use of their baggage, from behind which they fired upon, and killed three or four hundred of the enemy, as well as several of their own people. Sultan *Naradin*, on the other side, charged the *Cosaks* under the *Russian* secretary *Emilian*, who, being ignorant of the art of war, and of a pusillanimous disposition, was unable to withstand the *Tartars*, who broke into the very centre of the *Russian* waggons, and carried off twenty pieces of cannon, with their carriages and horses; and had not the bojar *Kourka* advanced with his troops, the *Cosaks* would have been quite cut off. *Sheremetow* was attacked a second time by the *Tartars*; but now forced them to retire; and their whole body being at length repulsed, after they had gained some little plunder, the *Russians* marched the next day to *Kalantscheck*, where their army joined, and formed a complete square. Their baggage was surrounded with the cannon and infantry, who carried their pallisadoes on their shoulders, ready to plant. During this march the *Tartars* appeared again, but being afraid to make any farther attempts upon so formidable an army, they withdrew to the defence of *Precop*, the suburbs of which they set on fire, to prevent the enemy from occupying them.

THE *Russians*, crossing the river at *Kalantscheck*, saw from an eminence the flames of *Precop*, towards which they marched on the 16th, and halted within cannon shot of the town; which they proposed to have attacked in the night; when, on a sudden, they received orders to return.

THESE orders were occasioned by prince *Galitzin*'s having suffered himself to be imposed upon in the following manner. A *Precopian* *Nogay*, attending on the khan, having signi-

a fled to a *Muscovite* of his acquaintance, that the khan was inclined to come to an accommodation, the *Muscovite* undertook to impart the substance of this conference to the general. Having obtained an audience, and informed the prince of all that had passed, *Galitzin* sent a letter in the name of the *Muscovite* to the *Precopian Nogay*, to this effect: "I have related to the general, prince *Galitzin*, what passed between us: he is content to come to an accommodation: it lies upon you to get some persons to be sent to him with the khan's proposals^b." This letter was transmitted to the khan, and hostages were sent on both sides. The *Russians* demanded, that all the *Russian* slaves should be restored; that the *Tartars* should make no more inroads into the czar's dominions; that they should quit all claim to the annual tribute of 60,000 rubels, which they demanded; and that they should not molest the *Poles*, nor assist the *Turks*. The khan, after keeping the *Russians* in suspense a whole day, sent them word, that he would accept of peace on no other terms, than those he had engaged in with the czars; that he insisted on the yearly tribute; and expected to be paid 240,000 rubels for the arrears of the four last years. The negotiation being thus broke off, not without suspicion of a considerable bribe from the *Tartars*, the *Russian* army, no longer able to lie encamped upon the sandy plain, was forced to retreat; and thus ended prince *Galitzin's* second campaign in the *Crim*.

b THE *Tartars* afterwards marched to the river *Samara*, and from thence to the *Marle*; whilst *Galitzin* sent couriers to the czars, and to the king of *Poland*, boasting that he had defeated the enemy, and driven them far up into their own country. *Sophia* thereupon ordered public rejoicings throughout the empire, and rewards to be distributed among the army, which was at length disbanded, and the bojar *Valenski* was left at the river *Samara* with five or six thousand men. Thus did both these expeditions to the *Crim*, far from procuring honour to the nation, only entail upon it disgrace and disappointment; to which was soon added the ruin of their general.

c d DURING *Galitzin's* absence, the czar *Peter*, then in his eighteenth year, had married *Ottokesa Federowna*, daughter of the bojar *Feodor-Abramowitz Lapuchin*; a step which, though wholly against *Sophia's* inclinations, greatly increased the number of his friends. *Galitzin*, at his return, found all his measures broken by this marriage of the czar, whose consort was soon after with child. *Peter*, having been made acquainted with all that had passed in the *Crim*, would hardly be persuaded by *Sophia* to grant him an audience, which, when at last obtained, produced nothing but reproaches. The princess proposed at the same time an unseasonable liberality; which was to reward the bojars for the good services they had done the state, in the two expeditions against the *Crim*. Tho' both the czars immediately declared against it, she at length persuaded them to grant her request, and thereupon gave to prince *Galitzin* one thousand nine hundred peasants houses in several villages, to other commanders three hundred, and in proportion to all the rest of the officers^c. Such gifts had never been known before in *Russia*, and plainly spoke the design of the giver.

Marriage of the czar Peter.

e GALITZIN, supported by the princess *Sophia*, now took a most daring step. The hetman of the *Cosaks* had never entered *Moscow* since that nation had been subject to the *Russian* dominions: but *Galitzin*, under pretence of presenting *Mazeppa* to the czar, introduced him into the capital, with five hundred of his principal officers. He was, indeed, never admitted into the czar's presence: nor would he have been suffered to come within the city-walls, had it not been to favour a design which *Sophia* had formed against the life of her brother *Peter*.

f g HAVING concerted her measures, she pitched upon *Theodore Thekelavita*, president of the chamber of the *strelitzes*, to be the chief instrument to execute the horrid deed. The czar *Peter* was at *Obrozensko*, a country-seat about three miles from *Moscow*. To this place *Thekelavita* advanced with six hundred *strelitzes*; but while he was giving orders, two of them, struck with horror at the thought of shedding their prince's blood, stole privately away to the czar, and informed him of his danger. He immediately sent for the *Nariskins*, his mother's brothers, and consulted them what was to be done? One of these uncles, and prince *Boris Galitzin*, were dispatched to the city, to enquire into the truth of this intelligence. In their way they met *Thekelavita* and his soldiers, and having concealed themselves to let them pass by, they hastened back to save the czar, who had but just time to escape in a coach to the convent of the *Trinity* (the usual refuge of the court, when menaced by the mutinous soldiery), accompanied by his mother, his wife, and her sister, and attended by a few of his faithful servants. The conspirators, upon their arrival at *Obrozensko*, enquiring for the czar, were told by the *strelitzes* then upon guard, that his majesty was just gone from thence with all imaginable speed; and this indeed was all they knew.

Sophia and Galitzin conspire against him.

The conspiracy is discovered.

^b Idem, ibid. p. 104.

^c Idem, p. 3.

THE princess was not a little concerned at this disappointment; and when the czar, in the evening, sent to upbraid her with the treachery, she absolutely denied the whole affair, pretending that those he had taken for conspirators were only going to relieve the guard, and that she was greatly injured in being thought capable of harbouring so black a design (S). *Peter* then summoned the bojars to attend him at the convent of the *Trinity*, ordered the militia to be raised in every town, and having published *Thekelavitu*'s attempt, was visited by a numerous body of noblemen and gentlemen. *Galitzin* was likewise ordered to attend; but he excused himself on pretence of being withheld by the czar *John*. *Sophia* did all she could to engage the *strelitzes* on her side: but they, notwithstanding her injunctions to the contrary, marched directly to the monastery, and assured the czar *Peter* of their fidelity.

SOPHIA then sent two of *Peter*'s aunts, his father's sisters, who assured him, that there had been a misunderstanding in the affair, and earnestly besought him not to give credit to any reports which might be maliciously spread to make a breach between him and his sister. But when he had explained to them all the circumstances, and made them sensible that it was really a conspiracy against his life, they burst into tears, averred their own innocence, and protested they would never return to *Moscow*, but live and die with him.

THE princess *Sophia* applied next to the patriarch; and by her tears and entreaties prevailed upon him to interpose in her behalf. He went to the czar *Peter*, and used his utmost endeavours to effect a reconciliation between him and his sister. But when he understood that he himself was to have been taken off, and that the abbot *Sylvester* was to have been made patriarch in his stead, he was greatly shocked at the discovery, and judged it most prudent to remain in the monastery of the *Trinity* till the affair was cleared up. In the mean time a proclamation was published to apprehend the traitors. The princess, now in a worse situation than ever, after having consulted those in whom she had most confidence, and resolved that the abbot *Sylvester* should make his escape, and *Thekelavitu* be secured in the palace, set out in person for the convent of the *Trinity*, accompanied by prince *Galitzin* and the rest of her friends, in hopes of appeasing her brother: but she had not got above half way before a bojar met her, by the czar *Peter*'s order, and told her she must go back, for that she would not be received; whereupon, knowing the danger of disobeying, she returned to *Moscow*. The next day, the bojars being met, it was resolved to bring the traitors to justice, and a colonel with three hundred men was immediately sent to the imperial palace, to demand *Thekelavitu*, who, after some small resistance on the part of *Sophia*, was at last surrendered with his adherents, loaded with chains, and conducted to the monastery of the *Trinity*, where, being put to the torture, he confessed that he was to have killed the czar, his mother, and her three brothers: upon which he was ordered to a close prison, from whence he wrote to the czar *Peter* all the particulars of the conspiracy.

The conspirators punished.

THE czar, though fully convinced of his sister's barbarity, was unwilling to expose her publicly; but it was with great difficulty that young *Boris Galitzin* could prevent the execution of the prince his cousin. Several others were sentenced to the extraordinary torture (T), which put them to such exquisite pain, that they immediately confessed their guilt, and discovered their accomplices, who were punished with great severity; according to the custom of *Russia*, where heinous crimes, and rigorous executions, were very frequent. Prince *Galitzin*, with his son and friends, were banished to *Karga*, in the neighbourhood of *Archangel* (V); and all his possessions, which were immense, were forfeited to the crown. The ladies of the prince and his son, were exiled with them, but suffered to take no more than thirty rubels among them all. *Thekelavitu* was beheaded the next day, with two

(S) *La Neuville*, the *Polish* envoy, who then resided at *Moscow*, and was an eye-witness to what passed, asserts (1) that *Sophia* and *Galitzin* engaged the new chief of the *strelitzes* to sacrifice the young czar to their ambition: and *M. de Voltaire* says (2), that the secret memoirs entrusted to him by the court of *Russia*, affirm that a scheme was actually laid to murder *Peter* I. and that the blow was upon the point of being struck, by which *Russia* would have been deprived of a prince, from whom she has received a new existence.

(T) A dreadful punishment! inflicted by letting water fall from some height, drop by drop, upon the close-shaved head of the offender, who is fastened so that he cannot possibly stir.

(V) *La Neuville*, who was present at this whole catastrophe, says (3) that *Galitzin*'s sentence was pronounced in the following words: "Thou art commanded, by the most merciful czar, to repair to *Karga*, a town under the pole, and there to continue the remainder of thy days. His majesty, out of his excessive goodness, allows thee three pence a-day."

There is no town under the pole, as *M. de Voltaire* justly observes (4). *Karga* is in the 62d degree of latitude; only six degrees and a half farther north than *Moscow*; so that the person who pronounced this sentence, must have been a very bad geographer. But, it is said, that *La Neuville* was imposed upon by a false account.

(1) *Relation de Moscovie*, p. 116.
(4) *Hist. de Russie*, p. 113.

(2) *Hist. de Russie*, p. 111.

(3) *Relation de Moscovie*, p. 143.

^a strelitzes who were to have been the assassins. The colonel of the detachment of the conspirators was whipped, had his tongue cut out, and was sent to end his days in *Siberia*: five other strelitzes likewise had their tongues cut out, and were sent to the same place to kill fables.

WHEN these executions were over, the czar *Peter* ordered *Sophia* to quit the palace, and retire to a convent which she had built at *Dewitz*. He then returned to *Moscow*, and made his entry on horseback, attended by a guard of eighteen thousand strelitzes; his wife and mother following in a coach. The czar *John* received him at the outer gate of the palace, and after embracing each other with great affection, they retired to their respective apartments.

End of the administration of the princess Sophia.

^b Thus ended the regency of the princess *Sophia*, who had governed the *Russian* empire for several years; but by endeavouring to get the power into her own hands, she not only lost the authority she had maintained in the name of her brothers; but also her liberty; being kept in confinement, a punishment which a woman of her temper might probably think more than adequate to all her offences, from that time till her death, which did not happen till fifteen years after (W). Some efforts were indeed made by her partizans to re-instate her, but they proved fruitless, as we shall see in the sequel. The *Nariskins*, whom she had taken every opportunity to humble during her administration, now returned to court, and were preferred to the highest dignities: the illustrious families of the *Golowins* and *Dolgoruckis* were honoured with great employments; and the new favourite, *Boris Galitzin*, was first ordered to retire to his seat in the country, then recalled by the czar, who was fond of him, and afterwards banished with ignominy for the remainder of his life.

FROM this time *Peter* was real sovereign. His brother *John* had no other share in the government, than that of lending his name to the public acts: he led a retired life, and died in 1696.

^d PETER THE GREAT was tall, and well shaped: he had a noble countenance, eyes that sparkled with vivacity, and a robust constitution, well adapted to all sorts of hardship and bodily exercise: his judgment was sound; which may be justly deemed the foundation of all real abilities; and to this solidity was joined an active disposition, which set him upon the most difficult undertakings^a. But his education was far from being worthy of his genius: it had been spoilt chiefly by the princess *Sophia*, whose interest it was to leave him in ignorance, and to indulge him in those excesses, which, in persons of his rank, age, and circumstances, it had been but too much the custom to overlook. Though but lately married, he was not sufficiently restrained by the solemn ties of wedlock^c; and from his feasting and carousing with foreigners, who had been invited to *Moscow* by prince *Galitzin*, no body would have suspected, that he was to be one day the reformer of his country. However, in spite of bad example, and in spite even of his strong propensity to pleasure, he applied himself to the military art, and to civil government: which shewed, even then, that the seeds of greatness were in him.

Person, disposition, &c. of Peter.

His efforts to conquer the bad effects of his education.

^e It was still less expected, that a prince who had such a dread of water from his infancy, as to be seized with a cold sweat and with convulsions, even in being obliged to pass over a brook, should become the best mariner in all the north (X). He began to conquer nature by jumping into the water; and his aversion was ever after changed into a prodigious fondness for that element.

^f ASHAMED of the ignorance in which he had been brought up, he learnt, almost of himself, and without a master, enough of the *Highb* and *Low Dutch* languages to speak and write intelligibly in both. He looked upon the *Germans* and *Hollanders* as the most civilized nations, because the former had already erected some of those arts and manufactures in *Moscow*, which he was desirous of spreading throughout his empire; and the latter excelled in the art of navigation, which he considered as the most necessary of all.

SUCH were the dispositions of this prince, notwithstanding the follies of his youth. In the mean while his situation was very critical, being obliged to guard against the different factions of the nobility, to check the mutinous temper of the strelitzes, and to defend

^a VOLTAIRE, *Hist. de Russie*, p. 115.

^c Idem, *ibid.* p. 116.

(W) She died in 1704.

(X) The cause of this dread is thus accounted for by *Strahlenberg* (1): when he was about five years of age, his mother went with him in a coach, in the spring season; and passing over a dam, where there was a considerable water-fall, whilst he lay asleep in her lap,

he was so suddenly awaked, and frightened by the rushing of the water, that it brought a fever upon him; and, after his recovery, he retained such a dread of that element, that he could not bear to see any standing water, much less to hear a running stream.

(1) C. vi.

himself against the *Crim Tartars*, with whom he was almost constantly at war. Hostilities had indeed been suspended this year, but the truce was of no long continuance.

DURING this interval, *Peter* was confirmed in the resolution of introducing the liberal arts into his country.

His father *Alexis* had formerly the same views, but never met with a favourable opportunity: he transmitted his genius to his son, who had still a clearer idea of these matters than his father, with more vigour and resolution, to surmount every difficulty.

ALEXIS had been at great expence in sending for one *Botbler*, a shipbuilder and sea-captain, from *Holland*, with a number of carpenters and seamen. These people built a large frigate and yacht upon the *Volga*, with which they fell down that river to *Astracan*: they were to be employed in constructing more vessels, in order to carry on an advantageous trade with *Persia*, by means of the *Caspian-Sea*. Then happened the revolt of *Stenko Razin*, who destroyed the two vessels, which he ought to have preserved for his own sake, and murdered the captain: the remainder of the ship's crew fled into *Persia*, and reached some of the settlements belonging to the *East India* company. A master carpenter, who was a very good shipwright, staid behind in *Russia*, where he lived a long time in obscurity.

Beginning of
his design to
form a marine,

As *Peter* was one day walking in the court at *Ismarhof*, a summer-palace built by his grandfather, he perceived, among other rarities, an old *English* sloop, almost fallen to pieces. Upon which he asked *Timmerman*, his mathematical teacher, and a native of *Germany*, how that little boat came to be of a different construction from those which he had seen upon the *Moskwa*? *Timmerman* answered, that it was made to go with sails, or with oars. The young prince immediately wanted to make a trial of it: but they were obliged to look out for a person, who could repair and fit it for service; and after a long search, they found this very shipwright, *Brandt*, who was retired to *Moscow*. The *Dutchman* put it in order, and sailed with it on the river *Yauza*, which washes the suburbs of the town:

PETER caused this boat to be removed to a great lake in the neighbourhood of the convent of the *Trinity*; where he made the *Dutchman* build two frigates and three yachts, and piloted them himself. Some time after, viz. in 1694, he took a journey to *Archangel*; where he ordered this same *Dutchman* to build him a small vessel, in which he embarked on the frozen ocean, that had never been seen by any sovereign before him. On this occasion he was escorted by a *Dutch* man of war, under the command of captain *Jelson*, and attended by all the merchant-ships in the harbour of *Archangel*. He had already learnt the manner of working a ship; and notwithstanding the eagerness of courtiers in general to imitate the example of their sovereign, he was the only person that learnt this art.

and to have
regular land-
forces.

To raise a body of land-forces well disciplined, and fond of the service, was as difficult an undertaking, as to establish a navy. His first essay in navigation upon the above-mentioned lake, before his journey to *Archangel*, had been looked upon as the amusement of a young prince of genius; and his first attempt to form a body of disciplined troops, had likewise the appearance of being only a scheme of diversion. This happened during the administration of princess *Sophia*: but had there been the least suspicion of its becoming a serious affair, the consequence might have proved fatal to him.

Origin and first
preferments of
the celebrated
M. Le Fort.

He placed his whole confidence in a foreigner, the celebrated *Le Fort*, of a noble and ancient family of *Piedmont*, transplanted near two centuries ago to *Geneva*, where it has filled the first employments in the state. His parents would fain have brought him up to trade, to which this city, formerly remarkable only for religious controversies, owes its present importance: but his genius prompting him to great undertakings, he quitted his father's house at the age of fourteen, and was four years a cadet in the citadel of *Marseilles*. From thence he went to *Holland*, and having served for some time as a volunteer, he was wounded at the siege of *Grave* upon the *Meuse*; a very strong town, which the prince of *Orange*, afterwards king of *England*, retook from *Lewis XIV.* in 1674. The expectation of further preferment, and indeed of making his fortune, induced him afterwards to embark, in 1675, in company with a *German* colonel, named *Werstin*, who had obtained a commission from *Peter's* father, the czar *Alexis*, to raise a few troops in the *Netherlands*, and to transport them to *Archangel*. But when he arrived at that port, after a most perilous navigation, the czar *Alexis* was no more; the government had undergone some change, and *Moscovy* was in an unsettled state. Things being thus situated, the governor of *Archangel* suffered *Werstin*, *Le Fort*, and his whole troop, for a long time to languish with want, and even threatened to send them to the extremity of *Siberia*. Every man then shifted for himself. *Le Fort*, being in great necessity, repaired to *Moscow*, where he offered his service to *de Horn*, the *Danish* resident, who made him his secretary. There he learned the *Russian* language; and some time after found an opportunity of being introduced to the czar *Peter*, knowing that it would be of no use to him to be presented to *John* the elder brother. *Peter* took a liking to him, and immediately appointed him a captain of foot. *Le Fort* did not

a not understand much of the military service, nor was he a man of literature, having applied himself deeply to no one particular art or science; but he had seen a good deal, and was capable of forming a right judgment of what he saw: like the czar, he was indebted for every thing to his own genius: besides, he understood the *Higb* and *Low Dutch* languages, which *Peter* was learning at that time, in hopes that both those nations would facilitate his designs. Finding that he was intirely agreeable to *Peter*, he attached himself to that prince's service: by administering to his pleasures he became his favourite; and confirmed this intimacy by his abilities. The czar entrusted him with the most dangerous design a *Russian* sovereign could then possibly form, that of abolishing the seditious and barbarous body of forces, called the *strelitzes*. The great sultan *Osman* had lost his life, for attempting to reform the *Janizaries*. *Peter*, young as he was, went to work in a much abler manner than *Osman*. He began with forming, at his country-residence of *Preobranzinski*, a company of fifty of his youngest domestics; and some of the sons of bojars were chosen for their officers. But in order to teach those young bojars a subordination, with which they were wholly unacquainted, he made them pass through all the military degrees, setting them an example himself, and serving successively as private centinel, serjeant, and lieutenant of the company. This was a very extraordinary conduct, but of infinite use to the state: for hitherto the *Muscovites* had made war, after the manner of our ancestors at the time of the feudal tenures; when a number of vassals, undisciplined and ill-armed, were led against the enemy by their lords, who had not the least share of experience; a very rude method of waging war; sufficient indeed for acting against the same kind of armies, but of no use against regular troops.

Peter resolves to abolish the strelitzes.

THIS company, which had been raised by *Peter* only, soon increased in numbers, and was afterwards the regiment of *Preobranzinski* guards. Another company, formed on the same plan, became in time the regiment of guards, known by the name of *Semenowskip*.

Creates new guards.

THE czar had now a regiment of five thousand men on foot, on whom he could depend; trained by general *Gordon*, a *Scotchman*, and composed almost entirely of foreigners. *Le Fort*, who had seen very little service, yet was qualified for any commission, undertook to raise a regiment of twelve thousand men, and effected his design. Five colonels were appointed to serve under him; and he was made general of this little army, which had been raised as much to oppose the *strelitzes*, as the enemies of the state: to whose great mortification, and to the utter disappointment of all the hopes and expectations of the princess *Sophia*, the czarina was this year delivered of a son, who, according to the *Russian* custom of giving the christian name of the father for the surname of the son, was called *Petrowitz*.

Raises LeFort to the rank of general.

1690.
Birth of the czarowitz, Alexis Petrowitz.

WE ought to observe, which indeed confounds the impertinence of those who pretend that *France* lost very few inhabitants by the revocation of the edict of *Nantes*, that one-third of this army, which was only called a *regiment*, consisted of *French* refugees (Y). *Le Fort* disciplined his new corps with as much exactness, as if he had followed this exercise all his life.

PETER was desirous of seeing one of those mock fights, which had been lately introduced in times of peace. He caused a fort to be erected, which one part of his new troops were to defend, and the other to attack. The difference on this occasion was, that instead of exhibiting a sham engagement, they fought a downright battle, in which several soldiers were killed, and a great many wounded. *Le Fort*, who commanded the attack, received a considerable wound. These bloody sports were intended to inure the troops to martial discipline; but it was a long time before this could be effected, and not without a great deal of labour and difficulty. In the midst of these military entertainments, the czar did not neglect the navy: and as he had made *Le Fort* a general, notwithstanding this favourite had never borne any commission by land; so he raised him to the rank of admiral, though he had never before commanded at sea. But he knew him to be worthy of both commissions. True it is, he was an admiral without a fleet, and a general without any other troops than his regiment.

Le Fort made admiral.

By degrees the czar began to reform the chief abuse in the army, which was, the independence of the bojars, who, in time of war, used to take the field with a multitude of their vassals and peasants. Such was the government of the *Franks*, of the *Huns*, of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, who indeed subdued the *Roman* empire in its state of decline, but would have been easily destroyed, had they contended with the warlike legions of the ancient *Romans*, or with armies like those of our times.

ADMIRAL *Le Fort* had soon more than an empty title: he employed both *Dutch* and *Venetian* carpenters to build some long-boats, and even two thirty-gun ships, at the mouth of the *Woronetz*, which discharges itself into the *Don*. These vessels were to fall down the

(Y) Extracted by M. de Voltaire from general *Le Fort*'s manuscripts.

river, and to awe the *Crim Tartars*, with whom hostilities had been renewed. These occupations had necessarily rendered the czar somewhat less attentive to foreign affairs than he would otherwise have been. *Germany* attacked by the *Turks*, and *Poland* harrassed by the *Crim Tartars*, claimed the performance of his engagements with them against their common enemy; the *Swedes* had renewed their hostilities upon the frontiers of *Russia*; and a dispute had arisen with the *Chinese* about the boundaries of their empire: so that *Peter* was now to determine against which of these powers he should declare war. But before we enter into this detail, it may be right to shew upon what terms he then stood with *China*, and what was the first treaty of peace ever made by that nation.

AFTER passing through *Siberia*, properly so called, and leaving far away to the south a hundred hords of *Tartars*, with white and black *Calmucks*, and *Moguls* of the *Mahometan* and *Pagan* religion, towards the 130th degree of longitude, and 52d of latitude, is the river *Amur* (Z) which runs the space of five hundred leagues through *Siberia* and *Chinese Tartary*, and empties itself into the sea of *Kamtshatka*. To the northward, a great chain of mountains extends to the frozen sea beyond the polar circle.

1691.
Congress and
treaty between
the Russians
and the Chi-
nese.

IT was in this part of the world, which had hardly been heard of by other nations, that the *Chinese* and *Russians* disputed about the limits of their empire. The *Russians* were possessed of some forts towards the river *Amur*, within three hundred leagues of the great wall. Several hostilities had been committed by both nations, on account of those forts; till at length they came to a right understanding, with respect to their real interests. The emperor *Cam Hi*, preferring peace and commerce to an unprofitable war, sent seven ambassadors to *Niptchou*, one of those settlements. The ambassadors had ten thousand men in their retinue, including their escort. This was *Asiatic* pomp: but it is very remarkable, that there had been no instance in the annals of the empire, of an embassy to a foreign power: and what indeed is singular in its kind, the *Chinese* had never concluded a treaty of peace since the foundation of their monarchy. Though twice conquered by the *Tartars*, who were both times the aggressors, they never made war against any nation, except a few hords, which were either quickly subdued, or left to themselves without concluding any treaty. Thus these people, so famous for their knowledge of morality, were strangers to what we call the law of nations, that is, to vague rules of war and peace, to the privileges of foreign ministers, to the formality of treaties, with the obligations from thence resulting; and lastly, to the disputes concerning precedence and point of honour.

BUT the difficulty was to know in what language the *Chinese* could possibly negotiate with the *Russians* in the midst of deserts. This was removed by two jesuits, the one a *Portuguese*, named *Pereira*; the other a *Frenchman*, whose name was *Gerbillon*. They set out from *Pekin* along with the *Chinese* ambassadors, and were the real negotiators. They conferred in *Latin* with a *German* belonging to the *Russian* embassy, who understood this language. The head of the *Russian* embassy was *Golowin*, governor of *Siberia*, who had a more splendid retinue than the *Chinese* themselves, and thereby gave a high idea of the *Russian* empire to a people who looked upon themselves as the only power upon earth. The jesuits fixed the limits of both empires, at the river *Kerbechi*, near the spot where the treaty was concluded. The country south of that river was adjudged to the *Chinese*, the north to the *Russians*, who lost only a small fort, which happened to have been built beyond the limits. A peace was agreed to; and after some contests, both the *Russians* and *Chinese* swore to it in these terms: "If any of us entertains the least thought of renewing the flames of war, we beseech the supreme Lord of all things, who knows the heart of man, to punish the traitor with sudden death."

FROM this form of treaty, signed by the *Chinese* and by christians, we may infer two points of great importance; the first, that those who administer the *Chinese* government, are neither atheists nor idolaters, as they have been so often represented by contradictory implications; the second, that all civilized nations in effect acknowledge the same God, notwithstanding the particular errors they may labour under, from the prejudice of education. The treaty was reduced into *Latin*, and two copies were made of it. The *Russian* ambassadors set their names the first to the copy left in their possession; and the *Chinese*

^f Memoirs of the Jesuits *Pereira* and *Gerbillon*.

(Z) At the mouth of this river they are said to have fish of a much larger size than the hippopotamus of the *Nile*, and that the tooth thereof is a much harder and whiter ivory. It is further pretended, that these teeth were formerly a material of traffic, and that they used to be conveyed through *Siberia*; which is the reason that many of them are still found buried in the fields.

This is the most probable account of the fossil ivory, of which we have already made mention; for it seems quite chimerical to pretend that there were elephants formerly in *Siberia*. The *Amur* is stiled the *Black River* by the *Manchoux-Tartars*, and the *Dragon River* by the *Chinese*.

^a also signed theirs the first, according to the *European* manner of treating between equal powers. On this occasion was observed another custom of the *Asiatic* nations, and indeed of the earliest ages; the treaty was engraved on two large pillars, erected on the spot, to determine the boundaries of the two empires. Three years after this, the czar sent a *Danish* gentleman, *Isbrant Ides*, upon an embassy to *China*; in consequence of which, an advantageous commerce subsisted between the two nations till the rupture in 1722; since which it has been again revived with new vigour.

^b It was not so easy to settle matters with the *Turks*: this even seemed a proper time for the czar to raise himself on their ruin. The *Venetians*, whom they had long overpowered, began to retrieve their losses. *Morosini*, the same who surrendered *Candia* to the *Turks*, was dispossessing them of *Peloponnesus*, whereby he obtained the title of *Peloponnesian*, an honour which revived the memory of the *Roman* republic. *Leopold*, emperor of *Germany*, had gained some advantages over the *Ottoman* forces in *Hungary*; and the *Poles* were at least able to repel the incursions of the *Crim Tartars*.

1694.
Expedition of
the Russians
to the Palus
Mæotis.

PETER improved these circumstances, to discipline his troops, and to acquire, if possible, the empire of the *Black Sea*. General *Gordon* marched along the *Don* towards *Asoph*, with his regiment of five thousand men; he was followed by general *Le Fort* with his regiment of twelve thousand; by a body of *Strelitzes* under the command of *Scheremetoff*, and *Schein*, officers of *Prussian* extraction, by a body of *Cosaks*, and by a large train of artillery. In short, every thing was ready for this grand expedition by the end of the year 1694.

^c THE *Russian* army began its march under the command of marshal *Scheremetoff*, in the beginning of the summer of 1695, in order to attack the town of *Asoph*, situated at the mouth of the *Tanais*, or river *Don*, and at the further extremity of the *Palus Mæotis*, now called the *Zabac Sea*. The czar was with the troops, but appeared only as a volunteer; being desirous to learn, before he would take upon him to command. During their march they stormed two forts, which the *Turks* had erected on the banks of the river.

1695.
Where they be-
siege Asoph, a
first time, in
vain.

THIS was an arduous enterprize, *Asoph* being very strong, and defended by a numerous garrison. The czar had employed several *Venetians* in building barks like the *Turkish* saicks, which together with two *Dutch* frigates, were to fall down the *Woronetz*; but not being ready in time, they could not get into the sea of *Asoph*. All beginnings are difficult.

^d The *Russians* having never as yet made a regular siege, miscarried in this first attempt.

^e ONE *Jacob*, a native of *Dantzick*, had the direction of the artillery under the command of general *Schein*; for as yet they had none but foreign officers belonging to the train, and indeed none but foreign engineers, and foreign pilots. This *Jacob* had been condemned to the *batogs* by *Schein*, the *Prussian* general. These severities were thought necessary at that time, in support of authority. The *Russians* submitted to such treatment, notwithstanding their disposition to mutiny; and after they had undergone that corporal punishment, they continued in the service as usual. Our *Dantzicker* was of another way of thinking, and determined to be revenged: whereupon he nailed up the cannon, deserted to the enemy, turned *Mahometan*, and defended the town with great success. This example shews that the lenity now used in *Muscovy* is preferable to the ancient rigour, and a more effectual method of keeping men to their duty, who, by an improvement in their education, have imbibed some notions of honour. At that time it was necessary to treat the lower class of people with great severity; but, since their manners are changed, the clemency of the late empress *Elizabeth* compleated the work, which her august father began to effectuate by the authority of laws. The lenity of this princess was carried to a degree unparalleled in the history of any nation. She promised, that no body should be put to death during her reign; and she kept her word. No sovereign before her ever shewed this regard to the human species. Malefactors are now condemned to serve in the mines, and other publick works; a regulation not less prudent than humane, since it renders this punishment of some advantage to the state. In other countries they only know how to put a criminal to death, with the apparatus of an executioner; but are not able to prevent the commission of crimes. The terror of death does not perhaps make such an impression on evil doers, who are generally given to idleness, as the fear of chastisement and hard labour every day.

^f To return to the siege of *Asoph*, which was now defended by the person, who had before directed the approaches: the besiegers made a vain attempt to storm the town, and after losing a great number of men were obliged to raise the siege.

^g PERSEVERANCE in his undertakings was the characteristic of *Peter* the Great. In the spring of 1696 he marched a second time to attack the town of *Asoph*, with a more considerable army. About this time died the czar *John*. Though *Peter* never felt any diminution of his authority from his brother, who had only the name of czar; yet he had been under some restraint in regard to appearances. The expences of *John*'s household were applied,

A. D. 1696
Peter besiege
Asoph a se-
cond time, and
takes it.

plied, upon that prince's demise, to the maintenance of the army; a very considerable relief to a government, which had not near so large a revenue as at present. *Peter* wrote to the emperor *Leopold*, to the States General, and to the elector of *Brandenburgh*, in order to obtain engineers, gunners, and seamen. He likewise took some *Calmucks* into his pay, whose light-horse are of very great use against the *Crim Tartars*.

THE most agreeable part of the czar's success, was that of his little fleet, which he had the pleasure to see completely equipped, and properly commanded. It beat the *Turkish* saicks that had been sent from *Constantinople*, and took some of them from the enemy. The siege was carried on regularly, though not entirely after our manner. The trenches were three times deeper than ours, and the parapets were as high as ramparts. At length the garrison surrendered, on the 28th of *July*, without obtaining any of the honours of war. They were likewise obliged to deliver up the traitor *Jacob*.

His maritime
preparations
against the
Turks:

THE czar immediately began to improve the fortifications of *Asoph*, with variety of out-works: he likewise ordered a harbour to be dug, capable of holding large vessels, with a design to make himself master of the streights of *Caffa*, or the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, which opens the passage into the *Euxine* or *Black Sea*, places celebrated in history for the armaments of *Mitbridates*. He left two and thirty armed saicks before *Asoph*², and made all the preparations for fitting out a strong fleet against the *Turks*, which was to consist of nine sixty-gun ships, and of one and forty carrying from thirty to fifty pieces of cannon. The principal nobility, and the wealthiest merchants, were obliged to contribute to the fitting out of this fleet; and as he apprehended that the estates of the clergy ought to bear a proportion in the service of the common cause, orders were issued out that the patriarch, the bishops, and the superior clergy, should find money to forward this new expedition, in honour of their country, and for the general advantage of *Christendom*. He likewise obliged the *Cosaks* to build a number of light boats, such as they used themselves, and with which they might easily infest the whole coast of *Crim Tartary*. The *Turks* were to be alarmed with this great armament, the first that had ever been attempted on the *Palus Maotis*. The scheme was to drive the *Tartars* and *Turks* for ever out of the *Taurica Chersonesus*, and afterwards to establish a free and easy commerce with *Persia* through *Georgia*. This is the very branch of trade which the *Greeks* formerly carried on to *Colchis*, and to this peninsula of *Crim Tartary*, which the czar seemed likely to subdue.

And triumphal
return to Mos-
cow.

AFTER his successful campaign against the *Turks* and *Tartars*, he was willing to accustom his people to glory as well as to military toil. With this view, he made his army enter *Moscow* under triumphal arches, in the midst of fire-works and other rejoicings, intended to decorate the solemnity. The soldiers, who had fought on board the *Venetian* gallies against the *Turks*, moved first in procession. Marshal *Scheremetoff*, the generals *Gordon* and *Schein*, admiral *Le Fort*, and the other general officers, took the precedence of their sovereign, who to shew the nobility, by his own example, that merit ought to be the only road to military preferment, declared, that he had no rank in the army.

THIS triumphal entry seemed in some measure to resemble those of the ancient *Romans*, especially in this, that as the triumphers exposed the captives to public view in the streets of *Rome*, and sometimes put them to death: so the slaves taken in this expedition followed the army; and *Jacob*, who had betrayed them the year before, was carried in a cart, with the gibbet, to which he was fastened, after he had been broke upon the wheel.

UPON this occasion was struck the first medal in *Russia*. The legend, which was in the language of that country, is remarkable: *PETER THE FIRST, the august emperor of Muscovy*. On the reverse is *Asoph* with these words, *Victorious by fire and water*.

NOTWITHSTANDING this success, *Peter* was very much grieved that all his ships and gallies in the sea of *Asoph* should be built by foreigners. Besides, he had as strong a desire to have a harbour upon the *Baltic*, as upon the *Euxine Sea*.

A. D. 1697.
He sends young
gentlemen into
foreign coun-
tries for their
improvement,

THESE considerations determined him to send some of the young nobility of his empire into foreign countries, where they might improve. In 1697, he sent sixty young *Russians* of *Le Fort's* regiment, into *Italy*, most of them to *Venice*, and the rest to *Leghorn*, in order to learn the art of navigation, and the method of constructing gallies^b: forty more set out by his direction for *Holland*, with an intent to instruct themselves in the art of building and working large ships: others were appointed for *Germany*, to serve in the land-forces, and to learn the military discipline of that nation. At length he resolved to absent himself from his dominions for a few years, the better to learn how to govern them. He could not withstand the temptation of having recourse to his own observation and experience,

² LE FORT'S Memoirs.

^b VOLTARE, p. 143, from general Le Fort's manuscript.

- a in order to perfect himself in the knowledge of naval affairs, and of the several arts which he longed to introduce among his subjects. With this view, he purposed travelling *incognito* to *Rome*, through *Denmark*, *Brandenburg*, *Holland*, *Vienna*, and *Venice*. In this tour, *Spain* and *France* were omitted; the former, because his favourite arts were too much neglected in that country; and the latter, because they were, perhaps, cultivated there with too much vanity, and the parade and state of *Lewis XIV.* which had given offence to so many potentates, might not be agreeable to a prince, who intended to travel merely for his improvement, and without any restraint of pomp and ceremony. He was moreover connected with most of the powers, whom he intended to visit, except those of *France* and *Rome*. To which we may add, that he bore a kind of grudge to *Lewis XIV.*
- b for a disregard shewn him by that prince to the *Russian* embassy in 1687, which had been more the subject of public discourse, than productive of any advantage; and that he had already espoused the interests of *Augustus* elector of *Saxony*, with whom the prince of *Conti* disputed the crown of *Poland*.

His resolution being taken to visit the several countries and courts before mentioned, as a private gentleman, he went in the retinue of three ambassadors, in the same manner as he had mingled with his generals, at his triumphant entry into *Moscow*. and resolves to take the same step himself.

- THESE ambassadors were general *Le Fort*, the bojar *Alexis Golowin*, commissary general of war, and governor of *Siberia*, the same who signed the treaty of peace with the plenipotentiaries of *China* on the frontiers of that empire; and *Vonitzin*, diack or secretary of state, who had been long employed in foreign courts. The chief retinue of this embassy were the four principal secretaries, twelve gentlemen, two pages to each ambassador, and a company of fifty guards with their officers, belonging to the regiment of *Preobrazinski*; the whole consisting of two hundred persons. The czar reserving to himself only a valet de chambre, a servant in livery, and a dwarf, mixed with the crowd. It was a thing unparalleled in history, either ancient or modern, for a sovereign of five and twenty years of age, to withdraw from his kingdoms, only in order to learn the art of government. His victory over the *Turks* and *Tartars*, the splendor of his triumphant entry into *Moscow*, the multitude of foreign troops attached to his interest, the death of his brother *John*, the confinement of the princess *Sophia* to a cloister, and above all, the general respect
- d shewn to his person, might naturally encourage him to hope, that the tranquility of his dominions would not be disturbed during his absence. The regency was entrusted to the bojar *Streschnoff*, and the knez *Romadonouski*, who were to consult with the rest of the nobility, in matters of importance.

THE troops which had been trained by general *Gordon*, continued at *Moscow*, with a view to awe the capital. The *strelitzes*, who were likely to create a disturbance, were distributed on the frontiers of *Crim Tartary*, in order to preserve the conquest of *Asoph*, and to check the incursions of the *Tartars*. Having thus provided against every incident, he gave a free scope to his passion of travelling, and to his desire of improvement.

- THIS journey having been the occasion or pretence of that bloody war, which so long obstructed, but at length contributed to promote, the noble designs of *Peter the Great*; which dethroned *Augustus* king of *Poland*; which bestowed a crown on king *Stanislaus*, and snatched it away from him as it were the next moment; which raised *Charles XII.* king of *Sweden*, to the highest pitch of military glory, during the space of nine years, and reduced him to be the sport of fortune for nine years more: it is proper before we enter into a particular narrative of these transactions, to give a sketch of the general state of *Europe* at that period.

- SULTAN *Mustapha* the Second was seated on the *Turkish* throne. His administration was impotent and feeble: he made no great efforts, either against *Leopold* emperor of *Germany*, whose arms were successful in *Hungary*; or against the czar, who had lately taken *Asoph*, and threatened to make himself master of the *Euxine* sea; or even against the *Venetians*, who at length possessed themselves of the whole province of *Peloponnesus*. General state of Europe at that time.

JOHN SOBIESKI, king of *Poland*, who immortalized himself by the victory of *Chocim*, and by the deliverance of *Vienna*, died on the 17th of *June* 1696: this crown was disputed by *Augustus*, elector of *Saxony*, who obtained it; and by *Armand*, prince of *Conti*, who had only the honour of being elected.

SWEDEN had lately lost (A), but did not much lament, its king *Charles XI.* He was the first sovereign who had ever been really possessed of absolute power in that kingdom; and was father of a prince, in whose reign this power still increased, though it was abolished at his demise. He left the crown to his son *Charles XII.* then only fifteen years of age: a circumstance which seemed to favour the czar's designs of extending his domi-

(A) In April, 1697.

nions towards the gulf of *Finland* and *Livonia*. It was not enough for his purpose to harass the *Turks* in the neighbourhood of the *Black Sea*; nor could he make any settlements on the *Palus Mæotis*, or towards the *Caspian Sea*, that would answer his schemes of trade, navigation, and power. The glory too, which every reformer ardently wishes to acquire, was not to be obtained, either in *Persia* or *Turky*; but in our part of *Europe*, where merit and abilities are consigned to immortality. In short, *Peter* did not want to introduce either the *Turkish* or *Persian* customs, but ours among his subjects.

GERMANY was then at war both with the *Turks* and the *French*: but having been supported by her allies, *Spain*, *England*, and *Holland*, against *Lewis XIV.* she was upon the point of concluding a peace; to which end the plenipotentiaries were just met at *Ryswick*.

Travels of
Peter the
Great.

SUCH was the situation of affairs, when *Peter* and his ambassadors began their journey in the month of *April* 1697, by the way of *Great Novogorod*. From thence they proceeded through *Esthonia* and *Livonia*, provinces formerly disputed by the *Russians*, *Swedes*, and *Poles*, but at length conquered by the *Swedes*.

THE fertility of *Livonia*, and the situation of *Riga* its capital, were capable of tempting the czar to possess himself of that country: at least, he had the curiosity to desire to see the fortifications of the citadel: but count *d'Alberg*, governor of *Riga*, taking umbrage at this, refused to gratify the *Russian* monarch, and seemed even to set very slight on the embassy. This rude behaviour is said to have incensed *Peter* so much as to make him tell *d'Alberg*, "that he hoped to see the day when he should be able to refuse the same thing to the king of *Sweden* himself."

FROM *Livonia* they travelled on to *Brandenburgh Prussia*; part of which was inhabited by the antient *Vandals*. What is now called *Polish Prussia* was included in *Sarmatia Europæa*. *Brandenburgh Prussia* was a poor country, very thinly peopled: yet the elector, its sovereign, who afterwards obtained the title of king, made a most extraordinary and expensive figure on this occasion. He piqued himself upon receiving this embassy in his city of *Königsberg*, with a royal magnificence. The most costly presents were exchanged on both sides. The contrast between the *French* mode of apparel, which the court of *Berlin* particularly affected, and the long *Asiatic* robes of the *Russians*, with their caps adorned with pearls and diamonds, and their scimitars hanging by their sides, must have had a very singular effect. The czar was dressed in the *German* fashion. A *Georgian* prince in his retinue, displayed a different sort of magnificence in the *Persian* habit: he was taken prisoner afterwards at the battle of *Narva*, and died in *Sweden*.

PETER in his heart despised this external pomp; and we could have wished that he had shewn the like contempt for carousing and feasting, a kind of entertainment, in which the *Germans* at that time used to place their whole delight¹. It was at one of these sumptuous treats, the bane at once of health and morality, that this prince drew his sword against his favourite *Le Fort*: but he expressed the same concern for this short transport of passion, as *Alexander* shewed for the murder of *Clitus*; for he asked that gentleman's pardon. He said that he wanted to reform his subjects, but that he could not as yet reform himself. *Le Fort*, in his manuscript, seems more ready to commend the czar for this general disposition of mind, than to blame him for being hurried away by this impulse of passion.

He arrives at
Amsterdam.

THE ambassadors went through *Pomerania* to *Berlin*; and from thence one part took their route by *Magdeburg*, and the other by *Hamburg*, a town already considerable by means of its extensive commerce, but not so gay and opulent as at present. They then directed their course towards *Minden*, passed through *Westphalia*, and at length arrived by the way of *Cleves* at *Amsterdam*.

THE czar had reached this city fifteen days before his ambassadors: he lodged at first in a house belonging to the *East-India* company, but chose afterwards a small apartment in the yards of the admiralty. He disguised himself in a *Dutch* skipper's habit, and went to the village of *Sardam*, where many more vessels were then built, than at present. This village is equal in populousness and opulence, but superior in neatness, to a great many flourishing towns. *Peter* admired the multitude of workmen constantly employed; the order and exactness observed in their several departments; the prodigious dispatch with which they built and fitted out ships; and the incredible quantity of stores and machines for the greater ease and security of labour. He began with purchasing a boat, and made a mast for it himself: by degrees he executed every part of the construction of a ship; and led the same life all the time as the carpenters of *Sardam*; clad and fed exactly like them; working hard at the forges, at the rope-yards, and at the several mills for the sawing of timber, for the extracting of oil, for the manufacturing of paper, for wire-drawing; of

¹ VOLTAIRE, from *Le Fort's Memoirs*.

a all which there are a prodigious number around the village. He entered himself as a common carpenter, and was enrolled in the list of their workmen, by the name of *Peter Michaeloff*. They commonly called him *Master Peter*, *Peter Bas*; and though they were confounded at first to behold a sovereign their companion, yet they gradually accustomed themselves to the sight. *Enters himself as a common shipwright at Sardam.*

WHILST *Peter* was handling the compass and axe at *Sardam*, he received a confirmation of the division in *Poland*, and the double nomination of the elector *Augustus* and the prince of *Conti*. Immediately the carpenter of *Sardam* promised king *Augustus* to assist him with thirty thousand men. From his shop he issued out orders to his army in the *Ukraine*, which had been assembled against the *Turks*.

b His troops obtained a victory over the *Tartars* (B), in the neighbourhood of *Asoph*; and in a few months after became master of the town of *Or*, or *Orkapi*, which we call *Precop*. For his part he persisted in making himself master of different arts. With this view he frequently went from *Sardam* to *Amsterdam*, in order to hear the anatomical lectures of the celebrated *Ruisch*: under this master he made such improvement, as to perform some chirurgical operations, which in case of necessity might be of use, both to himself, and to his officers. He likewise studied natural philosophy, under burgomaster *Witsen*, celebrated for his patriotic virtue, and for the noble use he made of his immense fortune. This gentleman dispensed his treasure with a most liberal hand, like a citizen of the world, sending men of abilities, at a vast expence, to all parts of the globe, in search of the most valuable curiosities, and fitting out ships for the discovery of unknown countries. *His troops obtain a victory over the Tartars.*

PETER BAS suspended these occupations for a few days, to pay a private visit at *Utrecht* and at the *Hague* to *William* king of *England*, and stadtholder of the *United Provinces*. General *Le Fort* was the only person present at the interview of these two monarchs. *Peter* assisted next at the ceremony of the public entry of his ambassadors, and at their audience; when the deputies of the states were presented, in his name, with six hundred of the finest fables: the states in return, besides the usual present of a gold chain and a medal to each, gave them three magnificent coaches. They received the first visit of all the plenipotentiaries assembled at the congress of *Ryswick*, except the *French*, to whom they had not notified their arrival, not only because the czar espoused the part of king *Augustus* against the prince of *Conti*; but because king *William*, whose friendship he cultivated, was averse to a peace with *France*. *He pays a private visit to king William III.*

UPON his return to *Amsterdam*, he resumed his former occupations; and having finished with his own hands a sixty-gun ship, which he had begun himself, he sent it to *Archangel*; for the *Russians* had then no harbour in the *Baltic*. *Sends a ship of his own building to Archangel, and all sorts of artists to Moscow.*

He not only engaged *French* refugees, *Swiss* and *Germans*, to enter into his service; but took care to send all sorts of artists to *Moscow*: not without previously seeing a specimen of their abilities. There are few arts and manual employments, with which he was not acquainted; he took a particular pleasure in rectifying the maps of geographers, who having at that time but a slender knowledge of his dominions, frequently fixed the situation of towns and the course of rivers at a venture. He drew a draught himself of the communication between the *Caspian* and *Black* seas, which he had projected some time before, and commissioned *M. Breckel*, a *German* engineer, to carry into execution: this draught is still preserved. The junction of those two seas was indeed a less arduous task, than that of the ocean and the *Mediterranean*, which had been executed in *France*; yet people were frightened at the very idea of joining the sea of *Asoph* and the *Caspian*. There seemed to be a strong reason for the czar to make new settlements in that part of the world, as fresh hopes arose from his successes.

His troops, commanded by general *Schien* and prince *Dolgorucki*, gained another victory in the neighbourhood of *Asoph*, over the *Tartars*, and even over a body of janizaries, whom sultan *Mustapha* had sent to their assistance. This success rendered the czar more respectable to those, who had lately condemned him for quitting his dominions, in order to learn the mechanic arts in *Amsterdam*. They perceived that the weighty concerns of the sovereign did not suffer by the amusement of the traveller, philosopher, and artist. *His troops gain another victory over the Tartars and Turks.*

PETER continued his employments of ship-builder, engineer, geographer, and physician, till the middle of *January* 1698, when he embarked for *England*, in his ambassador's retinue. King *William* sent his yacht to meet him, with a convoy of two men of war. *A. D. 1698. He goes to England; where he perfects himself in the art of ship-building.*

IN *England* the czar followed the same manner of life as at *Amsterdam* and *Sardam*. He took lodgings near the king's yard at *Deptford*, and employed almost his whole time

in gaining further instruction. The *Dutch* carpenters had only taught him the practical part of ship-building; but in *England* he learnt the art by fundamental principles; the builders of this country working by plan and rule, and according to mathematical proportion. He soon became master of the theory, and was capable of reading lectures upon it himself. He undertook to build a ship according to the *English* method of construction, and it proved a prime sailor. Captain *Perry*, the engineer who attended him from *London* to *Russia*, affirms, that there was not so much as a single article belonging to a ship, from the casting of cannon to the making of cables, but what he minutely observed, and set his hand to, as often as he came into the king's yard. His attention was also directed to watch-making; an art which had already been brought to great perfection in *England*, and he made himself thoroughly master of the principles on which it is founded.

and engages
several artists.

In order to cultivate his friendship, king *William* permitted him to take a number of *English* artificers into his service, as he had done in *Holland*; but besides the artificers, he engaged some mathematicians, whom he could not so easily have procured from that republic. He contracted for this purpose with Mr. *Ferguson*, a *Scotchman*, and a good geometrician. This was the man who introduced the arithmetical way of accounts into the exchequer in *Russia*, where before that time they made use only of the *Tartar* method of reckoning, with balls strung upon a wire; a method which supplied the place of writing, but was perplexing and imperfect; because, after the calculation, there was no method of proving it, to obtain a certainty of there being no mistake. The *Indian* cyphers, which we now use, were not introduced into *Europe* till the ninth century, by the *Arabs*; and the *Russian* empire did not receive them till many ages after: such has been the fate of all the arts, to be slow in their progress round the globe. *Ferguson* was accompanied by two young mathematicians from *Christ-church* hospital; and this was the beginning of the marine academy, founded some time after by *Peter the Great*. He observed and calculated eclipses with *Ferguson*. *Perry* the engineer, though greatly dissatisfied with the czar for not having been sufficiently rewarded, acknowledges that this prince had studied astronomy. He understood the motions of the heavenly bodies, and even the laws of gravitation, by which they are directed. This force, so evidently demonstrated, and, before the great *Newton's* time, so little known; this force, by which all the planets gravitate towards each other, and which retains them in their orbits, was already familiar to a sovereign of *Russia*, when other nations amused themselves with chimerical vortexes; and when *Galileo's* ignorant countrymen were commanded by teachers as ignorant as themselves, to believe the earth immoveable.

PERRY set out upon his journey, in order to effect the junction of the rivers, and to construct bridges and sluices. The czar's plan was to open a communication, by means of canals, between the Ocean, the *Caspian*, and *Black Sea*.

WE ought not to omit that the *English* merchants, headed by the marquis of *Carmarthen* (C), gave him fifteen thousand pounds, for leave to import tobacco into *Russia*. This branch of commerce had been prohibited by the patriarch from an ill-judged severity; for the *Russian* church looked upon smoking as an unclean and sinful action. *Peter*, who knew better things, and who, among his other projects, was meditating the reformation of the church, introduced the use of this commodity into his dominions. Whilst here, he frequently went to church, to observe the order of our established religion; and sometimes to the meeting-houses of the quakers, and other sectaries, in the time of their service. He seemed greatly pleased with the armoury in the *Tower*, and also with the manner of coining money. He was carried into both houses of parliament when they were sitting: and was twice or thrice prevailed upon to go to a play; tho' he seemed to have no great relish for theatrical diversions. He always dressed in the *English* taste, sometimes like a gentleman, and sometimes like a sailor; used to go abroad with few or no attendants, and whenever he found himself gazed upon by the populace, he always quitted the place where he was. He likewise went to see the university of *Oxford*; and once paid a visit to the archbishop of *Canterbury* at his palace at *Lambeth*.

With whom he
returns to
Holland.

BEFORE he departed from *England*, king *William* entertained him with a spectacle worthy of such a guest, that of a mock sea-fight; which pleased him so greatly, that he declared, he thought an *English* admiral a much happier man than the czar of *Muscovy*. Little was it then imagined, that the czar would one day fight real battles on this element against the *Swedes*, and obtain victories on the *Baltic*. His *Britannic* majesty likewise made him a present of the *Royal Transport*, a most beautiful yacht, which he generally used for his passage over to *Holland*. *Peter* went back to *Holland* on board this vessel, in the end of *May* 1698,

(C) The czar was particularly pleased with this nobleman, because he was a great lover of maritime affairs, frequently rowed and sailed with him upon the water, and gave him all the information he could concerning shipping.

and

a and took with him three captains of men of war, five and twenty captains of merchant ships, forty lieutenants, thirty pilots, thirty surgeons, two hundred and fifty gunners, and upwards of three hundred artificers. This colony of ingenious men in the several arts and professions, sailed from *Holland* to *Archangel* on board the *Royal Transport*; and from thence were sent to the different places, where their service was necessary. Those whom he engaged at *Amsterdam*, took the rout of *Narva*, at that time subject to *Sweden*.

b WHILE the czar was thus transporting the arts and manufactures from *England* and *Holland* to his own dominions, the officers whom he had sent to *Rome* and *Italy*, succeeded so far as also to engage some artists in his service. General *Schermetoff*, who was at the head of his embassy to *Italy*, took the tour of *Rome*, *Naples*, *Venice*, and *Malta*: while the czar proceeded to *Vienna* with the other ambassadors. He was willing to observe the military discipline of the *Germans*, after having seen the *English* fleet, and the dock-yards in *Holland*. But it was not the desire of improvement alone that induced him to make this tour to *Vienna*: he had likewise a political view; for the emperor of *Germany* was the natural ally of the *Russians* against the *Turks*. Peter saw *Leopold* incognito, and the two monarchs stood the whole time of the interview, to avoid the trouble of the court ceremonials. He proceeds to Vienna.

c d e d DURING his stay at *Vienna*, there happened nothing remarkable, except the celebration of the ancient feast of *landlord* and *landlady*; which *Leopold* thought proper to revive upon the czar's account, after it had been disused during his whole reign. The manner of making this entertainment, to which the *Germans* give the name of *Wurtschafft*, is as follows. The emperor is landlord, and the empress landlady; the king of the *Romans*, the archdukes, and the archduchesses, are generally their assistants: they entertain people of all nations, dressed after the most antient fashion of their respective countries. Those who are invited as guests, draw lots for tickets; on each of which is written the name of the nation, and the character they are to represent. One has a ticket for a *Chinese* mandarin, another for a *Tartarian* mirza, another for a *Persian* satrap, or a *Roman* senator: a princess may happen to draw lots for a gardener's wife, or for a milk-woman: and a prince may act the peasant or soldier. They have dances suited to these different characters; and the landlord and landlady with their family wait at table. Such is the old custom: but on this occasion, *Joseph* king of the *Romans*, and the countess of *Traun* represented the antient *Egyptians*; the archduke *Charles* and countess of *Welfstein* were dressed like the *Flemings* in the reign of *Charles* the Vth; the archduchess *Mary Elizabeth* and count *Traun* were in the habit of *Tartars*; the archduchess *Josephina* and the count of *Workla* appeared in a *Persian* dress; the archduchess *Marianne* and prince *Maximilian* of *Hanover* acted the part of *North Holland* peasants. Peter assumed the habit of a *Friesland* boor, and in this character, was addressed by every body, at the same time that they talked to him of the great czar of *Muscovy* *. These indeed are minutenesses; but whatever revives the memory of ancient customs, is, in some measure, worthy of being recorded.

e PETER was ready to set out from *Vienna*, in order to finish his improvements at *Venice*, when he received news of a rebellion which had lately broke out in his dominions. Before he set out upon his travels, he had guarded, as far as human foresight could direct, against every accident that might happen, and had even provided the means for suppressing an insurrection: but his very endeavours to serve and aggrandize his country, proved the cause of this. And receives the news of a rebellion in his dominions

f THESE disturbances were owing partly to some old bojars, pertinaciously fond of their ancient customs, and partly to the clergy who looked upon the present innovations as sacrilegious. Upon this the old friends of the princess *Sophia* began to shew their heads. A sister of her's, who was confined to the same monastery, is said to have been very active in blowing the coals. It was represented on all sides, that the nation was in the utmost danger of being over-run with foreigners, under pretence of improving their manners; and, which one would hardly expect, the permission which the czar had given to import tobacco into his dominions, notwithstanding the prohibition of the clergy, proved one of the strongest motives to rebellion. Superstition, which sheds its baleful influence over all the world, and yet is the delight of the vulgar, quickly spread itself from the common people of *Russia* to the *strelitzes*, who had been scattered on the frontiers of *Lithuania*: they assembled to the number of above ten thousand, and marched in a body towards *Moscow*, with an intent to place *Sophia* on the throne, and for ever to exclude the czar, who had violated the laws and customs of his country, by presuming to travel for instruction

g * VOLTAIRE, p. 163. from the MSS. of Petersburg and of Le Fort.

¹ VOLTAIRE, p. 167. from Le Fort's MSS.

The regency
endeavour in
vain to pacify
the rebels.

Who are de-
feated, and
surrender.

Peter arrives
unexpectedly at
Moscow.

Exemplary
punishment of
the strelitzes.

among foreign nations : but their pretence was, the pay then due to them. The regency sent to them, with offers not only of all the arrears they demanded, but six months pay in advance, if they would return to their duty ; to which they answered, that they would not listen to any proposals till they had consulted their friends at *Moscow*, and were absolutely certain whether the czar was alive or dead^m. This threw the whole city into the utmost consternation : every one remembering the havock made by these inhuman wretches in their former rebellion, and dreading the consequences of their present disposition ; to prevent which, as much as possible, general *Gordon* was ordered to put himself at the head of his army, chiefly composed of veterans, and commanded by foreign officers. He met the rebels near the *Jerusalem* monastery, about forty miles from *Moscow*, and sent several persons of distinction to treat with them : but they still persisted in their resolution of going to *Moscow*, and declared, that if he opposed their passage, they would dispute it with him, though he had double their number of men. Upon this *Gordon* ordered some cannon to be fired over their heads, to frighten them ; but the shot doing no execution, the priests who were among them magnified this incident into a miracle, and persuaded them, that as they were engaged for the honour of God, and the defence of their religion, the shot of the enemy had no power to hurt them. Trusting to this, and quite mad with enthusiasm, they gave a great shout, and ran furiously to the onset, which was very sharp for near two hours, at the end of which the rebels, seeing by the slaughter of three thousand of their men killed on the spot, that there was no miracle in the case, laid down their arms. *Gordon* then, imitating the *Roman* decimation, hanged up every tenth man, and carried the rest prisoners to *Moscow* : but this advantage, obtained by a foreign general over the standing troops of the nation, among whom were several of the citizens of *Moscow*, contributed still more to inflame the minds of the people.

To pacify these troubles, the czar, laying aside his design of going to *Venice*, and from thence to *Rome*, at both which places great preparations were made for his reception, immediately set out privately from *Vienna*, passed through *Poland*, where he had an interview with king *Augustus*, with whom he entered into measures against the *Swedes*, in order to extend his own power towards the *Baltic*, and arrived at *Moscow* (D) before any one there knew of his having left *Germany*.

THE first thing he did was to reward the troops, who had defeated the strelitzes : the next being to chastise the offenders, the prisons were filled with those unhappy wretches. As their crime was great, so was their punishment. Their chiefs, with several officers, and priests, were condemned to deathⁿ ; some were broke upon the wheel, and two women were buried alive. Two thousand strelitzes were executed ; part of whom were hanged at the gates of the walls that encompass the city ; and others were dispatched in different manners : their bodies were exposed two days (E) on the high roads, especially about the monastery, where the princesses *Sophia* and *Eudocia* resided. Monuments of stone were erected on this occasion, with an inscription setting forth the crime, and the punishment. A great number, who had their wives and children at *Moscow*, were banished with their families ; some into *Siberia*, others into the kingdom of *Astracan*, and others to the country about *Asoph*. By this step their punishment was at least of some service to the state ; for they helped to cultivate and improve a large tract of waste land.

If the czar had not seen a necessity for making so dreadful an example, he would perhaps have employed in public works, some of those strelitzes, whom he ordered to be put to death, and who thereby were utterly lost, both to him, and to the community ; for the life of a subject ought to be considered as a very tender point, especially in a country, where the article of population calls upon the utmost attention of the legislator : but his design was utterly to subdue and confound the spirit of the people, by the terror and multitude of executions. The intire corps of the strelitzes, whose number none of his predecessors had dared even so much as to reduce, was broke for ever, and their very name abolished. This great revolution was effected without the least opposition, because he had

^m PERRY'S State of Russia, p. 180.
and from Le Fort's MSS.

ⁿ VOLTAIRE, p. 168, from Perry's state of Russia, p. 183.

(D) In September, 1698.

(E) So says M. de Voltaire (1), from Le Fort's Memoirs. But captain Perry says (2), that these executions being performed in the depth of winter, their bodies were immediately frozen : those who were beheaded, were ordered to be left in the same posture as when their heads were cut off, in ranks upon the ground, with their heads lying by them ; and those

which were hanged round the three walls of the city, were left hanging the whole winter, to the view of the people, till the warm weather began to come on in the spring, when they were taken down and buried together in a pit, to prevent the infection of the air. This author adds, that there were other gallowses placed on all the public roads leading to *Moscow*, where other numbers of these rebels were hanged.

(1) Page 163.

(2) Page 184.

a taken the several steps preparatory to it. *Osman*, the *Turkish* sultan, was deposed, as we have already observed, in the same century, and strangled, only for having hinted to the janissaries, that he intended to diminish their number. *Peter* was more successful, because his measures were better concerted. Out of that whole corps of *strelitzes*, he left only a few feeble regiments, from whom there was no longer any danger to be apprehended: though they still preserved the spirit of mutiny, so as to revolt once more in *Astracan* in the year 1705; but this insurrection was soon quelled.

Who are broke, and their name abolished for ever.

b EQUAL to the severity which *Peter* exerted on this particular emergency of state, was his humanity upon the loss he sustained some time after, of his favourite *Le Fort*, who was snatched away by an untimely fate, at the age of forty-six (F). He did him the honour of a funeral, that vied with the magnificence shewn at the obsequies of mighty sovereigns. He assisted in person at the procession, with his pike in his hand, behind the captains, and in the rank of lieutenant, which he had submitted to in that general's regiment, with a view that the nobility might learn from thence to pay a due respect to merit, and to military subordination.

Death of M. le Fort.

AFTER the decease of *Le Fort*, it appeared plainly, that the alterations in the state were not owing to that general, but had been originally all contrived by the czar. It is true, he had been confirmed in his resolutions by conversing with *Le Fort*; but he planned his schemes himself, and executed them entirely without that officer's aid or assistance.

c As soon as he had suppressed the *strelitzes*, he established regular regiments on the *German* footing: he gave short habits and uniforms to the soldiers, instead of the cumbersome long coats, which they used to wear before; and at the same time, they were taught a more regular exercise.

Peter soon models his army.

THE *Preobrazinski* guards were already formed: they took their name from that original company of fifty men, whom the young czar had trained in his retreat at *Preobra Zinski*, at the time when his sister *Sophia* governed the state: the other regiment of guards was also established.

d As he had passed through the lowest degrees in the army himself, he ordered that the sons of his bojars and knezes should serve in the capacity of common soldiers before they commenced officers. He sent some of the young nobility on board his fleet at *Woronetz* and towards *Asoph*, where he obliged them to serve their apprenticeship to the navy. None durst refuse to obey a master, who had deigned to set so extraordinary an example. Both the *English* and *Dutch* helped to equip this fleet for sea, to construct sluices, to establish docks for careening his ships, and to resume the grand work of joining the *Don* and the *Wolga*, which had been dropped by *Brackel* the *German*. From that time he set about the several reformatations in his council of state, in the revenue, in the church, and even in society itself.

e THE revenue had been hitherto administered nearly in the same manner as in *Turkey*. Every bojar paid a stipulated sum for his lands, and raised it upon his dependants or bondsmen. But the czar appointed burghers and burgomasters for his receivers, who were not powerful enough to claim the privilege of paying into the public treasury only just what they pleased. This new administration of the revenue was what cost him the most trouble: and he was obliged to try several methods, before he could bring it to bear.

Reforms the state of his finances;

f THE reformation of the church, which in all other countries is looked upon as a dangerous attempt, proved an easy task to him. The patriarchs, as well as the *strelitzes*, had sometimes combated the imperial authority; *Nicon* with insolence; *Joachim*, one of *Nicon's* successors, with subtlety and cunning. The bishops had arrogated to themselves the power of the sword, so far as to condemn people to death, and to other corporal punishments; a privilege contrary to the spirit of religion, and to the subordination of government: but this authority, notwithstanding that it had been usurped several ages ago, was taken from them. The patriarch *Adrian* happening to die at the end of this century, *Peter* declared he should have no successor.

The church;

THIS dignity was entirely abolished; and the great income of the patriarchal see was united to the public revenue, which stood in need of this addition. The czar did not set himself up for head of the *Russian* church, as the kings of *Great Britain* have done in regard to the church of *England*; yet he made himself absolute master of the clergy, because the synods no longer presumed to disobey a despotic sovereign, nor to dispute the orders of a prince who knew so much more than themselves.

WE need only to cast an eye on the preamble of the edict concerning his ecclesiastical regulations, published in 1721, to be convinced that he behaved as master and legislator: "We should think ourselves guilty of ingratitude to the most High, if, after having re-

^a PERRY'S state of Russia, p. 191. and VOLTAIRE, Hist. de Russie, p. 173.

(F) He died on the 12th of March, 1698.

“ formed the military and civil order, we neglected the spiritual ^a, &c. For these reasons, following the example of the most antient kings, who are famed for piety, we have taken care to publish some wholesome regulations for the clergy.” It is true, he convened a synod in order to see his laws carried into execution; but the members of the synod were to begin their ministry by taking an oath, the form of which had been written and signed by the czar himself. This was an oath of submission and obedience, couched in the following terms ^b: “ I swear fidelity and allegiance as servant and subject to my natural and true sovereign, and to his august successors, whom he shall please to nominate, by virtue of the incontestible power for that purpose, of which he is possessed: I acknowledge him to be the supreme judge of this spiritual college; I swear by the all-seeing God, that I understand and mean this oath, in the full force and sense, which ^c the words convey to those who read, or hear it.” This oath is much stronger than that of the supremacy in *England*. The *Russian* monarch was not indeed one of the fathers of the synod; but he dictated their laws: he did not touch the censor; but he directed their hands that held it.

WHILE he was waiting for the completion of this great work, he thought that as his dominions were but ill peopled, the celibacy of the monks was contrary to nature, and to the public good. The ancient usage of the church of *Russia* is, that the secular priests shall marry at least once; nay, they are obliged to do it: and formerly, when the priest lost his wife, he ceased to be in the sacerdotal order. But a multitude of cloistered young men and women, who make a vow to be useless to the public, and to live at other people’s ^c expence, appeared in his eye a dangerous institution. For which reason he ordained, that none should be admitted to a monastic life, till they were fifty years old; that is, till they were of an age when this temptation scarce ever seizes them: and he further prohibited them from receiving any person, of what age soever, invested with a public employment ^d.

THIS regulation has been repealed since his time, because the government has thought proper to shew greater condescension to the monasteries: yet the patriarchal see has never been restored; but the great revenues of that high dignity are appropriated to the payment of the troops.

THESE alterations were at first productive of some complaints; a certain priest declared in writing, that *Peter* was antichrist, because he would have no patriarch; and as the czar encouraged the typographical art, it helped to spread a multitude of libels against him. But, on the other hand, there started up a priest, who replied that it was impossible for the czar to be antichrist, because the number 666 was not to be found in his name, and he had not the sign of the beast. These murmurs were soon silenced. *Peter*, in reality, gave more to the church, than he took from her; for by degrees he rendered the clergy more regular and more learned. He founded three colleges at *Moscow*, in which the students are instructed in different languages; and where the youth designed for the church are obliged to study.

ONE of the most necessary reformations, was the abolition, or at least the mitigation of the three lents; an ancient superstition of the *Greek* church, no less pernicious to the persons employed in the public service, and especially to the soldiers, than the old one of not fighting on the sabbath-day had been to the *Jews*. Accordingly the czar granted, at least to his troops and to his workmen, a dispensation from observing these lents; in which, though the people were not permitted to eat, yet it was customary for them to get drunk. He even dispensed with their abstaining from flesh-meat on fish-days; and the chaplains, both in the sea and land-service, were obliged to set the example, which they did without any reluctance.

The calendar;

THE calendar was an object of importance. The regulation of the year was anciently made in all countries by the heads of religion, not only on account of the festivals, but because in former times scarce any but priests understood astronomy. The *Russians* began their year the first of *September*: but *Peter* ordained that from thenceforward the year should commence, as in this part of *Europe*, on the first of *January*. This alteration took place in the year 1700, at the opening of the century, which he ordered to be celebrated by a jubilee, and by other grand solemnities. The vulgar admired how the czar could be able to change the course of the sun. Some obstinate people being persuaded that God had created the world in the month of *September*, continued to observe the old way of reckoning; but the alteration took place in all the public offices, in the court of chancery, and soon after throughout the empire. *Peter* did not introduce the *Gregorian* calendar, because it was rejected by the *English* mathematicians: yet sooner or later all countries will be obliged to receive it.

° CONSETT, Present state and regulations of the church of Russia, p. 1. and VOLTAIRE, Hist. de Russie, p. 174. P CONSETT, ubi supra, p. 6. VOLTAIRE, p. 174. ^a Autores sup. cit.

EVER since the fifth century, the period in which the *Russians* were first made acquainted with the use of letters, they wrote on rolls, either of bark or parchment, and afterwards of paper; and the czar was obliged to publish an edict, commanding them to conform thenceforward to our manner of writing. *the manner of writing among the Russians;*

THE reformation became general. Marriages before that time were performed after the custom of *Turky* and *Persia*, where they do not see the bride till the contract is signed, and they cannot fly from their word. This custom may do well enough among people where polygamy is established, and the women are confined: but it cannot be suitable to countries, where the men are obliged to be satisfied with one wife, and where divorces are seldom allowed. *their marriages;*

THE czar strove to accustom his subjects to the manners and usages of the nations among whom he had travelled, and from whom he had received the several masters, who were then employed in instructing his people.

IT was fit the *Russians* should not be dressed in a different manner from those who were teaching them the arts and sciences; because the aversion to foreign nations is too natural to mankind, and too much encouraged by a difference of dress. The habit of ceremony, which at that time was somewhat like the *Polish*, the *Tartarian*, or the old *Hungarian* dress, was, as we have already observed, very noble; but the cloaths worn by the burghers and the lower sort of people, were like those jackets, plaited round the waist, which are still given to the poor in some of the *French* hospitals. In general, the robe was the habit worn by all nations, as it required less fashion and art. For the same reason it was customary for people to let their beards grow. The czar found no difficulty in introducing our mode of dress, and the custom of shaving among his courtiers: but the people were more stubborn; so that he was obliged to lay a tax on long coats, and beards. Patterns of cloaths were hung up at the gates of towns; and those who refused to pay, were obliged to have their garments and beards shortened. All this was done with great gaiety; and this circumstance alone prevented insurrections.

IT has ever been the attention of legislators to promote sociability: but for this end, it is not sufficient to live together in towns; there must be a polite intercourse, which sweetens all the bitterness of life. The czar introduced those *assemblies*, which the *Italians* call *Ridotti*. To these assemblies he invited ladies with their daughters, dressed according to the mode of the southern nations of *Europe*; nay, he published regulations for these little entertainments. Thus even the civilizing of his subjects was his own work, with the help of time. *manners and customs.*

To render these innovations more agreeable, he abolished the word *Golut*, *Slave*, which the *Russians* made use of whenever they had occasion to speak to the czar, and in presenting petitions: he ordered them to substitute in its stead the word *Raab*, which signifies *Subject*. This alteration did not diminish their obedience; and yet was likely to conciliate their affection. Every month was productive of some change, or new institution. He carried his attention so far, as to order posts to be erected on the high-road from *Moscow* to *Woronetz*, as military columns from werst to werst, that is, at the distance of seven hundred paces; and he took care to have a kind of caravanseras, or publick inns, constructed at every twentieth werst.

WHILE he thus directed his attention to the general advantage of his people, as well as of the merchants, and travellers, he determined to render his court somewhat more brilliant: for though he was an enemy to magnificence in his own person, he thought it necessary in those about him. For this end he founded (G) the order of St. *Andrew*, in imitation of the several institutions of that kind, with which all the courts of *Europe* abound. *Golowin*, successor to *Le Fort* in the dignity of high admiral, was the first knight of this order. The honour of being admitted a member, was looked upon as a considerable reward. It is a badge they carry about them, that commands the veneration of the populace; it is a mark of honour that costs the sovereign nothing; and it flatters the vanity of his subjects, without adding to their power. These useful innovations were received with great applause by the most sensible part of the nation; and the grumblings of those who adhered to the ancient customs, were silenced by the acclamations of all men of sound judgment. *Institutes the order of St. Andrew.*

WHILE *Peter* was thus beginning a new creation in the interior part of his dominions, he concluded an advantageous truce with the *Turks*, which enabled him to extend his territories on the other side. *Mustapha* the Second, who had been defeated by prince *Eugene* at the battle of *Zenta*, in 1697, having also been stripped of the *Morea* by the *Venetians*, and finding himself unable to defend *Asoph*, was obliged to make peace with his victorious *Turks*. *A. D. 1699. Concludes an advantageous truce with the*

(G) On the 10th of September, 1698.

enemies: this peace was concluded at *Carlowitz* (H), between *Peterwaradin* and *Salankamen*, places grown famous by his defeats. *Temeswaer* was made the boundary of the German possessions, and of the *Ottoman* dominions. *Caminiek* was surrendered up to the *Poles*; the *Morea* and some towns in *Dalmatia*, which had been taken by the *Venetians*, remained in their hands for some time; and *Peter the First* continued in possession of *Asoph*, and of a few forts constructed in its neighbourhood. The czar could not pretend to extend his dominions on the side of the *Turks*, as their whole force would be now united against him, whereas before it had been divided. His maritime schemes were too vast for the *Palus Maotis*. The settlements on the *Caspian* sea would not admit of a fleet of men of war: he therefore turned his views towards the *Baltick*, without relinquishing the navigation of the *Don* and the *Volga*.

A. D. 1700.
Affairs of
Sweden.

BUT now an interesting scene was opening on the frontiers of *Sweden*. One of the principal causes of all the revolutions which happened from *Ingria* as far as *Dresden*, and which laid so many countries waste during the space of eighteen years, was the abuse of the supreme power, under *Charles XI.* king of *Sweden*, father of *Charles XII.* The fact cannot be too often repeated, for it nearly concerns all princes and nations. The greatest part of *Livonia*, with all *Esthonia*, had been ceded by *Poland* to *Charles XI.* king of *Sweden*, who succeeded *Charles X.* during the treaty of *Oliva*: it was ceded in the customary manner, reserving to the inhabitants the continuance of all their privileges. But these being little regarded by *Charles XI.* *John Renold Patkul*, a *Livonian* gentleman, repaired to *Stockholm*, in 1692, at the head of six deputies of the province, in order to lay the strongest, and, at the same time, the most respectful remonstrances of the people before the throne (I): instead of an answer, the six deputies were committed to prison, and *Patkul* was condemned to lose both his honour and life. But he lost neither; for he made his escape out of prison, and remained for some time in the country of *Vaud* in *Switzerland*. As soon as he heard that *Augustus*, elector of *Saxony*, had promised, upon his accession to the throne of *Poland*, to recover the provinces wrested from that kingdom, he hastened away to *Dresden*, in order to represent the facility of recovering *Livonia*, and of dispossessing a young king, only in his eighteenth year, of the conquests of his ancestors.

Patkul imprisoned at Stockholm.

Makes his escape.

Flies to Augustus king of Poland,

and forms a league between him, the king of Denmark, and the czar, against Sweden.

AT the same time, the czar *Peter* was meditating a scheme to make himself master of *Ingria* and *Carelia*. These provinces formerly belonged to the *Russians*; but the *Swedes* had conquered them at the time of the false *Demetriuses*; and preserved them since by treaties. Another war and new treaties might restore them to *Russia*. *Patkul* went from *Dresden* to *Moscow*, and having excited the two monarchs to avenge his cause, he cemented a close union between them, and forwarded their preparations for invading the several territories situated to the east and south of *Finland*.

AT this very time, *Frederic IV.* the new king of *Denmark*, entered into a league with the czar and *Augustus*, against the young king of *Sweden*, who seemed likely to be overpowered. *Patkul* had the pleasure of besieging the *Swedes* in *Riga*, the capital of *Livonia*; on which occasion he acted as major-general in the *Polish* service.

Peter lays siege to Narva.

THE czar marched an army of about sixty thousand men towards *Ingria*. True it is, that in this great army there were hardly more than twelve thousand disciplined troops, whom he had trained to war himself; these were his two regiments of guards, and a few others: the remainder consisted of an ill-armed militia, with some *Cosaks* and *Circassian Tartars*: but he had a hundred and forty-five pieces of cannon. He laid siege to *Narva* (K) a small town in *Ingria*, with a commodious harbour; and there was the greatest probability, that the place would be taken in a very short time.

Charles XII. marches to the relief of the place.

ALL *Europe* knows how *Charles XII.* who at that time was not quite eighteen years of age, withstood his numerous enemies, and attacked them all successively; how he made a descent upon *Denmark*, and finished the war with that crown in less than six weeks; how he sent succours to *Riga*, and raised the siege of that town; and how he marched over ice and snow in the month of *November*, against the *Russians* who had laid siege to *Narva*.

THE czar, confident of taking the town, was gone to *Novogorod* (L), in order to proceed from thence to an interview with the king of *Poland*. He was attended by his favourite *Menzikoff*, at that time lieutenant in the company of artillery belonging to the

* VOLTAIRE, hist. de Russie, p. 185.

(H) On the 26th of *January*, 1699.

(I) *Norberg*, chaplain and confessor of *Charles XII.* says, in his history, "that he had the insolence to complain of oppression, and that he was condemned to lose both his honour and life." This is talking like

the priest of despotism: he should have reflected, that it is impossible to bereave a citizen of his honour, for doing his duty.

(K) On the 1st of *October*.

(L) He set out on the 18th of *November*.

a regiment of *Preobrazinski*, and afterwards raised to the dignity of prince and field marshal; a man whose extraordinary fortune deserves a more particular description in another place.

PETER left the command of his army, with instructions for the siege, to the duke of *Croy*, whose family was originally from *Flanders*, and who had lately entered into the czar's service. Prince *Dolgorucki* was commissary of the army. The jealousy between these two chiefs, and the absence of the czar, were in part the cause of the unparalleled defeat at *Narva*. *Charles XII.* having landed his troops at *Pernau* in *Livonia*, in the month of *October*, marched northwards towards *Reval*, and defeated in that neighbourhood an advanced body of *Russians*. From thence he continued his march, and beat another. The fugitives flew back to their main army, and spread consternation in the camp. Yet they were now in the month of *November*; and the town of *Narva*, though unskilfully besieged, was upon the point of surrendering. The young king of *Sweden* had not with him quite nine thousand men; and could bring no more than ten pieces of cannon against the *Russian* entrenchments, which were lined with one hundred and forty five. According to all the relations of that time, and to all historians without exception, the *Russian* army amounted to eighty thousand fighting men. The memoirs with which *M. de Voltaire* has been furnished, say sixty, and others forty thousand. Be that as it may, certain it is, that *Charles* had only nine thousand; and that this is one of the several instances which evince, that the greatest victories have been frequently obtained by inferior armies, ever since the battle of *Arbela*.

CHARLES was not in the least afraid to attack so great a force with his small corps; but availing himself of a violent storm of snow and wind, which blew full in the front of the enemy, he attacked their entrenchments (M) with the aid of a few pieces of cannon advantageously posted. The *Russians* had not time to recover themselves in the midst of that cloud of snow which, as we observed before, was driven by the wind directly in their faces, so that they could not see the cannon that played most furiously against them; nor had they any notion that the enemy's force was so inconsiderable. *Attacks the Russians with a very inferior force:*

THE duke *de Croy* would give his orders; and prince *Dolgorucki* would not obey them. The *Russians* rose against the *German* officers, and massacred the duke's secretary, with colonel *Lyon*, and several others. Every man quitted his post; and a general confusion and panic were diffused throughout the whole army. The *Swedish* troops had then nothing more to do, than to kill and destroy a flying multitude. Some of the fugitives threw themselves into the river *Narva*, where great numbers of them were drowned; others flung away their arms, and begged for quarter upon their knees. The duke *de Croy*, general *Allard*, and the *German* officers, more afraid of the mutinous *Russians*, than of the *Swedes*, surrendered to count *Steinboeck*. The king of *Sweden* became master of all their artillery. Thirty thousand of the vanquished enemy laid down their arms at his feet, and filed off with their heads uncovered before him. The knez *Dolgorucki*, and all the other *Russian* generals, came and surrendered as well as the *Germans*; but did not know, till some time after they had been made prisoners, that they were vanquished by eight thousand men. Among the captives was the son of a king of *Georgia*, whom *Charles* sent to *Stockholm*: his name was *Mittelsky Czarowitz*, or czar's son; which is a further proof, that the title of czar or tzar was not originally derived from the *Roman Cæsars*. *and totally defeats them.*

On the side of *Charles XII.* there were only twelve hundred slain in this engagement. The czar's journal, sent to *M. de Voltaire* from *Petersburgh*, says, that reckoning the soldiers who perished at the siege and battle of *Narva*, and who were drowned in their flight, the *Russians* lost no more than six thousand men. The loss of that fatal day was entirely owing to want of discipline, and to a panic that seized the army. The captives were four times more numerous than the victors; and, if we may believe *Norberg*, count *Piper*, who was afterwards taken by the *Russians*, reproached them, that the number of prisoners at this battle, was eighteen times greater than that of the whole *Swedish* army. If this be true, the *Swedes* must have made seventy-two thousand prisoners. This shews how difficult it is to come at the truth in regard to particulars. One thing beyond all doubt, and yet very extraordinary, is, that the king of *Sweden* should suffer one-half of the *Russian* soldiers to go off disarmed, and the other half to repass the river with their arms, without retaining a single soldier prisoner. So unaccountable a presumption restored a body of troops to the czar, that were afterwards well disciplined, and became formidable to their enemy (N).

* VOLTAIRE, Histoire de Charles XII.
TAIRE, Hist. de Russie, p. 192.

† VOLTAIRE, Hist. de Russie, p. 190.
w Page 439, Tom I. the Hague edition, in 4to.

‡ VOL-

(M) On the 30th of *November*, 1700.
(N) *Norberg* says, that after the battle of *Narva*, the grand signior immediately wrote a letter of congratulation to the king of *Sweden*, in these terms:

“ The Sultan Basha by the grace of God, to king
“ *Charles XII.*” &c. The letter is dated from the
æra of the creation of the world.

CHARLES XII. reaped all the advantages that could be drawn from a signal victory :
his troops seized immense magazines, and a great number of transports laden with provisions; the enemy's posts were either evacuated or taken; in short, the whole country was in possession of the *Swedes*. *Narva* was now delivered; the shattered remains of the *Russian* army durst not shew themselves; and the *Russian* frontier being open as far as *Pleskow*, the czar seemed to have no resources left to enable him to maintain the war. On the other hand, the king of *Sweden* having vanquished the monarchs of *Denmark*, *Poland*, and *Russia*, in less than a year, made a figure as the first prince in *Europe*, at an age when other sovereigns hardly presume to think of military glory. But *Peter's* characteristic was invincible constancy of mind; so that he was never discouraged in any of his projects.

A *Russian* composed a form of prayer (O) to St. *Nicholas*, on this occasion; which was publicly read in churches. This composition shews the spirit of the times, and the gross ignorance from which the czar delivered his country: it says positively, that the furious and terrible *Swedes* were forcerers; and it complains, that the *Russians* had been abandoned by St. *Nicholas*. The prelates of that country would not write such stuff at present; and without any offence to St. *Nicholas*, the *Russians* soon perceived, that their business was to address themselves to *Peter*.

THE czar was upon the road, in order to concert matters with the king of *Poland*, when he received the news of the victory obtained by the *Swedes* (P). He was not at all dispirited, but shewed a firmness equal to the intrepidity and valour of *Charles XII*. He deferred his interview with *Augustus*, to apply a speedy remedy to the disordered state of his affairs. The troops that had been in different quarters rendezvoused at *Novogorod*, and marched from thence to *Pleskow*.

AFTER so signal a defeat, it was as much as the czar could do to stand his ground: I know very well, said he, that the *Swedes* will have the advantage of us a considerable time, but they will teach us at length to beat them.

A. D. 1701.
Peter repairs
his losses.

HAVING provided for the present emergency, and ordered recruits to be raised on every side, he repaired with all expedition to *Moscow*, to forward the casting of cannon. All his artillery had been taken before *Narva*; and as he wanted metal, he had recourse to the bells of the churches, and of the religious houses. This shewed him to be free from superstition, yet was no sign of profaneness or irreligion. Out of those bells were formed a hundred large cannon, with one hundred and forty-three field pieces, from three to six pounders, besides mortars, and cohorns; and the whole was forwarded to *Pleskow*. In other countries, the sovereign commands, and his subjects execute his orders; but here the czar was obliged to see every thing done himself. While he was making these preparations, he entered into a negotiation with the king of *Denmark*, who engaged to assist him with three regiments of foot, and three of cavalry; an engagement which that monarch durst not observe.

His interview
and agreement
with Augustus
king of
Poland.

As soon as this treaty was signed, he returned with the greatest dispatch to the seat of war; and had an interview (Q) with king *Augustus*, at *Birzen* on the frontiers of *Courland* and *Lithuania*. His business was to confirm that prince in his resolution of maintaining the war against *Charles XII*. and to prevail on the *Polish* diet to engage in this quarrel. It is well known, that the king of *Poland* is no more than the head of the republic. The czar had the advantage of being always obeyed; but the kings of *Poland* and *England*, and at present the king of *Sweden*, are obliged to treat with their subjects. *Patkul*, and a few *Poles* in the interest of their king, were present at those conferences. *Peter* promised to assist them with subsidies, and with an army of twenty thousand men. *Livonia* was to be restored to *Poland*, upon a supposition that the diet would act in conjunction with their king to recover that province: but fear had a stronger influence on the determinations of the diet, than the czar's proposals. The *Poles* were under an apprehension of having their liberties restrained by the *Saxons* and *Russians*; and at the same time they had a greater dread of *Charles XII*. Hence the majority determined not to serve their king, that is, not to fight. The court-party were exasperated against the contrary faction; in short, the king's proposal of recovering a considerable province, that had been wrested from *Poland*, was productive of a civil war throughout the kingdom. The czar therefore had but a weak ally in *Augustus*, and the *Saxon* troops afforded him but very little assistance. Such terror did *Charles XII*. inspire on every side, that *Peter* was obliged to depend entirely upon his own forces.

(O) It is printed in most of the journals and pieces of that time, and is to be found in the history of *Charles XII*. king of *Sweden*, p. 42.

(P) Extracted by M. de *Voltaire* from the journal of *Peter the Great*, sent to him from *Petersburg*.

(Q) On the 27th of February, 1701.

AFTER travelling with the utmost expedition from *Moscow* to *Courland*, in order to confer with *Augustus*; the czar hastened back with equal speed from *Courland* to *Moscow*, to forward the performance of his promise, in consequence of which he immediately ordered prince *Repnin* to march with a body of four thousand men towards *Riga*, upon the banks of the *Duna*, where the *Saxon* troops were entrenched.

THE rapid success of the *Swedes* increased the general terror of their arms. *Charles* having passed the *Duna*, in spite of the *Saxons*, who were advantageously posted on the opposite bank, obtained a complete victory: he followed the blow by making himself master of all *Courland*; and was advancing with his victorious army into *Lithuania*, to animate the *Polish* faction, who had declared against *Augustus*.

Charles XII. passes the Duna: defeats the Saxons; and conquers Courland.

PETER still pursued his great designs. General *Patkul*, who had been the life and soul of the conferences at *Birzen*, and had lately entered into his service, shewed his zeal in providing him with *German* officers, and in disciplining his troops; in short, he was a second general *Le Fort*, and finished what the other began. The czar had horses always ready on the frontiers to bring the officers, and even the common soldiers; whether *Germans*, *Livonians*, or *Poles*, that came to serve in his armies; and took particular care of every thing relative to their arms, cloaths, and subsistence.

Peter continues his armaments.

ON the confines of *Livonia* and *Esthonia*, and west of the province of *Novogorod*, lies, as we observed before, the great lake of *Peipus*: from the south side of *Livonia*, it receives the river *Welika*; and to the northward, it sends forth the river *Naiova*, which washes the walls of the town of *Narva*, in whose neighbourhood the *Swedes* obtained their famous victory. This lake is upwards of thirty leagues in length; in some places twelve, and in others fifteen in breadth. Here it was of the utmost importance for the czar to maintain a fleet, in order to prevent the *Swedish* vessels from insulting the province of *Novogorod*; to be within a proper distance for making a descent upon their coasts; and especially to train up a number of seamen. During the year 1701, *Peter* caused a hundred and fifty half-gallies, each carrying about fifty men, to be built on this lake, and other vessels were fitted out for war upon the *Ladoga Sea*. He directed the building of these vessels himself, and set all his new sailors immediately to work. Those who had served in 1697 upon the *Palus Meotis*, were now employed in the neighbourhood of the *Baltic*. Yet he frequently made excursions to *Moscow*; and to the other provinces; in order to establish the regulations already begun, or to introduce new improvements.

Builds a fleet upon the lake Peipus.

PRINCES who have employed their peaceful days in public foundations, are mentioned in history with honour; but that *Peter*, just after the unfortunate battle of *Narva*, should undertake the junction of the *Baltic*, *Caspian*, and *Euxine Seas*, is what crowns him with more real glory, than he could ever have derived from the most signal victory. It was in 1702, that he began to dig that deep canal, which was intended to unite the *Don* and the *Volga*. Other communications were to be carried on by the help of lakes, from the *Don* to the *Duna*, which empties itself into the *Baltic*, in the neighbourhood of *Riga*: but this latter project seemed to be still at a great distance, for *Peter* was far from having *Riga* in his possession.

A. D. 1702. Undertakes the junction of the Baltic, Caspian, and Euxine Seas.

CHARLES continued to ravage *Poland*, while *Peter* was introducing from thence and from *Saxony*, shepherds with their flocks of sheep, in order to have wool fit for the manufacturing of good cloth; he erected linen and paper manufactories: by his order great numbers of blacksmiths, braziers, armourers, and founders, with other artificers, were invited from abroad: and workmen were employed to dig into the mines of *Siberia*. Thus at the same time he endeavoured to enrich, and to defend his dominions.

Establishes several manufactures.

CHARLES, eager to prosecute his victories, left a sufficient number of forces, as he imagined, upon the frontiers of the czar's dominions, to defend the provinces subject to *Sweden*. He was now determined to dethrone king *Augustus*, and then to pursue the czar with his victorious arms as far as *Moscow*.

THIS year there happened some little skirmishes between the *Russians* and *Swedes*, in which the latter were not always victorious; and even when they had the advantage, the *Russians* were learning the art of war. Within a twelvemonth after the battle of *Narva*, the czar's troops were so greatly improved in the military discipline, that they obtained a victory over one of the best generals belonging to *Charles* the Twelfth.

PETER was at *Pleskow*, from whence he sent out numerous detachments on all sides to attack the *Swedes*. The *Russians* proved victorious under the command of a general of their own nation. *Scheremetow*, by a judicious manœuvre, surprised several out-parties of *Schlippenbach*, the *Swedish* general, in the neighbourhood of *Dærpt*, on the frontiers of *Livonia*; and at length obtained a victory over the general himself. The *Russians* took four colours, for the first time, from the *Swedes*; which was then thought a considerable number.

Gains several advantages over the Swedes.

Not long after, the *Swedish* and *Russian* fleets had several engagements on the lakes of *Peipus* and *Ladoga*; where the former had the same advantage as by land, that of discipline and long practice. Yet the *Russians* were sometimes successful on board their half-gallies; and in a general action upon the lake of *Peipus* (R), field-marshal *Scheremetow* made himself master of a *Swedish* frigate.

By means of this lake, the czar kept all *Livonia* and *Esthonia* in constant alarm; his gallies frequently transported over several regiments to make a descent in those provinces: if the attempt did not prove favourable, they were reembarked; if they had any advantage, they improved it. The *Swedes* were twice defeated in the neighbourhood of *Dorpt*, while their arms were prosperous every where else.

In all these engagements, the *Russians* were superior in number to the *Swedes*; therefore, as *Charles XII.* was victorious in every other quarter, he did not give himself any uneasiness about the czar's success; but he should have considered, that the numerous forces of his rival were improving every day in discipline, and might soon be a match for the *Swedish* veterans.

Flies to the relief of Archangel.

While the two nations were thus engaged by sea and land towards *Livonia*, *Ingria*, and *Esthonia*, the czar received intelligence (S), that the *Swedish* fleet was sailed to the north seas, with a view to destroy *Archangel*: upon which he set out for that city; and the public was surprised to hear that he was upon the banks of the Frozen ocean, when every body believed him to be at *Moscow*. He put the town into a state of defence, prevented the *Swedes* from landing, drew the plan of a citadel called the *New Dwina*, laid the first stone, returned to *Moscow*, and from thence to the seat of war.

Conquests of the Russians in Ingria and Livonia.

CHARLES was advancing into *Poland*, while the *Russians* were making conquests in *Ingria* and *Livonia*. Marshal *Scheremetow* marched against the *Swedish* forces commanded by *Schlippenbach*, and obtained a victory over that general near the little river *Embac*, taking sixteen colours, and twenty pieces of cannon from the enemy. *Norberg* says, this engagement happened on the first of *December* 1701; but the journal of *PETER THE GREAT* fixes it to the nineteenth of *July* 1702*.

They take Marienburg, and in it the person who afterwards became the empress Catharine.

The *Russian* general continued his march, and laying the whole country under contribution, made himself master of the little town of *Marienburg*, situated on the confines of *Livonia* and *Ingria*: There are several places of this name in the north of *Europe*; but this, though it no longer exists, is more celebrated in history than all the rest, on account of the empress *Catharine*.

This little town having surrendered at discretion, the *Swedes*, either through inadvertency or design, set fire to the magazines. The *Russians*, provoked at this behaviour, destroyed the town, and carried off all the inhabitants. Among the prisoners was a young woman, a native of *Livonia*, who had been educated by Mr. *Gluck*, the minister of the place: this is the very person who afterwards became the sovereign of those who had taken her captive, and who governed *Russia* by the name of the empress *Catharine*.

There had been instances, before this, of private persons raised to the throne: nothing was more common in *Russia*, and in all the *Asiatic* kingdoms, than marriages between sovereigns and their subjects: but that a poor stranger, who had been discovered amidst the ruins of a plundered town, should become the absolute sovereign of that very empire into which she was led captive, is an incident, which fortune and merit have never before produced in the annals of the world.

The czar's arms were equally successful in *Ingria*; for the *Russian* half-gallies on the lake *Ladoga*, obliged the *Swedish* fleet to retire to *Kexholm*, situated at the other extremity of this great lake: from thence they might observe the siege of *Notteburg*, which general *Scheremetow* had undertaken by order of the czar. This was an enterprise of much greater importance than people imagined; as it might open a communication with the *Baltic*, the constant aim of *Peter the Great*.

The Russians take Notteburg.

NOTTEBURG was a very strong town, situated on an island in the lake *Ladoga*, which it entirely commands; so that whoever possesses this place, must of course be master of the river *Neva*, which disembogues itself not far from thence into the *Baltic*. The *Russians* battered the town, night and day, from the eighteenth of *September* to the twelfth of *October*; and at length, having made three breaches, gave the assault. The *Swedish* garrison were reduced to a hundred men, in a condition to bear arms: yet what is very extraordinary, they made a stand, and obtained an honourable capitulation upon the breach (T). Colonel *Schlippenbach*, the governor, would not surrender the town, but upon condition of

* VOLTAIRE, p. 206.

(R) In May, 1702.

(S) In July, 1702.

(T) On the 16th of October, 1702.

- a being permitted to send for two *Swedish* officers from the nearest post, in order to examine the breach, and to inform the king his master, that eighty-three soldiers, all that remained of the garrison, besides a hundred and fifty-six sick and wounded, did not surrender to an entire army, till it was impossible for them to make a longer resistance, or to preserve the town. This instance alone shews, what sort of an enemy the czar had to contend with; and how necessary it was for him to use his utmost efforts in disciplining his troops. He distributed some gold medals among his officers, and gave rewards to all the common soldiers; except to a few, who were punished for running away from an assault: their comrades spit in their faces, and afterwards shot them to death, mixing ignominy with their punishment. The fortifications of *Notteburg* were repaired, and its name was changed
- b into that of *Schlusselfburg*: *Schlusself*, in the *German*, signifying a key, for this place is the key of *Ingria* and *Finland*. The first governor was *Menzikoff*, now grown a very good officer, and who merited this honour by behaving most gallantly during the siege. This example was an encouragement to merit, undistinguished by birth.

AFTER this campaign of 1702, *Peter* resolved that *Scheremetow*, and the officers who had signalized themselves under his command, should make a triumphant entry into *Moscow*. All the prisoners taken in this campaign marched in the train of the victors: before them were carried the *Swedish* colours and standards, with the flag taken on board the frigate in the lake *Peipus*. *Peter* assisted in the preparations for this triumphal pomp, as he had shared in the victories which were celebrated with such magnificence. So splendid

c a procession was designed to inspire his troops with a noble emulation; otherwise it would have been an idle show. *Charles* disdained every thing of this kind, and held the *Russians*, with their triumphs, and all their efforts, in the utmost contempt, ever after the battle of *Nerna*.

Peter and his victorious troops make a triumphant entry into Moscow.

- THE short stay which the czar made at *Moscow* in the beginning of the next winter, was employed in seeing his new regulations executed, and in improving the civil, as well as military government. Even his very diversions were calculated to promote the new manner of life, which he was now introducing among his subjects. With this view, he caused all the bojars and ladies to be invited to the marriage of one of his jesters; and gave his commands that every body should be dressed in the ancient fashion. Dinner was served up just
- d in the same manner as had been practised in the sixteenth century. There had been formerly a superstitious custom of not lighting a fire on a wedding-day, even in the severest frost: this custom was strictly observed at the present entertainment. The *Russians* used to drink no wine, but only mead and brandy; and now he would suffer no other liquor: in vain did the guests complain of this treatment; he answered them in a jocular manner, "Your ancestors did so: and surely ancient customs are always the best." This kind of raillery contributed greatly to the reformation of such as were apt to prefer the past to the present times; at least it discouraged their complaints. Some other nations stand in need of the like correction.

A. D. 1703. Where he continues to reform the manners of his people.

- BUT a more useful establishment was that of a printing-house, with the *Russian* and *Latin*
- e types, which had been all brought from *Holland*. They began with printing some *Russian* translations of books of morality and polite literature; while *Ferguson* opened schools for teaching geometry, astronomy, and navigation.

Establishes a printing-house; public schools;

ANOTHER foundation no less useful than necessary, was that of a large hospital: not one of those houses which encourage idleness, and perpetuate the misery of the people; but such as the czar himself had seen at *Amsterdam*, where both old men and children are employed at work, and every body is of some use to the public.

an hospital;

- HE likewise established several manufactures; and after he had set his people to work at the different trades and professions which he had lately introduced into *Moscow*, he made an excursion to *Woronetz*. Here he gave orders for building two eighty-gun ships, with
- f long empty chests, exactly closed, and fixed under the ribs, for the easier floating of the vessel over the bars and shoals, of which there are many in the neighbourhood of *Asoph*; a contrivance very like that of the *Dutch* to get over the *Pampus*.

and several manufactures.

Preparations against the Turks,

AFTER preparing every thing for an expedition against the *Turks*, he flew back to the frontiers of *Sweden*, and visited the ships which he had directed to be built in the dock-yards of *Olonitz*, between the lakes *Ladoga* and *Onega*. In this town he had erected some forges and foundaries for the making of arms: so that the place was filled with the bustle of military preparations, while *Moscow* began to flourish in the arts of peace. *Olonitz* is become more famous since that time, by the discovery of a mineral spring. From thence he went to *Schlusselfburg*, in order to improve its fortifications.

and the Swedes.

WE have already taken notice, that he had thought proper to pass through all the military degrees: he had been a lieutenant of bombardiers under prince *Menzikoff*, before

this favourite was made governor of *Schlusſelburg*; and now he took the rank of captain, and served under marshal *Scheremetow*. a

Peter takes the
fortress of
Nyenschantz.

NEAR the lake *Ladoga*, and not far from the river *Neva*, stood a very important fortress named *Niand* or *Nyenschantz*. It was of the utmost importance for the czar to make himself master of this place, in order to secure his conquests, and to prosecute his other designs. He was obliged to lay siege to it by land, and at the same time to prevent its receiving any succours by water. *Peter* undertook to transport troops in small barks, and to watch the *Swedish* convoys; while *Scheremetow* had the care of the trenches. The citadel surrendered (V): and two *Swedish* vessels came too late to relieve it; for they were both taken by the czar. *Peter's* journal, communicated to *M. de Voltaire*^z, makes mention, that "as a reward for his service, the captain of bombardiers was created a knight b
" of the order of St. *Andrew*, by admiral *Golowin*, first knight of the order."

AFTER the reduction of this fort, he resolved to build the city of *Petersburgh*, at the mouth of the *Neva*, upon the gulf of *Finland*.

Bad situation
of Augustus's
affairs.

KING *Augustus's* affairs were in an unprosperous way: the successive victories of the *Swedes* in *Poland* had encouraged his enemies in their opposition; and even his friends prevailed on him to dismiss a body of twenty thousand *Russians*, with which his army had been reinforced. The motive they alledged was, that this sacrifice would deprive the malecontents of any pretext for joining the king of *Sweden*: but enemies are disarmed by force, and encouraged by indulgence. Those twenty thousand men, disciplined by *Pauk*, did very great service in *Livonia* and *Ingria*, while *Augustus* was losing his dominions. This reinforcement, and especially the possession of *Nyenschantz*, enabled the czar to found his new capital. c

Petersburg
founded.

It was in the desert and marshy spot of ground before-mentioned, which communicates but one way with the continent, that he laid the foundation of *Petersburg* (W), in the sixtieth degree of latitude, and the forty-fourth and a half of longitude. The ruins of some of the bastions at *Nyenschantz*, served for the first stones of this foundation. He began with erecting a small fort in one of the islands, which now stands in the midst of the city. The *Swedes* took no umbrage at this settlement, formed in a morass, and inaccessible to vessels of burden: but how great was their surprize, when they saw the fortifications advanced, a town raised, and the little island of *Cronslot*, situated over against it, changed, d
in 1704, into an impregnable fortress, under the cannon of which even the largest fleets may safely ride at anchor!

AN enterprise of this nature seemed to require peaceful times, yet was executed in the hurry and confusion of war; workmen of every sort were called together from *Moscow*, from *Astracan*, from *Casan*, and the *Ukraine*, to assist in the building of this city. Neither the difficulty of the ground, which he was obliged to drain and to raise, nor the distance of materials, nor the unforeseen obstacles which constantly arose in every branch of labour, nor lastly, the mortality which carried off a prodigious number of workmen, could shake the fixed resolution of the founder of this metropolis. In the space of five months a new town rose out of the ground. It is true, it was no more than a cluster of huts (X), with two brick-houses, surrounded by ramparts; but this was sufficient for a beginning; time and perseverance accomplished the rest. *Petersburg* had not been founded above five months, when a *Dutch* vessel came to trade there (Y): the captain received some presents for his encouragement; and the *Dutch* soon learnt the way to this harbour. e

WHILE *Peter* was directing the foundation of this colony, he took care to render it inaccessible to the enemy, by making himself master of all the neighbouring posts. A *Swedish* colonel, named *Croniort*, having stationed his men on the river *Sestra*, from whence he threatened the growing town; *Peter* marched up to him with the two regiments of guards, defeated the colonel's detachment, and obliged him to repass the river (Z). When he had thus provided for the security of the town, he repaired to *Olonitz* (A), to order a number f
of small vessels to be put upon the stocks, and returned to *Petersburg* on board a frigate, which had been built by his direction, together with six transports for present use, till the others could be finished.

^z Hist. de Russie, p. 215.

(V) On the 12th of May, 1703.

(W) *Petersburg* was founded on *Whitsunday*, the 27th of May, 1703.

(X) The first building that was erected was a low hut, made only with plank and joists, to shelter the czar from the weather, whilst he superintended the works. In this he lived during that time; and it is

still preserved in memory of the great undertaking, inclosed with a wooden gallery raised upon a wall about four feet high.

(Y) In November, 1703.

(Z) On the 9th of July, 1703.

(A) In September.

a EVEN at this very juncture, he lent a helping hand to the king of *Poland* (B), by sending him a reinforcement of twelve thousand foot, and three hundred thousand rubles in money. We have already taken notice, that his annual revenue did not exceed five millions of rubles; a sum which the expence of his fleet, of his armies, and of his new establishments, was sufficient to exhaust. He had fortified *Novogorod*, *Pleskow*, *Kiow*, *Smolensko*, *Asoph*, and *Archangel*, much about the same time. He had been likewise employed in founding a capital. Yet he was still able to assist his ally with men and money. We read in *Cornelius le Brun*, a *Dutch* traveller, who was at that time in *Russia*, and with whom the czar *Peter* would converse very freely, as was his custom with all foreigners, that the czar himself assured him of his having three hundred thousand rubles in his coffers, after all the charges of the war were defrayed.

Peter sends assistance to the king of Poland.

b To secure his new colony of *Petersburg* against any insult, he founded the coast himself, and fixed the spot on which the fort of *Cronslot* was to be erected: after making a model of it in wood, he employed prince *Menzikoff* to carry it into execution. From thence he set out for *Moscow* (C), to pass the winter in that city, and gradually establish the several regulations and changes, which he had made in the laws, manners, and customs of *Russia*. He likewise put his finances into new order; after which he expedited the works undertaken on the river *Woronetz*, at *Asoph*, and in a harbour which he was building upon the *Palus Mæotis*, under the fort of *Taganrok*.

Builds the citadel of Cronslot.

c THE *Porte*, alarmed at these preparations, sent an ambassador to him (D) with complaints; to which he made answer, that he was as much a sovereign in his own dominions, as the grand signior was in *Turky*; and that it could be no violation of the peace, to render *Russia* respectable on the *Euxine* sea.

The Turks are alarmed at his preparations.

UPON his return to *Petersburg* (E), finding the new citadel of *Cronslot*, whose foundations had been laid in the sea, entirely finished; he provided it with numerous artillery. In order to establish himself in *Ingria*, and to wipe off the disgrace received from *Narva*, he esteemed it necessary to make himself master of that city. While he was making the preparations for the siege, a small fleet of *Swedish* brigantines appeared on the lake *Peipus*, to oppose his designs. The *Russian* half-gallies went out to meet them, a brisk engagement ensued, and the whole *Swedish* squadron, carrying ninety-eight pieces of cannon, was taken. **d** After this victory, the czar besieged *Narva* by sea and land; and what is very extraordinary, he laid siege at the same time to *Dærpt* in *Esthonia* (F).

He defeats the Swedes on the lake Peipus.

Lays siege to Narva and Dærpt.

WHO would imagine that there had been an university at *Dærpt*? Though founded by *Gustavus Adolphus*, it never acquired any fame, as a seat of learning. *Dærpt* is known only by these two sieges. *Peter* went incessantly from one to the other, to forward the attacks, and to direct the different approaches.

e SCHLIPPENBACH, the *Swedish* general, was at that time in the neighbourhood of *Dærpt*, with about two thousand five hundred men. The garrison expected every moment he would attempt to throw succours into the town. But *Peter* prevented this design by a stratagem, worthy of more frequent imitation. He ordered *Swedish* uniforms, colours, and standards, for two regiments of infantry, and one of cavalry. The pretended *Swedes* attacked the trenches, and the *Russians* feigned a retreat; the garrison were thereby deluded to make a sally (G); the mock combatants joined their forces, and fell upon the *Swedes*, one half of whom were killed, and the other half got back to the town. *Schlippenbach* came up soon after with an intent to relieve it, but was entirely defeated. At length *Dærpt* was obliged to capitulate (H), just as *Peter* was going to order a general assault.

Dærpt taken by a stratagem.

f AT the same time the czar received a considerable check on the side of his new city of *Petersburg*; which did not however hinder him from going on with the buildings, nor from pressing the siege of *Narva*. We have already taken notice, that he had sent a supply of men and money to king *Augustus*, whom *Charles* was stripping of his crown; but both these aids proved ineffectual. The *Russians* having joined the *Lithuanians*, who adhered to *Augustus*, were entirely routed in *Courland* by *Lewenhaupt*, the *Swedish* general (I). Had the victors directed their efforts towards *Livonia*, *Esthonia*, and *Ingria*, they might have demolished the czar's new works, and baffled all his grand designs. *Peter* was every day undermining the outwall of *Sweden*, and *Charles* did not seem to regard him; being engaged in a pursuit, less advantageous to his people, but more glorious to his arms.

The Russians are beat in Courland.

ON the 12th of *July* 1704, only a single colonel, at the head of a *Swedish* detachment, had obliged the *Polish* nobility to proceed to the nomination of a new king, on the field

Stanislaus elected king of Poland.

(B) In November.

(C) On the fifth of November 1703.

(D) In January 1704.

(E) On the 30th of March.

(F) In April.

(G) On the 27th of June 1704.

(H) On the 23d of July 1704.

(I) On the 31st of July.

of election, called *Kolo*, in the neighbourhood of *Warsaw*. The cardinal primate, and several bishops, submitted to the will and pleasure of a *Lutheran* prince, notwithstanding the menaces and excommunications of the supreme pontiff: in short, they were obliged to yield to a superior force. Every one knows the manner in which *Stanislaus Leczinsky* was elected; and how *Charles XII.* caused him to be acknowledged as sovereign, by a considerable part of the *Polish* nation. Yet *Peter* would not abandon his abdicated ally, but grew more liberal of his succours, as that prince became more unfortunate; and while his rival busied himself in making sovereigns, he employed his time in beating the *Swedish* generals in *Esthonia* and *Ingria*; and in forwarding the siege of *Narva*, where things were now ready for an assault. There were three famous bastions, at least their names were such, being called *victory*, *honour*, and *glory*. The czar carried them sword-in-hand. The besiegers forced their way into the town (K), where they fell immediately to plunder, and committed the most horrid barbarities; a practice but too common at that time, both with the *Swedes* and *Russians*.

Narva taken by assault.

PETER set an example on this occasion, capable of conciliating the affections of his new subjects. Seeing his men intent on slaughter and pillage, he ran from place to place to stop their fury, and rescued several women out of their barbarous hands. After killing two of the brutes, who refused to obey his orders, he entered the town house, whither great numbers of the citizens were retired for shelter; and there laying his sword, reeking with blood, upon a table, "My sword, said he, is not stained with the blood of the inhabitants, but with that of my own soldiers, which I have shed to save your lives."

Rise of prince Menzikoff.

PETER being now master of all *Ingria*, conferred the government of that province on *Menzikoff*, giving him at the same time the title of prince, and the rank of major-general. The pride and prejudice of other countries might find fault with a sovereign for raising a pastry-cook's boy to the post of general and governor, and to princely dignity; but *Peter* had accustomed his subjects not to be surprised at seeing him prefer men of abilities, to persons who had nothing to recommend them but their high birth. *Menzikoff* happened, by a lucky accident (L), to emerge from his original obscurity, when he was very young; and to be placed in the czar's family, where he learnt several languages, and qualified himself both for the cabinet and for the field: having had the art of ingratiating himself with his master by his wit and humour, he strengthened his interest by more important services. He used all possible diligence in forwarding the works at *Petersburg*; where by this time the czar had erected a great number of houses, of stone and brick, with an arsenal and magazines, and had likewise finished the fortifications. The palaces were not raised till some time after.

Peter sends farther succours to Augustus.

No sooner was *Peter* settled in *Narva*, than he made an offer of further succours to the king of *Poland*, who had been lately dethroned: he engaged to supply him with a fresh body of troops, besides the reinforcement of twelve thousand men, which he had already sent to that prince. Accordingly he gave orders (M) for general *Repnin* to march from the frontiers of *Lithuania* with six thousand horse and six thousand foot. All this while he did not lose sight of his colony of *Petersburg*: the buildings went on; the navy was improving; and ships and frigates were upon the stocks at *Olonitz*: these he took care to see finished, and brought them himself into the harbour of *Petersburg* (N).

Continues the building of Petersburg and his navy.

It was generally his custom, upon his return to *Moscow*, to make a triumphant entry. In this manner did he revisit his capital the present year (O), from whence he made only one excursion, to assist at the launching of his first ship of eighty guns, upon the *Woronetz*; the dimensions of which he himself had drawn the preceding year.

A. D. 1705. Peter sets out for Courland.

As soon as the season approached for opening the campaign in *Poland*, he made haste to join the army, which he had assembled on the frontiers of *Lithuania*, in order to assist

(K) On the 20th of August 1704.

(L) *Menzikoff's* parents were vassals of the monastery of *Cosmopoli*: at the age of thirteen he went to *Moscow*, and was taken into the service of a pastry-cook. His employment was singing ballads, and crying puffs and cakes about the streets. One day, as he was following this occupation, the czar happening to hear him, and to be diverted with one of his songs, sent for him, and asked him if he would sell his pies and his basket? The boy answered, that his business was to sell his pies, but he must ask his master's leave to sell his basket: yet as every thing belonged to his prince, he needed only to lay his commands upon him. This answer was so agreeable to the czar, that he immediately ordered

him to come to court, where he gave him at first a mean employment; but being every day more pleased with his wit, he thought fit to place him about his person, and to make him groom of his bed-chamber, from whence he gradually raised him to the highest preferments. He was tall and well-shaped. At his first coming into the czar's service, he enlisted in *M. Le Fort's* company, and acquired, under that general's instruction, such a degree of knowledge and skill, as enabled him to command armies, and to become one of the bravest and most successful generals in *Russia*.

(M) On the 19th of August 1704.

(N) On the 11th of October 1704.

(O) On the 30th of December.

a *Augustus*. But while he was thus endeavouring to support his ally, the *Swedes* had fitted out a fleet, which threatened the destruction of his new settlements of *Petersburg* and *Cron-*
shot. This squadron consisted of twenty two ships of war, carrying from fifty-four to sixty-four guns each, besides six frigates, two bomb ketches, and two fire-ships. The land-forces on board the transports, made a descent in the little island of *Kotin*. But a *Russian* colonel, named *Tolboguine*, having caused his regiment to lie flat on their bellies, while the *Swedes* were landing, ordered them to rise up of a sudden; and they made so brisk and regular a fire, as obliged the enemy to retreat (P) in the utmost confusion to their ships, abandoning their dead, with the loss of three hundred prisoners.

The Swedes threaten Petersburg.

b In the mean time, the *Swedish* fleet hovered still upon the coast, and threatened *Petersburg*. The land-forces made another descent, and met with the like repulse. A body of troops were advancing at the same time by land from *Wyburg*, under the command of *Meidel*, the *Swedish* general; and had taken their route by *Schlusselfurg*. This was the most formidable attack that *Charles XII.* had yet made against the territories, either conquered, or created by *Peter the Great*. But the *Swedes* were repulsed on every side, and *Petersburg* was saved.

but are repulsed.

c THE czar, on the other hand, was marching towards *Courland*, and wanted to penetrate as far as *Riga*. His plan was to make himself master of *Livonia*, while *Charles* completed the reduction of *Poland* under the obedience of the new king. *Peter* continued still at *Wilna* in *Lithuania*; and marshal *Scheremetow* was approaching towards *Mittaw*, the capital of *Courland*: but there he met with *Lewenhaupt*, a general celebrated for many victories. The two armies engaged at a place called *Gemauers-hoff*, or *Gemauers*.

In matters depending on experience and discipline, the *Swedes*, though inferior in number, had always the advantage: the *Russians* were entirely defeated, and lost all their artillery (Q). However, *Peter* still retrieved his losses, and even converted them to his advantage.

They defeat the Russians at Gemauers.

After the battle of *Gemauers*, he marched a large army into *Courland*, sat down before *Mittaw*, made himself master of the town, and laid siege to the citadel, which he took by capitulation (R).

Peter I. takes Mittaw.

d THE *Muscovites* at that time were famed for distinguishing their successes by rapine and plunder, a practice of too great antiquity in all nations: but *Peter* had so changed this custom at the taking of *Narva*, that the *Russian* soldiers now appointed to guard the vaults in the castle of *Mittaw*, the usual burying-place of the great dukes of *Courland*, finding that the bodies of those princes had been dragged out of their tombs, and stripped of their ornaments, refused to undertake the charge, till they had sent for a *Swedish* colonel to examine the place; who gave them a certificate, acknowledging that the troops of his own nation had committed this outrage.

Remarkable instance of the great reformation of the Russian troops.

e A REPORT which was spread throughout the *Russian* empire, that *Peter* had been totally defeated at the battle of *Gemauers*, did him more mischief than the loss of the battle. The remainder of the ancient *strelitzes*, in garrison at *Astracan*, emboldened by this intelligence to revolt, murdered the governor of the town. *Peter* was obliged to send marshal *Scheremetow* with a body of forces, to quell the insurrection, and punish the ringleaders.

Rebellion of the strelitzes at Astracan quelled.

f EVERY thing seemed now to conspire against the czar: *Charles's* good fortune and valour; the forced neutrality of *Denmark*; the rebellion of the ancient *strelitzes*: the murmurings of a people sensible of the restraint, but not of the utility of the late reformation; the disaffection of the nobility for being subjected to military discipline; and lastly, the exhausted state of the revenue, were circumstances extremely discouraging: yet he was no way dispirited. He soon quelled the revolt: then providing for the security of *Ingria*, and making himself master of the citadel of *Mittaw*, in spite of the victorious *Lewenhaupt*, who had not a sufficient force to oppose him, he found himself at liberty to march an army through *Samojitia* and *Lithuania*.

PETER had now shared with *Charles XII.* the glory of triumphing in *Poland*. He advanced as far as *Tikoczin*, where he had an interview with king *Augustus*, whom he endeavoured to comfort under his misfortunes, promising to avenge his cause. At the same time he made him a present of a few standards, which *Menzikoff* had taken from the troops of his rival. From thence they went to *Grodno*, the capital of *Lithuania*, and staid there till the 15th of *December*. At their parting, *Peter* presented him both men and money; and, according to custom, after having made a very difficult and laborious campaign, went to spend part of the winter at *Moscow*, to encourage the arts and sciences there, and give vigour to his new laws.

Peter has a second interview with Augustus.

(P) On the 17th of June 1705.

(Q) July 28, 1705.

(R) On the 14th of September 1705.

A. D. 1706.
Charles XII.
advances a-
gainst the Rus-
sians at Grod-
no.

Augustus flies
towards
Saxony.
Schulemburg
marches to
their assistance.

The Swedes
obtain a great
victory over
the Saxons;

Their horrid
cruelty after
the victory.

Peter besieges
Wyburg,
without suc-
cess.

HE was no sooner returned to his capital, than he received advice, that *Charles XII.* had carried all before him, and was advancing towards *Grodno*, in order to attack the *Russian* forces. King *Augustus* had been obliged to fly from *Grodno*, and to retire precipitately towards *Saxony*, with four regiments of *Russian* dragoons; a step which both weakened, and discouraged the army of his protector. *Peter* found all the avenues to *Grodno* occupied by the *Swedes*, and his troops dispersed.

WHILE he was assembling his scattered forces with great difficulty in *Lithuania*, the celebrated general *Schulemburg*, in whom *Augustus* had placed his last hopes, and who afterwards acquired such glory in the defence of *Corfu* against the *Turks*, was in full march towards *Great Poland*, with about twelve thousand *Saxons*, and six thousand *Russians*, drawn from the body of troops, with which the czar had entrusted that unfortunate prince. *Schulemburg* expected, with some reason, that he should be able to save *Augustus* from ruin: he perceived that *Charles XII.* was employed on the side of *Lithuania*; and that there was only a body of ten thousand *Swedes* under *Renschild*, to interrupt his march. He therefore advanced with confidence towards the frontiers of *Silesia*, the usual passage from *Saxony* to *Upper Poland*. Upon his arrival in the neighbourhood of a little town, called *Frauenstadt*, on the frontiers of that kingdom, he met marshal *Renschild*, who was come to give him battle.

A *French* regiment in the *Saxon* army, who had been taken prisoners at the famous battle of *Hochstet*, and obliged to serve under king *Augustus*, had the care of the artillery: being not only admirers of the heroism of *Charles XII.* but dissatisfied with their *Saxon* masters, they laid down their arms, as soon as they beheld the enemy (S), and desired to be admitted into the service of the king of *Sweden*, with whom they continued to the end of the war. This was only a prelude to a compleat victory: out of the whole *Russian* army, hardly three battalions were saved; every soldier that escaped was wounded; and as no quarter was granted, the remainder were all slain. *Norberg* the chaplain pretends, the *Swedish* word at this battle was, *in the name of God*; and that of the *Muscovites*, *kill all*: but it was the *Swedes* that slaughtered all in the name of God. The czar himself assures us, in one of his manifestos (T), that many of his soldiers who had been taken prisoners, as well *Russians*, as *Cosaks* and *Calmucks*, were murdered in cold blood, three days after the battle (V). The irregular troops of both armies had accustomed the generals to these cruelties: greater were never committed in the most barbarous ages. *M. de Voltaire* says, that he had the honour of hearing the following anecdote from king *Stanislaus* himself. That in one of the skirmishes, which frequently happened in *Poland*, the *Russian* officer, who had been his friend, came after the defeat of the corps under his command, to put himself under his protection; and that *Steinbock*, the *Swedish* general, shot him dead with a pistol, while he held him in his arms.

THE *Russians* had now lost four pitched battles with the *Swedes*, without reckoning the other victories of *Charles XII.* in *Poland*. The czar's forces at *Grodno* were in danger of a greater disgrace, and of being entirely encompassed by the enemy; but he fortunately assembled the several parts of his army, and even strengthened them with new reinforcements. Being obliged to provide at the same time for these forces and for the preservation of his conquests in *Ingria*, he ordered his troops to march eastward, under the command of prince *Menzikoff*, and from thence southward as far as *Kiow*.

WHILE his men were upon their march, he repaired to *Schlusselfburg*, from thence to *Narva*, and to his colony of *Petersburg*, and put those places in the best posture of defence. From the *Baltic* he flew to the banks of the *Dnieper* (A) in order to march back to *Poland* by the way of *Kiow*; his constant aim being to prevent *Charles* from reaping any benefit by his victories. At this very time he had been meditating a new conquest, that of *Wyburg*, the capital of *Carelia*, on the gulph of *Finland*. Accordingly he laid siege to it (B), but met with a disappointment; for succours arrived at a seasonable juncture, so that he was obliged to desist from his enterprize. His rival, *Charles XII.* did not acquire a single province by gaining so many victories. At that time he was in pursuit of *Augustus* in *Saxony*; intent upon humbling him, and crushing him with his whole weight; but not at all solicitous about recovering *Ingria*, which had been wrested from him by a vanquished enemy.

^a VOLTAIRE, hist. de Charles XII. & hist. de Russie, p. 234.

(S) On the 6th of February, 1706.

(T) Published in the *Ukraine* in 1709.

(V) *La Motraye* says that this was done by the express command of *Charles XII.* who was within eighteen miles of *Frauenstadt*, where this battle was

fought, and who was a little piqued that *Renschild* should have obtained such a victory without his having any share in it.

(A) In August 1706.

(B) In October.

^a THE terror of *Charles's* arms was spread through *Upper Poland, Silesia, and Saxony*. *Augustus* ^{negotiates privately with} King *Augustus's* whole family, his mother, his wife, his son, and the principal nobility of the country, were retired into the heart of the empire. *Augustus* now sued for peace, choosing to surrender himself to the discretion of his conqueror, rather than into the arms of his protector. He was negotiating a treaty, which stripped him of the crown of *Poland*, and covered him at the same time with ignominy. This treaty he was obliged to conceal from the *Russian* generals, under whose protection he was at that time in *Poland*; while *Charles* was prescribing laws in *Leipsick*, and trampling upon his electorate. His plenipotentiaries had already signed the fatal convention (C), by which he not only resigned the crown of *Poland*, but promised never more to assume the title of king: at the same time, he acknowledged the regal dignity of *Stanislaus*, renounced the alliance of the czar, his benefactor; and, to compleat his humiliation, he engaged to deliver up into the hand of *Charles XII.* *John Renold Patkul*, the czar's ambassador, and general in the *Russian* service, who had been fighting in his defence. Some time before this, he had ordered *Patkul* to be arrested upon false suspicions, contrary to the law of nations; and now he violated this law again, by surrendering him to his enemy. Much better would it have been for him to have died sword in hand, than to sign such a treaty; a treaty which not only robbed him of his honour, and of his crown, but likewise endangered his liberty; because he was then at the mercy of prince *Menzikoff* in *Poznania*, and the few *Saxon* troops he had with him were paid by the *Russians*.

and basely gives up Patkul.

^c OPPOSITE to prince *Menzikoff's* quarters, lay encamped a *Swedish* army, reinforced by the *Poles* in *Stanislaus's* interest, and commanded by general *Meyerfeldt*. The prince not knowing that *Augustus* was in treaty with the enemies of *Russia*, proposed to attack them: and *Augustus* durst not refuse. The battle was fought (D) in the neighbourhood of *Kalish*, in the palatinate belonging to *Stanislaus*. This was the first time that the *Russians* gained a pitched battle against the *Swedes*; and the whole honour was owing to prince *Menzikoff*: four thousand of the enemy were killed, and two thousand five hundred and ninety eight taken prisoners.

The Russians defeat the Swedes in a pitched battle.

It is difficult to comprehend how *Augustus* could be prevailed upon after this battle, to ratify a treaty, which deprived him of the whole benefit of so signal a victory. But *Charles* was triumphant in *Saxony*, where his very name intimidated his enemies: besides, *Augustus* had little expectation of being steadily supported by the *Russians*: in short, the *Polish* party in his enemy's interest was so strong, and *Augustus* himself was so ill advised, that he signed this fatal convention. Neither did he stop here: he wrote to *Finckstein*, his envoy, a letter more shameful than the treaty itself, in which he begged pardon for having obtained a victory, "protesting that the battle was fought against his will; that the *Russians*, and the *Poles*, his adherents, had obliged him to it; that, with this design, he had made some movements to abandon *Menzikoff*; that *Meyerfeldt* might have beaten him, had he made a proper use of the opportunity; that he would deliver back all the *Swedish* prisoners, or break with the *Russians*: in short, that he would give the king of *Sweden* all proper satisfaction," for having dared to beat his troops.

Unaccountable behaviour of Augustus.

^e THIS whole affair is most extraordinary and unaccountable, and yet exactly true. When we reflect, that, with all this weakness, *Augustus* was one of the bravest princes in *Europe*, we plainly perceive, that the loss or preservation, the rise or decline, of empires, are intirely owing to firmness of mind.

Two other circumstances compleated the misfortunes of the king of *Poland* elector of *Saxony*, and plainly shewed the ill use which *Charles* made of his success. The first was his obliging *Augustus* to write a letter of congratulation to the new king *Stanislaus*: the second was terrible; he even compelled *Augustus* to deliver up *Patkul*, the czar's ambassador, into his hands. All *Europe* knows, that this minister was afterwards broke alive upon the wheel at *Casimir*, in the month of *September* 1707. *Norberg* acknowledges, that the orders for his execution were written with *Charles's* own hand.

Murder of Patkul.

^f THERE is not a civilian in *Europe*, nay there is not a slave, but must shudder with horror at this barbarous act of injustice. The first crime of this unfortunate man, was his having made an humble representation of the rights and privileges of his country, at the head of six *Livonian* gentlemen, who had been deputed by the whole state: he was condemned for fulfilling the first of duties, that of serving his country according to her laws. So unjust a sentence fully restored him to a right, which all mankind derive from nature, that of choosing his country. As he was the ambassador of one of the greatest monarchs

^b VOLTAIRE, Hist. de Russie, p. 240.

(C) On the 14th of *September* 1706.

(D) On the 19th of *November* 1706.

in the whole world, his person ought to have been sacred. The laws of nature and nations were violated upon this occasion by the law of the longest sword. The splendor of high achievements used formerly to cover such cruelties; but now they are an indelible stain to military glory.

CHARLES was now triumphing at *Altranstadt*, in the neighbourhood of *Leipfic*. The protestant princes of the empire flocked from all sides to yield homage to him, and to sue for his protection. Ambassadors from most of the powers in *Europe* courted his alliance. The emperor *Joseph* paid an implicit submission to his will. *Peter* then perceiving, that *Augustus* had renounced his protection, and the *Polish* throne, and that a part of the nation had acknowledged *Stanislaus*, began to listen to the proposal made to him by *Yolkova*, of choosing a third king.

Poland upon
the point of
having three
kings at a
time.

SEVERAL palatines were proposed at the diet of *Lublin*: among the rest prince *Ragotski* appeared upon the list, the same who had been long detained in prison in his youthful days by the emperor *Leopold*, and who was his competitor for the *Hungarian* throne, after he had recovered his liberty. This negotiation was pushed very far, and *Poland* was upon the point of having three kings at a time. Prince *Ragotski*, not being able to succeed, *Peter* was inclined to confer the crown on *Siniauski*, grand general of the republic, a man of power and interest, and head of a third party, that would neither acknowledge the de-throned king, nor the person elected by the contrary faction.

IN the midst of these disturbances, there was, according to custom, some talk of peace. *Besseval*, the *French* envoy to the court of *Saxony*, endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation between the czar and the king of *Sweden*. The *French* government had a notion, that if *Charles* made peace with the *Moscovites* and *Poles*, he might possibly turn his arms against the emperor *Joseph*, with whom he was offended, and to whom he had prescribed very severe terms, during his stay in *Saxony*. But *Charles* made answer, that he would treat with the czar in the city of *Moscow*. Upon this occasion it was that *Peter* said; "My brother *Charles* wants to act the part of *Alexander*, but he shall not find me a *Darius*."

THE *Russians* were still in *Poland*, and even at *Warsaw*, while the person who had been raised to the *Polish* throne by *Charles XII.* was hardly acknowledged by that nation. In the mean time *Charles* was enriching his troops with the spoils of *Saxony*.

Charles XII.
leaves
Saxony.

AT length he began his march (E) from his head quarters at *Altranstadt*, with an army of forty-five thousand men; a force which it was very unlikely that his enemy should be able to resist, since he had been entirely defeated by only eight thousand *Swedes* at *Narva*.

Pays an ex-
traordinary
visit to king
Augustus.

WHILE the *Swedish* troops were passing near the walls of *Dresden*, *Charles* paid an extraordinary visit to king *Augustus* (F); a visit, which according to *Norberg*, posterity will always admire; at least they will read the account of it with some surprize: for it was certainly running a great risk to trust himself in the hands of a prince, whom he had stripped of his kingdom. From thence he continued his march through *Silesia*, and at length re-entered *Poland*.

Marches
through Po-
land.

THIS kingdom had been entirely ravaged by war, ruined by factions, and exposed to all sorts of calamities. *Charles* was advancing through *Masovia*, and chose the worst road he could take. The inhabitants fled into the morasses, being determined at least to make him purchase his passage. Six thousand peasants deputed one of their body to speak to him: this was an old man, of a very extraordinary size and figure, clad in white, and armed with two carbines. He addressed his discourse to *Charles*; but as the *Swedes* did not rightly understand what he said, they made no scruple to kill him in the presence of their king, and in the middle of his harangue. The peasants in a rage immediately withdrew, and took to their arms. The *Swedes* seized on as many as they could find, and obliged them to hang one another; the last was obliged to tie the cord about his neck himself, and to be his own executioner. All their habitations were reduced to ashes. This fact is mentioned by *Norberg*, who was an eye-witness; so that we can neither reject his testimony, nor help being struck with horror at such cruelty.

Horrid cruelties of the
Swedes.

A. D. 1708.
Charles XII.
narrowly mis-
takes taking the
czar in
Grodno.

BEING arrived within a few leagues of *Grodno* in *Lithuania*, *Charles* received intelligence, that the czar had fixed his head quarters in that city; upon which he hurried away with only eight hundred of his guards (G), and marched directly to *Grodno*. A *German* officer, named *Mulfels*, who had the command of a body of troops at one of the gates of the town, making no doubt, upon seeing the king of *Sweden*, but that he was followed by his army, immediately left the passage open. The alarm was instantly spread all over *Grodno*: every one imagined the enemy's whole force had entered the town; the few

(E) On the 22d of *August* 1707.

(F) On the 17th of *August*.

(G) On the 6th of *February* 1708.

a *Russians* who attempted to make a stand, were cut to pieces by the *Swedish* guards; and all the officers assured the czar, that a victorious army had made themselves masters of the place. *Peter* retreated beyond the ramparts; and *Charles* planted a guard of thirty men at the very gate, by which the czar had just retired b.

AMIDST this confusion, the *Jesuits* college having been allotted for the accommodation of the king of *Sweden*, as the handsomest structure in *Grodno*, some of those fathers repaired to the czar by night, and acquainted him with the whole truth. *Peter* with about two thousand men immediately returned to *Grodno*, and forced the *Swedish* guard; an engagement ensued in the streets, and in the public squares; but at length the king's army arrived. The czar was then obliged to give way, and to leave the city of *Grodno* b in the power of the victor, who spread a general panic throughout the whole kingdom of *Poland*.

CHARLES having augmented his forces in *Livonia* and *Finland*, *Peter* had great reason to be afraid, not only for his conquests on the side of *Lithuania*, but for his ancient territories, and even *Moscow* itself. It was therefore necessary for him, by all means, to provide for the security of those provinces, which lay at so great a distance from each other. *Charles* could make no very rapid progress by marching eastward through *Lithuania*, in the depth of winter, and in a swampy country, afflicted with a mortality, which had been spread by poverty and famine from *Warsaw* as far as *Minski*. *Peter* quartered his troops at the fords of the rivers; strengthened the principal posts, where the enemy were to c pass: and did every thing in his power to stop their progress: after which he returned in all haste to *Petersburg* (H), in order to put things in a good posture of defence on that side of his dominions.

THOUGH *Charles* was triumphant in *Poland*, yet he made no acquisition of territory: but *Peter*, by employing his new fleet, by landing his troops in *Finland*, by taking and dismantling the town of *Borgau* (I), where he seized on a very considerable booty, was procuring real advantages to himself, and greatly distressing his enemy.

THE king of *Sweden*, after having been detained by continual rains in *Lithuania*, at length reached the little river *Berezine*, within a few leagues of the *Dnieper*. Nothing could d withstand the rapidity of the victor; he threw a bridge over the river in sight of the enemy, defeated the detachment that guarded this passage, and arrived at *Hollowzin* upon the *Wabitz* (K). Here the czar had posted a considerable body of men, to stop the impetuosity of the *Swedes*. The little river *Wabitz* is no more than a brook in very dry weather; but then it was a deep rapid stream, swelled with incessant rains. Farther on was a morass, behind which the *Russians* had thrown up an entrenchment for above a quarter of a league, defended by a large ditch, and with a parapet lined with artillery. Nine regiments of horse, and eleven of foot, were advantageously posted in these lines; and the passage of the river was thought to be impracticable.

Charles XII.
advances to-
wards Russia.

His intrepid
passage of the
river Wabitz.

THE *Swedes*, according to the custom of war, got their pontons ready, and erected batteries to favour their passage: but *Charles* did not wait for the pontons; his military e ardor would never suffer the least delay. M. de *Voltaire* says c, that marshal *Schwerin*, who had long served under that prince, assured him several times, that one day the king observing his generals very busy about the order of battle, as they were just upon the point of engaging the enemy, reprimanded them in the following words; "When will you have done with these trifles?" and saying this, he advanced at the head of his guards: such was his behaviour also on this memorable day.

He threw himself into the river, followed by his regiment of guards. So numerous a body of men broke the force of the current; but the soldiers were up to their shoulders in water, and could not make use of their firelocks. Had the artillery of the parapet been well served, and the infantry but levelled their pieces in a proper manner, not a single f *Swede* would have escaped.

THE king, after wading through the river (L), passed the morass on foot. As soon as the *Swedish* army had surmounted these difficulties, within sight of the *Russians*, they drew up in order of battle, and attacked the entrenchments seven times. The *Russians* did not give way till the seventh attack; and then they lost but twelve field-pieces, and twenty-four cohorts, even by the testimony of the *Swedish* historians.

Where he de-
feats the Rus-
sians.

It was therefore evident, that the czar had at last succeeded in disciplining his troops; and while *Charles* reaped so much glory from the victory of *Hollowzin*, he might easily have seen, what dangers he must encounter, in adventuring upon an expedition to

b VOLTAIRE, Hist. de Russie, p. 246.

c Hist. de Russie, p. 249.

(H) On the 8th of April 1708.

(I) On the 21st of May.

(K) In the Russian language *Bibitsch*.

(L) On the 25th of July 1708.

countries so remote, where there was no possibility of marching but in small bodies, through woods and morasses; and where he should be obliged to fight his way every step: but the *Swedes*, being habituated to conquest, had no apprehension of danger or fatigue.

Treachery of
Mazeppa.

CHARLES at length reached the banks of the *Dnieper*, in the neighbourhood of a small town called *Mobilo* (M). There he was to learn, whether he should march eastward towards *Moscow*, or southward towards the *Ukraine*. His troops, his friends, his enemies, expected he would direct his course towards the capital of *Russia*. Which way soever he determined, *Peter* was following him from *Smolenskow* with a powerful army. Little was it expected, that he would chuse the road towards the *Ukraine*. So strange a resolution was occasioned by *Mazeppa*, hett-man of the *Cosaks*, a man of seventy years of age, who, having no children, should naturally have chosen to end his days in quiet; and ought, from a sense of gratitude, to have been attached to the czar, to whom he owed his present greatness: but whether he had really some reason to complain of that prince; or whether he was dazzled with the lustre of *Charles's* exploits; or whether, in fine, he was aiming at independence, he betrayed his benefactor, and entered into a private confederacy with the king of *Sweden*; flattering himself that he should prevail on the whole nation of *Cosaks* to revolt.

Charles XII.
crosses the
Dnieper.

Skirmishes be-
tween his
troops and the
Russians.

CHARLES was confident of subduing the *Russian* empire, as soon as his victorious bands could be joined by so warlike a nation. From *Mazeppa* he was to receive provisions and ammunition, with whatever artillery he should have occasion for; besides these powerful succours, he was to be joined by an army of seventeen or eighteen thousand men, who were upon their march from *Livonia*, under the command of general *Lewenhaupt*, with a prodigious quantity of provisions and military stores. He did not inquire whether the czar was ready to fall upon that army, and to deprive him of so considerable a reinforcement: neither did he inform himself, whether *Mazeppa* was in a condition to fulfil his engagements, or was a person of such weight and interest, as to be able to change the principles of a whole nation, who seldom take any council but their own; or whether, in short, he should find resources for his army, in case he met with any disaster: as to these matters, he seemed quite easy; and if *Mazeppa* should happen to deceive him, or be unable to perform his promise, he depended on the bravery of his troops, and on his good fortune. The *Swedish* army therefore advanced beyond the *Dnieper*, towards the *Dezna*, and between these two rivers he expected *Mazeppa*. The roads were excessive bad, and the flying parties of the *Russians* rendered his march extremely dangerous.

MENZIKOFF, at the head of some regiments of horse and dragoons, attacked the king's vanguard (N), threw them into confusion, and killed a number of men; though with the loss of many more of his own. *Charles* rode up to the field of battle, and repulsed the *Russians*; yet not without great difficulty, and being long exposed to the danger of losing his life, by fighting with a party of the enemy's dragoons, by whom he was surrounded. All this while there was no news of *Mazeppa*; and provisions began to grow scarce. The *Swedish* soldiers seeing their king a partaker of all their perils and distresses, were not dispirited: but though they admired his courage, they could not help condemning his conduct.

Peter attacks
the Swedes.

THE order which the king had sent to *Lewenhaupt*, for marching with the utmost diligence, and joining him with the convoy, was delivered twelve days too late; a great space of time at so critical a conjuncture. At length *Lewenhaupt* began his march. *Peter* suffered him to pass the *Dnieper*; but as soon as the *Swedes* had got between this river and the lesser stream in that neighbourhood, he crossed the *Dnieper* after him, and attacked the *Swedish* general with his united force: the different corps of the *Russians* having followed at equal distances from one another. The battle was fought between the *Dnieper* and the *Soeza*.

PRINCE *Menzikoff* was upon his return with that same body of cavalry, which had distinguished itself in the engagement with *Charles XII.* he was followed by general *Baur*; and the czar himself commanded the flower of his army. The *Swedes* imagined they had been engaged with forty thousand *Russians*; and this was the general opinion for a long time, founded on the accounts received from them. But *M. de Voltaire* says^d, that according to the memoirs communicated to him by the court of *Petersburg*, *Peter* had no more than twenty thousand men, on that memorable occasion; a number not greatly superior to that of the enemy. But his vigour, his patience, his perseverance, together with the firmness of

^d Hist de Russie, p. 256.

(M) So the *Russians* pronounce it, though they write it *Mogilow*.

(N) On the 11th of September 1708.

a his troops, animated by his presence, determined the fate, not of that only, but of three different days, during which the action was successively renewed.

At first the *Russians* attacked the rear of the *Swedish* army (O) near the village of *Lesnau*, from which this battle takes its name. The first shock was bloody, without being decisive; *Lewenhaupt* retired to a wood, and preserved his baggage: the next day the czar being determined to drive the *Swedes* out of the wood, the action was renewed with more bloodshed, and with greater success. *Peter* perceiving his troops in disorder, cried out to the rear-guard to fire upon the fugitives, and upon himself likewise, if he should be so cowardly as to turn his back. The *Swedes* were repulsed, but not thrown into confusion. At length, having received a reinforcement of four thousand dragoons, he fell upon the enemy a third time; when they retired towards a small town called *Prospock*, where they were attacked once more: from thence they marched towards the *Dezna*, and were closely pursued. Yet they were never entirely broke; but lost upwards of eight thousand men, seventeen pieces of cannon, and forty-four colours. The czar took fifty-six officers prisoners, with very near nine hundred common soldiers: and the great convoy of provisions, which had been designed for *Charles's* army, fell into the hands of the conqueror.

And gains the famous victory of Lesnau.

b THIS was the first time that the czar in person gained a pitched battle against an enemy, who had distinguished themselves by so many victories over his troops: he returned thanks to God for this success, upon hearing that general *Apraxin* had likewise obtained an advantage in *Ingria*, within a few miles of *Narva*; an advantage indeed less considerable than the victory of *Lesnau*; but this concurrence of fortunate circumstances enlivened his hopes, and infused fresh vigour into his army. *Charles* received this disagreeable intelligence, just as he was going to pass the *Dezna* in the *Ukraine*.

c At length *Mazeppa* joined the king of *Sweden*. He had engaged to bring with him twenty thousand men, and a prodigious supply of provisions; but appeared with no more than two regiments, and rather as a fugitive who applied for succours, than as a prince that came to assist an ally. He had indeed begun his march with very near sixteen thousand men, to whom he at first declared, that he intended to lead them against the king of *Sweden*; that they would have the glory of stopping that hero upon his march; and that the czar would be under an eternal obligation to them for so signal a piece of service. But d upon his arrival within a few leagues of the *Dezna*, he made them acquainted with his real design. They received the proposal with indignation, and refused to betray a monarch, of whom they had no reason to complain, for the sake of a *Swede*, who was marching with an armed force into their country, and who, after his retreat from thence, would be no longer able to afford them protection; so that they must be abandoned to the discretion of the angry *Russians*, and of the *Poles*, once their lords, and always their enemies. The result was, that they returned to their respective homes, and acquainted the czar with the defection of their chief. There remained with *Mazeppa* no more than two regiments, whose officers were in his own pay. However, he was still master of some fortresses in the *Ukraine*, and particularly of *Bathurin*, the place of his residence, and considered as the capital of e the *Cosaks*, situated near the forests on the *Dezna*, but at a great distance from the field of battle, where *Peter* had defeated *Lewenhaupt*. A body of *Russian* troops was always quartered in those parts. The czar detached *Menzikoff* from the army, and he arrived there by a very long circuit. *Charles* could not guard all the passes; neither indeed was he acquainted with them all: he had neglected to make himself master of the important post of *Starodub*, which leads directly to *Bathurin*, by a forest near thirty miles long, through which the *Dezna* directs its course. The enemy had always the advantage of him, by their knowledge of the country. *Menzikoff* found no difficulty to push forward with prince *Galitzin*; upon their appearing before *Bathurin*, the town was taken (P) almost f without resistance, plundered, and reduced to ashes. The *Russians* made themselves masters of a magazine designed for the king of *Sweden*, and of *Mazeppa's* treasures. The *Cosaks* chose another hetman, named *Skoropasky*, who was approved by the czar: and to make the people more sensible of the enormity of the treason, by some external form, the archbishop of *Kiow*, and two more prelates, were ordered to excommunicate *Mazeppa* in public: after which he was hanged in effigy; and some of his accomplices were broke upon the wheel.

Mazeppa joins Charles XII.

The Russians take Bathurin; and hang Mazeppa in effigy.

CHARLES was still at the head of about twenty-five or twenty-seven thousand *Swedes*; who were joined by the shattered remains of *Lewenhaupt's* corps, together with two or three thousand men, under the command of *Mazeppa*. As he had always flattered himself with the hopes of making the whole province of *Ukraine* declare in his favour, he

Distressed situation of Charles XII. in the Ukraine.

(O) On the 7th of October, 1708.

(P) On the 17th of November, 1708.

crossed the *Dezna*, at some distance from *Batburin*, and in the neighbourhood of the *Dnieper*; although he was encompassed by the *Russian* troops, part of whom pursued his rear-guard, while the rest were drawn up on the opposite side of the river, in order to obstruct his passage. He directed his march through a country that was quite desolate, the villages having been all destroyed and burnt. The cold was so extremely intense in the month of *December*, that upon a particular march, near two thousand men dropped down dead in his presence. The czar's troops suffered less, because they had greater resources; but the *Swedes*, being almost naked, were more exposed to the inclemency of the weather. In this deplorable situation, count *Piper*, the *Swedish* chancellor, who always gave his master the most prudent advice, entreated him to halt, and to pass at least the severest part of the winter, in a small town of the *Ukraine*, called *Romna*, where he might entrench himself, and get a supply of provisions by means of *Mazeppa*: but *Charles* made answer, that it was beneath his dignity to shut himself up in a town. *Piper* then begged him to repass the *Dezna* and the *Dnieper*; to march back into *Poland*; to put his troops into quarters of refreshment, of which they stood so greatly in need; to get a reinforcement of *Polish* light horse, which was absolutely necessary to support the king he himself had raised to the throne, and to check *Augustus's* party, who were beginning to raise their heads. The king replied, that this would be the same thing as flying before the czar; that the season would grow milder: that he must subdue the *Ukraine*, and march on to *Moscow*.

A. D. 1709.
Where he
marches for-
ward in a de-
sart country.

THE *Russian* and *Swedish* armies were detained some weeks in a state of inaction, by the intenseness of the cold in the month of *January* 1709: but as soon as the troops were able to wield their arms, *Charles* attacked the several little posts, with which the enemy intended to obstruct his march. He was obliged to send detachments on every side in search of provisions; that is, to rob the poor peasants, for above fifty miles round, of their necessary subsistence. *Peter*, with great composure, observed his motions, while the *Swedish* army was mouldering away.

IT is impossible for the reader to trace the *Swedes* in their progress through this desolate country. Many of the rivers, over which they passed, are not to be found in maps: neither is it to be supposed, that geographers are as well acquainted with that part of the world, as with *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany*. Of all the liberal arts, geography stands the most in need of improvement; for the ambition of princes has hitherto been more diligent in destroying than in surveying the face of the globe. Let us therefore be contented with knowing that *Charles* at length crossed the *Ukraine* in the month of *February*, after burning all the villages upon the road, except some few that had been set on fire already by the *Russians*. Advancing south-east, he reached those sandy deserts, bordered by mountains, which separate the *Nogay Tartars* from the *Don Cossaks*: eastward of which are the altars of *Alexander* (Q). *Charles* was therefore on the other side of the *Ukraine*, in the road which the *Tartars* take to *Russia*: but when he had penetrated so far, he was obliged to turn back for want of provisions. The inhabitants retiring with their cattle into caverns, would sometimes struggle hard with the soldiers, who wanted to deprive them of their sustenance: in revenge, as many of those poor peasants as could be found, were put to death; which, according to the *Swedish* phrase, was the right of war. The reader will judge of the *Swedes* on this occasion, by the following letter of *Charles's* own hand-writing to one of his colonels: "Colonel, I am glad you have taken the peasants, who carried off a *Swedish* soldier: as soon as they are convicted of the crime, they must be punished with death, pursuant to the exigency of the case." *Charles's* chaplain, *Norberg*, gives us this^f, as a proof of his master's strict regard to justice. Such are the sentiments of humanity shewn by a king's confessor! but if the peasants of the *Ukraine* had been able to hang the regimented peasants of *East Gotland*, who imagined they had a right to march into so distant a country, in order to plunder those poor people of the few provisions, that were intended to keep their wives and children from starving, would not these *Ukrainians* have had equal reason to extol their justice?

Mazeppa
treats with
the Zaporog
Cossaks, and
engages them
in the service
of Charles
XII.

MAZEPPA was a long while negotiating with the *Zaporavians*, or *Zaporog Cossaks*, who are settled on both the banks of the *Dnieper*, and part of whom inhabit the islands situated in that river. These are the people, who, as we observed before, have neither wives nor families, and subsist entirely by plunder. During the winter they collect a store of provisions, which they sell in spring to the little town of *Pultawa*; the rest are scattered along the villages to the right and left of this river. The collective body of the na-

^e NORBERG, tom i. p. 263. & VOLTAIRE, Hist. de Russie, p. 262.
TAIRE, p. 264.

^f Tom ii. p. 279.

^g VOL-

a tion chuse a particular hett-man, who is subordinate to the officer of that name in the *Ukraine*. The person then at the head of the *Zaporavians*, had an interview with *Mazeppa*, when a horse's tail and a club were carried as ensigns of honour, before each of those barbarians.

b IN order to give some idea of this hett-man, and of his subjects the *Zaporavians*, it may not be beneath the dignity of history to mention in what manner the treaty was concluded. *Mazeppa* gave a grand entertainment, in a service of plate, to the *Zaporavian* hett-man and his principal officers. As soon as those chiefs were intoxicated with brandy, they swore upon the Evangelists, that they would furnish *Charles* with men and provisions. After which they carried off the plate, and all the furniture used at table. But the steward pursued them close, and endeavoured to make it appear, that this behaviour was inconsistent with the doctrines of the Gospel, by which they had sworn. The domestics wanting to recover the plate, the *Zaporavians* assembled in a body, and went to *Mazeppa*, complaining of the unparalleled affront done to a set of brave fellows; at the same time desiring, that the steward should be delivered up to them, in order to be dealt with according to justice. Their demand being complied with, the *Zaporavians*, in pursuance of their laws, fell upon the poor man; and after they had kicked him about like a foot-ball, plunged a knife into his heart.

c SUCH were the new allies, whom *Charles XII.* was obliged to receive. Part of them were formed into a regiment of about two thousand men: the remainder marched in separate bodies against the czar's *Cosaks* and *Calmucks*, who were dispersed in those quarters.

d THE little town of *Pultawa*, with which these *Zaporavians* carry on a trade, abounded with provisions, and might have served *Charles* as a place of arms. It is situated on the river *Worskla*, near a chain of mountains, which command it on the north; the east-side is a vast desert; but that to the westward is more fruitful and populous. The *Worskla* empties itself into the *Dnieper* about fifteen leagues lower down. From *Pultawa*, there is a passage northward thro' the defiles, which communicate with the road to *Moscow*; a passage commonly used by the *Tartars*. It is of very difficult access; and the czar's precaution had rendered it almost impervious: yet nothing appeared impossible to *Charles*; and he depended upon marching to *Moscow*, after he had made himself master of *Pultawa*. With this view he laid siege to that town in the beginning of *May*.

Charles lays siege to Pultawa.

e THERE it was that *Peter* expected him. He had disposed his different detachments, so as to be all ready to join, and to march in a body against the besiegers: he had visited the countries which surrounded the *Ukraine*, namely, the duchy of *Severia*, watered by the *Dezna*, a river of some depth, even in this neighbourhood, and already celebrated by his late victory; the country of *Bolcho*, in which the *Occa* has its source; the deserts and mountains leading to the *Palus Mæotis*; and lastly, he had been in the neighbourhood of *Asoph*, where he caused the harbour to be cleansed, new vessels to be built, and the citadel of *Taganroc* to be repaired: in short, he had employed the whole time since the battle of *Dezna*, in preparing for the defence of his dominions.

Peter's preparations to meet him.

As soon as he heard that the *Swedes* had laid siege to this town, he assembled all his troops. His horse, dragoons, infantry, *Cosaks*, and *Calmucks*, advanced from their several quarters: his army was well provided with artillery and ammunition, as well as with provisions and medicines; so that in this respect he had greatly the advantage of his rival.

ON the 15th of *June* 1709, he appeared before *Pultawa*, with an army of about sixty thousand men. The river *Worskla* was between him and *Charles*. The besiegers were to the north-west, the *Russians* to the south-east.

f PETER ascended (R) the river above the town, fixed his bridges, marched over with his whole force, drew a long line, and entrenched himself in a single night, within view of the enemy. *Charles* might then easily have judged, whether the person whom he held in such contempt, and depended upon dethroning at *Moscow*, understood the art of war. This disposition being made, *Peter* posted his horse betwixt two woods, and covered them with several redoubts, lined with artillery; after which he went to reconnoitre the enemy's camp (S), in order to form the attack.

THIS battle was to decide the fate of *Russia*, *Poland*, and *Sweden*; and of two monarchs; on whom all the eyes of *Europe* were fixed. Most nations, attentive to these weighty concerns, were ignorant of the actual situation of both princes: but knowing only that *Charles XII.* had begun his march from *Saxony* at the head of a victorious and formidable army; and that he was in full pursuit of his enemy, nobody made the least doubt but

(R) On the 3d of *July*.

(S) On the 6th of *July*.

he

he would cut the *Russians* to pieces; and that as he had given laws to *Denmark*, *Poland*, and *Germany*, so now he would dictate conditions of peace in the *Cremelin* of *Moscow*, and make a new czar, after having made a new king of *Poland*. M. de *Voltaire* says*, he has seen letters from several ministers to their respective courts, confirming this general opinion.

IN this critical situation of two rivals, the consequence was not the same with regard to the public. Had *Charles* perished on that memorable day, it could only have been said that there was an end of a great hero, who had so often and so wantonly exposed his life. The *Ukraine*, and the frontiers of *Lithuania* and *Russia*, would not have been laid waste any longer; and *Poland* would, together with her tranquility, have recovered her lawful king, who had been lately reconciled to the czar his benefactor. *Sweden*, though exhausted of men and money, might have found some circumstances of consolation under her heavy loss: but had the czar been cut off, the public would have been for ever deprived of his grand undertakings, so useful to mankind; and the greatest empire in the world would have relapsed into the chaos from which it had formerly emerged.

Charles
wounded in a
skirmish.

The battle of
Pultawa.

SEVERAL skirmishes had happened under the walls of *Pultawa*, between the *Swedish* and *Russian* detachments. In one of these *Charles* was wounded (T) by a shot from a carbine, which shattered the bone of his heel. He underwent the incisions of the surgeon with his usual fortitude; but was obliged to keep his bed for some days. In this situation he was informed, that *Peter* intended to attack him. Thinking it inconsistent with his glory to wait for the enemy in his entrenchments, he drew out his troops, and was carried himself in a litter. *Peter the Great* acknowledges in his own journal, sent to M. de *Voltaire* by the court of *Petersburgh*^f, that the *Swedes* made such a vigorous attack upon the redoubts, which covered his cavalry, that in spite of all his resistance, and a continual fire from his cannon, they became masters of two of those redoubts. Some writers say that the *Swedish* infantry, upon this first success, imagined they had got the day, and cried out victory. *Norberg* the chaplain, who was at some distance from the field of battle, among the baggage (which indeed was his proper place) pretends, that this is a calumny; but whether the *Swedes* cried out victory or not, certain it is, that they were not victorious. The fire from the other redoubts did not at all abate; and the *Russians* on every side defended themselves with a firmness equal to the vivacity of the assailants. They made no irregular motion. But the czar drew up his army with great readiness and order, before the intrenchments.

The Russians
gain a complete
victory.

Charles XII.
flies towards
Turkey.

THE troops were soon engaged on every side. *Peter* acted as major general; the right wing of the *Russians* was commanded by general *Baur*; the left by *Menzikoff*; and the center by *Scheremetow*. The action lasted two hours. *Charles*, with a pistol in his hand, went from rank to rank, carried by some of his body guards in a litter, till one of those troopers was killed by a cannon ball, and the litter was shattered in pieces. He then ordered his men to carry him upon pikes; for it is difficult to believe, let *Norberg* say what he will, that in the heat of so bloody an engagement, they could find another litter ready to their hands. *Peter* received several shot in his cloaths and in his hat. Both princes were in the midst of the fire during the whole action. At length, after a warm dispute of two hours, the *Swedes* gave way on every side, and fell into confusion; so that *Charles* was obliged to retire with precipitation before an enemy, whom he had hitherto held in great contempt. This very hero was mounted on horseback in the flight, though he had been unable to keep his saddle in the heat of the engagement; but necessity made him exert himself almost beyond his strength: in his retreat he suffered the most exquisite pain, which was increased by his concern for this irreparable defeat. The *Russians* reckoned nine thousand two hundred and twenty-four *Swedes* killed in the field; besides two or three thousand prisoners, chiefly cavalry, taken in the action.

IN this precipitate flight, *Charles* was attended by only fourteen thousand men, with very little cannon, ammunition, or provisions. He directed his march southward towards the *Dnieper*, between the rivers *Worskla* and *Psol*, in the country of the *Zaporavians*. Beyond the *Dnieper* are extensive deserts, leading to the frontiers of *Turkey*. *Norberg* affirms, that the victors durst not pursue *Charles*: yet he acknowledges, that *Menzikoff* appeared (V) on the eminences with ten thousand horse, and a considerable train of artillery, while the king was passing the *Dnieper*. Fourteen thousand *Swedes* surrendered themselves prisoners of war to those ten thousand *Russians*. This fatal capitulation was signed by general *Lewenhaupt*, who thereby delivered into the power of the czar, those *Zaporavians* that had fought for his king, and had the misfortune of being in this fugitive

* Histoire de Russie, p. 270.

^f Ibid. p. 272.

(T) On the 27th of June.

(V) On the 12th of July.

a army. The chief persons taken prisoners in the battle, and by the capitulation, were count Piper the first minister, with two secretaries of state, and two of the cabinet; field-marshal Rencbild; the generals *Lewenhaupt*, *Schlippenbach*, *Rozen*, *Stakelber*, *Creutz*, and *Hamillon*; with three general-aid-de-camps, the auditor-general of the army, fifty-nine staff officers, five colonels, among whom was the prince of *Wirtemberg*; sixteen thousand nine hundred and forty-two soldiers, and subaltern officers: in short, including the king's domestics, and other attendants upon the army, no less than eighteen thousand seven hundred and forty-six Swedes fell that day into the hands of the conqueror; and if we add the nine thousand two hundred and eighty killed in battle, and near two thousand that passed the *Dnieper* in the king's retinue, it appears plainly, that twenty-seven thousand effective men were under
b Charles's command on that memorable day (B). He set out from *Saxony* with forty-five thousand men; and *Lewenhaupt* brought upwards of sixteen thousand with him from *Livonia*: but this flourishing army was no more. Out of a numerous artillery, he had been obliged to leave the greatest part behind him, in his march through morasses; so that he saved only eighteen brass cannon, two mortars, and twelve cohorns. With so inconsiderable a force did he undertake the siege of *Pultawa*, and venture to attack an army provided with a formidable train of artillery. Hence he is said to have distinguished himself more by his bravery, than by his conduct, since his departure from *Germany*. On the side of the *Russians*, there were only fifty-two officers, and twelve hundred and ninety-three common soldiers killed: which shews that the czar made a better disposition of his troops
c than Charles; and that the fire of the *Russians* was infinitely superior to that of the *Swedes*.

THE memoirs of a foreign minister to the court of *Russia*, say, ^a that as soon as Peter was informed of Charles's resolution to take refuge in *Turky*, he wrote a friendly letter to him, desiring he would not take so desperate a step, but rely upon his sacred word, rather than venture himself in the hands of the natural enemy of Christendom. He assured him, upon his honour, that he would not detain him prisoner; but all their differences should be accommodated by a reasonable peace. The letter was carried by an express as far as the river *Bog*, which separates the deserts of the *Ukraine* from the territories of the grand signior: but as the messenger did not reach that place till Charles had entered *Turky*, he brought it back to his master. The same minister adds further, that he had this account
d (C) from the very person charged with the letter. *M. de Voltaire* thinks ^b the anecdote not at all improbable, though he has not met with it in *Peter's* journal, or in any of the papers intrusted to him. What is of greater importance with respect to this battle, was its being the only one, out of such a vast number, which have imbrued the earth with blood, that instead of contributing to the destruction, has rather promoted the happiness of the human species; since it gave the czar an opportunity to civilize so considerable a part of the world. Upwards of two hundred pitched battles have been fought in *Europe*, since the beginning of this century, to the present year. The most signal, and the most bloody victories, have been attended with no other consequences, than the reduction of a few provinces, yielded afterwards by treaties; and recovered by other battles. Armies of an hundred thousand
e men have often encountered in the field: but the most violent efforts have been attended with weak and transient successes; and the mightiest causes have been productive of trifling effects. There is no instance in modern history of a war, from which any public benefit arose, equivalent to the mischief it has occasioned: but from the battle of *Pultawa*, the greatest empire upon earth has derived its present prosperity.

IN the mean while, all the *Swedish* generals were presented to the conqueror; who ordered their swords to be returned, and invited them to dinner. Every body must have heard, that upon drinking to those officers, he said, "To the health of my masters in the art of war;" but most of his masters, at least all the subaltern officers, and the common soldiers, were quickly sent into *Siberia*. There was no cartel settled between the *Russians*
f and *Swedes*: the czar indeed had proposed one before the siege of *Pultawa*; but Charles rejected the offer, and his troops soon felt the ill effects of his inflexible temper. It was this unseasonable obstinacy, that occasioned all his misfortunes in *Turky*; and a series of adventures, more becoming an *Orlando Furioso*, than a wise prince. For as soon as he arrived at *Bender*, he was advised to write to the grand vizir, pursuant to the custom of the *Turks*: but he thought it beneath his dignity. The like obstinacy set him successively at

The czar endeavours to recall him.

Happy consequences of the battle of Pultawa.

Charles XII takes shelter among the Turks.

^a VOLTAIRE, Hist. de Russie, p. 277.

^b Page 278.

(B) The memoirs of *Peter the Great*, written by the pretended bojar *Ivan Nestefuranoi* (*Jean Rousset*) and printed at *Amsterdam* in 1730, say, that the king of *Sweden*, before he passed the *Dnieper*, sent a general officer to make proposals of peace to the czar. The

four volumes of these memoirs are either untruths and absurdities, or a compilation of gazettes.

(C) This fact is also mentioned in a letter printed before the anecdotes of *Russia*, p. 23.

variance with all the ministers of the *Porte*: in short, he knew not how to accommodate himself either to time or place (D).

THE first advice of the battle of *Pultawa*, produced a general revolution in *Poland*, *Saxony*, *Sweden* and *Silesia*. When *Charles* was in all his glory, he obliged the emperor *Joseph* to eject the Catholics out of a hundred and five churches, in favour of the *Silesians* of the confession of *Augsburg*; but the Catholics repossessed themselves of the *Lutheran* temples, as soon as they were informed of the king of *Sweden*'s defeat. The *Saxons* now determined to be revenged of a prince, who in the height of his prosperity had plundered that electorate, according to their accounts, of twenty-three millions of crowns. The king of *Poland* (E), their elector, immediately protested against an extorted abdication; and being now reconciled to the czar, he shewed an impatience to re-ascend the *Polish* throne. *Sweden*, in the greatest consternation, for a long time imagined her king to be dead; so that the senate, under this uncertainty, were incapable of coming to any resolution.

Peter restores
Augustus to
the crown of
Poland:

PETER determined to make the best use of his victory; and therefore ordered marshal *Scheremetow* to march into *Livonia*, on the frontiers of which province this general had so often distinguished himself. A large body of cavalry, commanded by prince *Menzikoff*, was dispatched with the utmost expedition, to second the efforts of the inconsiderable number of forces that had been left in *Poland*; to encourage the nobility who adhered to *Augustus*; to expel his competitor, who was now considered as a rebel; and to disperse a few *Swedish* troops still remaining in that kingdom, under the command of general *Craffau*.

PETER soon after set out himself in person, passed through *Kiow*, and the palatinates of *Chelm*, and *Upper Volhinia*, and at length arrived at *Lublin*, where he concerted matters with the general of *Lithuania*: after this he reviewed (F) the crown troops, who took the oath of allegiance to king *Augustus*: from thence he proceeded to *Warsaw*; and at *Thorn* enjoyed the most glorious of triumphs, that of receiving the thanks of a king, whom he had restored to his crown (G). There he concluded a treaty against *Sweden*, with the kings of *Denmark*, *Poland*, and *Prussia*. Their design was now, to recover from *Charles* all the conquests of *Gustavus Adolphus*. Peter revived the ancient pretensions of *Russia* to *Livonia*, *Ingria*, *Carelia*, and part of *Finland*; *Denmark* laid claim to *Scania*; and the king of *Prussia* to *Pomerania*. Thus the unprosperous valour of *Charles XII.* shook the whole edifice, that had been erected by the successful bravery of *Gustavus Adolphus*. The *Polish* nobility flocked from all sides to renew their oath of allegiance to king *Augustus*, or ask pardon for their desertion; in short, almost the whole kingdom acknowledged *Peter* for their protector.

Which Sta-
nislaus resigns.

A revolution so unexpected, and supported by so formidable an alliance, was a prodigious shock to *Stanislaus*; who finding himself unable to oppose the victorious arms of the czar, had no other choice to make but that of resigning the crown: accordingly he published a writing, called, *Universale*, wherein he declared himself ready to abdicate, if the republic required it.

The czar, in
person, makes a
treaty with the
king of Prussia.

PETER, having settled his affairs with the king of *Poland*, and ratified the treaty with *Denmark*, set forward directly, to finish his negotiation with the king of *Prussia*. It had not been yet the practice for sovereigns to perform the functions of their own ambassadors: Peter was the first who introduced this custom; but few have followed his example. The elector of *Brandenburg*, the first king of *Prussia*, had an interview with the czar at *Marienwerder*. This was a small town built by the *Teutonic* knights in the western part of *Pomerania*, and on the borders of *Prussia*, which had been lately created a kingdom. The country indeed was poor, and of small extent; yet whenever the new king made a tour to it, he appeared with the utmost magnificence. With this splendor he received the czar *Peter*, when, on a former occasion, that prince withdrew from his imperial dominions, to search for knowledge and instruction in foreign countries. But the conqueror of *Charles XII.* was now entertained in a more pompous manner. Peter concluded only a defensive treaty with him (H), which afterwards completed the ruin of *Sweden*. Not a moment was lost: for the czar, after having proceeded with the utmost dispatch in his negotiations, contrary to the custom of ministers, who are apt to spin them out to too great a length, immediately joined his army (I) before *Riga*, the capital of *Livonia*. He began with bombarding the town, and fired the three first bombs himself: then, knowing that it must

Lays siege to
Riga.

(D) *La Motraye*, in the relation of his travels, has given us a letter from *Charles XII.* to the grand vizir; but this letter is forged, as are most of the accounts of that mercenary writer (1): for *Norberg* himself confesses that the king of *Sweden* would never consent to write to the grand vizir.

(E) On the 8th of *August* 1709.

(F) On the 18th of *September* 1709.

(G) *October* 7.

(H) *October* 20, 1709.

(I) On the 11th of *November*.

(1) *Voltaire*, *Hist. de Russie*, p. 281.

2 certainly fall, he formed a blockade, and set out for his city of *Petersburg*, in order to forward the new buildings and the fleet; and having laid the keel of a fifty-four gun ship with his own hands (K), he returned to *Moscow*. Here he amused himself with the preparations of a triumph to be exhibited in that capital; the works were under his direction, the disposition was entirely his own, and he even had his share in the labour.

Visits his buildings and fleet at Petersburg. And repairs to Moscow.

THE year 1710 (L) was ushered in with this solemnity, so necessary to his subjects, whom it inspired with ideas of grandeur; and so agreeable to a people, who had been apprehensive of seeing their capital in possession of those very *Swedes*, that were now led thro' it in triumph. The artillery of the vanquished, their colours, and standards, their king's litter, the soldiers, officers, general, and ministers of the captive *Swedes*, all on foot, moved b in solemn procession under seven magnificent arches, attended with the ringing of bells, with the sound of trumpets, with volleys discharged from a hundred pieces of cannon, and with the acclamations of an immense multitude of people. The victors on horseback, with the generals at their heads, and *Peter* in his rank of major-general, closed the procession. At each triumphal arch stood the deputies of the several orders of the state; and at the last was a chosen band of young noblemen, the sons of bojars, in a *Roman* dress, who presented the victorious monarch with a crown of laurel.

A. D. 1710. Where he triumphs.

THIS public festival was succeeded by another ceremony, that afforded no less satisfaction than the former. In the year 1708 happened an accident, the more disagreeable to the *Russians*, as *Peter* was at that time unprosperous in war. *Matueof*, his ambassador to the court of *London*, having obtained an audience of leave of queen *Anne*, was arrested c for debt, in the public street, by two bailiffs, at the suit of some tradesmen, and obliged to give in bail. The plaintiffs asserted that the laws of commerce were of a superior nature to the privileges of ambassadors: on the other hand *Matueof*, and all the other foreign ministers who espoused his cause, maintained that their persons ought to be sacred. *Peter*, by his letters to queen *Anne*, strongly insisted upon satisfaction: but she could not comply with his desire (M); because, by the laws of *England*, the creditors had a right to sue cause for their just demands; and there was no law to exempt foreign ministers from being arrested for debt. The murder of *Patkul*, the czar's ambassador, who had been executed the preceding year, by order of *Charles XII.* was in some measure an encouragement to the people of *England*, not to respect a character so grossly abused. The other foreign ministers, residing then in *London*, were obliged to be bound for *Matueof*; and all that the queen could do in favour of the czar, was to prevail on the parliament to pass an act, whereby it was no longer lawful to arrest an ambassador for debt: but after the battle of *Pultawa*, it became necessary to give a more public satisfaction to that prince. The queen, by a formal embassy, made an excuse for what had passed. Mr. *Whitworth* (N), who was pitched upon for this ceremony, opened his speech with the following words: "Most d "high and most mighty emperor." He told the czar, that the queen had imprisoned the persons, who had presumed to arrest his ambassador; and that the delinquents had been

The czar's ambassador arrested at London.

Queen Anne sends an embassy to the czar on that occasion. And gives him the title of emperor.

(K) On the 3d of December.

(L) January 1.

(M) The czar, says the preface to lord *Whitworth's* account of *Russia*, who had been absolute enough to civilize savages, had no idea, could conceive none, of the privileges of a nation civilized in the only rational manner, by laws and liberties. He demanded immediate and severe punishment of the offenders: he demanded it of a princess, whom he thought interested to assert the sacredness of the persons of monarchs, even in their representatives; and he demanded it with threats of wreaking his vengeance on all *English* merchants and subjects established in his dominions. In this light the menaces were formidable: otherwise, happily, the rights of a whole people were more sacred here than the persons of foreign ministers. The czar's memorials urged the queen with the satisfaction which she herself had extorted, when only the boat and servants of the earl of *Manchester* had been insulted at *Venice*. That state had broken through their fundamental laws to content the queen of *Great Britain*. How noble a picture of government, when the monarch that can force another nation to infringe its constitution, dare not violate his own! One may imagine with what difficulty our secretaries of state must have laboured through all the ambages of phrase in *English*, *French*, *German*, and *Russ*, to explain to *Muscovite* ears and *Muscovite* understandings, the meaning of indictments, pleadings, precedents, juries, and

verdicts; and how impatient *Peter* must have listened to promises of a hearing next term! With what astonishment must he have beheld a great queen, engaging to endeavour to prevail on her parliament to pass an act to prevent any such outrage for the future! What honour does it not reflect on the memory of that princess to own to an arbitrary emperor, that even to appease him she dared not to put the meanest of her subjects to death uncondemned by law! "There are," says she. (1) in one of her dispatches to him, "insuperable difficulties with respect to the ancient and fundamental laws of the government of our people, which we fear do not permit so severe and rigorous a sentence to be given, as your imperial majesty at first seemed to expect in this case: and we persuade ourself that your imperial majesty, who are a prince famous for clemency and exact justice, will not require us, who are the guardian and protectress of the laws, to inflict a punishment upon our subjects, which the law does not empower us to do." Words so venerable and heroic, that this broil ought to become history, and be exempted from the oblivion due to the silly squabbles of ambassadors and their privileges. If *Anne* deserved praise for her conduct on this occasion, it reflects still greater glory on *Peter*, that this ferocious man had patience to listen to these details, and had moderation and justice enough to be persuaded by the reason of them.

(N) He was created lord *Whitworth* by king *George I.*

(1) *Motley's life of Peter I. Vol. II. p. 57.*

rendered

rendered infamous. This was not true; but the acknowledgment was sufficient; and the title of emperor, which the queen had not given him before the battle of *Pultawa*, plainly shewed the degree of estimation, to which he was now raised in *Europe*. This title had been already granted him in *Holland*, not only by those who had been his fellow workmen in the dock-yards at *Sardam*, and seemed to interest themselves most in his glory; but even by the chief persons in the state, who unanimously stiled him emperor, and celebrated his victory with rejoicings in the presence of the *Swedish* minister.

He takes Elbing;

Wiburg;

THE reputation which the czar had gained by the victory of *Pultawa*, was greatly increased by the diligence with which he improved it. He began with laying siege to *Elbing*, a Hanse town of *Royal Prussia* in *Poland*, in which the *Swedes* had still a garrison of nine hundred men. The *Russians* scaled the walls, entered the town, and the garrison surrendered prisoners of war (O). This was one of the great magazines of *Charles XII.* The besiegers found in it an hundred and eighty three pieces of brass cannon, with a hundred and fifty-seven mortars. The czar having immediately removed (P) from *Moscow* to *Petersburg*, embarked under his new fortress of *Cronstot*, scoured the coast of *Carelia*, and, though he met with a violent storm, arrived with his fleet before *Wiburg*, the chief town of *Carelia* in *Finland*; while his land-forces advanced over frozen morasses. The capital of *Livonia* was once more closely blocked up (Q); and upon making a breach, the garrison of *Wiburg*, consisting of about four thousand men, surrendered upon terms; but could not obtain the honours of war, for they were made prisoners contrary to the capitulation. *Peter* complained of several infractions of this kind on the part of the enemy; and promised to set these troops at liberty, as soon as the *Swedes* should give him proper satisfaction: but in this affair they were obliged to consult the king, who was still inflexible; in consequence of which the soldiers whom he might have set free, remained in captivity. Thus king *William III.* arrested marshal *Boufflers* in 1695, notwithstanding the capitulation of *Namur*. There are many instances of such violations of treaties, though it were to be wished that there never had been any.

Riga;

the citadel of Pennamunde;

Kexholm;

the island of Oesel;

with Pernau, and Revel; which complete his conquest of Livonia, Esthonia, and Carelia.

Stanislaus flies to Pomerania, and Augustus resumes the government of Poland.

AFTER the taking of this capital, the siege of *Riga* was carried on in form, and with great vigour. The river *Duna*, which washes the north side of the town walls, being frozen over, it was found necessary to break the ice. A mortality that had raged for some time in those parts, got among the besiegers, and swept away nine thousand men; yet the siege was not at all slackened. The garrison made a very good defence, and obtained the honours of war (R). It was agreed in the capitulation, that all the *Livonian* officers and soldiers should remain in the service of *Russia*, as natives of a country which had been dismembered from that empire, and usurped by the ancestors of *Charles XII.* but the *Livonians* were restored to the privileges, of which they had been stripped by the late king of *Sweden*, and all the officers entered into the *Russian* service. This was the noblest satisfaction the czar could take for the murder of his ambassador *Patkul*, a *Livonian*, who had been put to death for defending those very privileges. The garrison, which at first consisted of twelve thousand men, was reduced to about five thousand when they surrendered. Soon after, the citadel of *Pennamunde* was taken; and in the town and fort the besiegers found a most numerous artillery.

BEFORE the *Russians* could be intire masters of *Carelia*, it was necessary they should have possession of the strong town of *Kexholm* on the lake of *Ladoga*, situated in an island, and considered as almost impregnable: it was bombarded some time after, and soon obliged to surrender (S). The island of *Oesel* in the sea bordering upon the north of *Livonia*, was subdued with the same rapidity (T).

ON the side of *Esthonia*, a province of *Livonia* towards the north and on the gulph of *Finland*, stand the towns of *Pernau* and *Revel*; the reduction of which was still wanting to complete the conquest of *Livonia*. *Pernau* surrendered (V) after a siege of a few days; and *Revel* did the same (W), before a single cannon had been fired on the town. But the *Swedes* found means to elude the conqueror, at the very time they were surrendering themselves prisoners of war; for some ships of their nation having entered the harbour by night, the garrison, and most of the citizens embarked; so that the besiegers were surprized to find the place deserted. When *Charles XII.* gained the battle of *Narva*, little did he imagine that his troops would one day have occasion for the like stratagems.

IN *Poland*, *Stanislaus*, finding his party quite demolished, took shelter in *Pomerania*, a province which still continued in the hands of *Charles XII.* *Augustus* resumed the government; and it was difficult to determine, who had acquired most glory, *Charles* in dethroning him, or *Peter* in restoring him to his crown.

(O) On the 11th of March 1710.
(P) April 2.
(Q) On the 23d of June.
(R) On the 15th of July 1710.

(S) September 19.
(T) September 23.
(V) August 25.
(W) September 10.

a THE subjects of the king of *Sweden* were still more unfortunate than himself: the mortality which had made such havock over all *Livonia*, penetrated into *Sweden*, where it swept away thirty thousand inhabitants in *Stockholm* only: it laid waste those provinces, that had been already too much depopulated; for during the space of ten years successively, most of the able-bodied men had quitted their country to attend their sovereign, and had perished in his service.

Sweden depopulated by the plague.

CHARLES's unlucky star pursued him also in *Pomerania*. His troops having retired into this province from *Poland*, to the number of eleven thousand men; the czar, the kings of *Denmark* and *Prussia*, the elector of *Hanover*, and the duke of *Holstein*, entered into a confederacy to render this army useless, and to oblige general *Craffau*, who commanded it, to submit to a neutrality. The regency of *Stockholm*, hearing no news from their king, thought themselves very happy, in the midst of a mortality, that ravaged the city, to sign this treaty, which seemed at least to remove the horrors of war from one of their provinces. The emperor of *Germany* favoured this extraordinary convention. It was stipulated, that the *Swedish* army then in *Pomerania*, should not march out of this province to defend their monarch in any other part of the world: nay, it was resolved in the *German* empire, to raise an army, with a view of seeing this most singular treaty executed. The reason of this was, that the emperor, being then at war with *France*, hoped to make the *Swedish* army enter into his service. This whole negotiation was carried on, while *Peter* was subduing *Livonia*, *Esthonia*, and *Carelia*. *Charles XII.* who had been employing every engine at *Bender*, to prevail on the divan to declare war against the czar, received this news as one of the severest shocks of fortune. He could not bear that his senate at *Stockholm* should pretend to tie up the hands of his army: and upon this occasion it was, that he wrote them word, he would send one of his boots to govern them.

Singular treaty against Charles XII.

To which his own capital accedes.

c THE *Danes* were now preparing to make a descent upon *Sweden*; so that every nation in *Europe* was engaged in war. *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Italy*, *France*, *Germany*, *Holland*, and *England*, were still contending about the succession of *Charles II.* king of *Spain*; and all the northern powers were united against *Charles XII.* There wanted only a quarrel with the *Ottoman* empire, for every village in *Europe* to be a flame. This quarrel happened, merely through the jealousy of the *Turks*, at the time when *Peter* was in the zenith of his prosperity.

All Europe involved in war.

d IN the mean time the king of *Sweden* had been treated with great splendor and magnificence by the grand signior, and assured that he should be conducted to *Moscow* at the head of two hundred thousand men; but count *Tolsty*, the czar's envoy at the *Porte*, managed his matters so well, and was so greatly respected by the sultan, that this design was no longer talked of: he even ventured to demand old *Mazeppa* to be delivered up to him, as *Charles* had demanded the unfortunate *Patkul*, and would possibly have succeeded therein, had not the death of *Mazeppa* put an end to that affair. What mortified *Charles* more than any thing, was to hear that count *Tolsty* was served at his table by *Swedes* who had been made prisoners at the battle of *Pultawa*, and that great numbers more were daily sold as slaves in the publick markets. But the grand vizir, who was strongly in the *Russian* interest, being deposed soon after, affairs took a different turn, and the sultan was prevailed upon, notwithstanding the remonstrances of count *Tolsty*, to allow *Charles* a considerable body of troops to conduct him into *Poland*.

Charles XII. meets with great encouragement in Turkey.

e THE new vizir at the same time embraced every opportunity of affronting the czar in the person of his envoy, and particularly in giving the *French* ambassador the preference. It was customary on the promotion of a grand vizir, for all the foreign ministers to request an audience of congratulation: count *Tolsty* was the first who demanded that audience; but was answered that the precedence had been constantly given to the ambassador of *France*; whereupon *Tolsty* informed the vizir, that he must be deprived of the pleasure of waiting on him at all; which being maliciously represented as expressing the utmost contempt of his person, and the khan of *Tartary* being at the same time instigated to make several heavy complaints against the conduct of the *Russians* on the frontiers, count *Tolsty* was immediately committed to the castle of the *Seven Towers*, war was declared against the *Russians*, and the grand vizir, having made the necessary dispositions, put himself at the head of a numerous army at *Adrianople*, and advanced to the *Danube*.

The Russian envoy affronted at Constantinople.

The Turks declare war against the czar. 1711.

f THOUGH the czar could not be properly informed of the transactions at *Constantinople* on account of the imprisonment of his minister, yet he learnt so much from private hands, as to be ready to take the field before the *Turks*. He dispatched admiral *Vander Cruys*, with a considerable reinforcement, for the protection of *Asoph*; and leaving the command of his army to prince *Menzikoff*, he set out from *Petersburg* to *Moscow*, where he ordered such powerful levies to be made, that his army was soon augmented to one hundred thousand men. He likewise entered into a treaty with *Apakas Taquin*, prince of the *Calmuc*

Who augments his forces.

Tartars, to furnish him with twenty-five thousand men, for which the czar was to pay him one hundred thousand ducats.

The Tartars
take the field.

IN the mean time the khan of *Tartary*, at the head of one hundred and fifty thousand men, his son with fifty thousand, and the palatine *Potoczki* at the head of ten thousand, composed of *Poles*, *Swedes*, *Hungarians*, *Walachians*, and *Cosaks*, began their hostilities on the side of *Asoph*; and having defeated a body of five thousand *Russians*, they advanced to *Izinn*, ravaging the country round about. But their irruptions in the *Ukraine* were attended with still worse consequences; for they seized on *Wolno*, *Mahivoloda*, *Noivivoloda*, *Mercovi*, *Ternocka*, and several other places, and penetrated as far as the river *Samara*, where they burnt one hundred and fifty vessels; but the snow obliging them to retire, they marched towards *Precop* with twelve thousand slaves, and a considerable booty: *Potocky*, together with sultan *Galga*, the khan's eldest son, afterwards marched along the *Dnieper*, and penetrated as far as *Niemirow* beyond *Bracław*, from whence, after raising contributions, they retired to *Bialowcerkiow*, which they besieged, and made themselves masters of the town, after three assaults, attended with the loss of a considerable number of their men: but the citadel held out till the arrival of prince *Galitzin*, who having killed above five hundred of the enemy, obliged *Potocky* to retreat with the loss of all his slaves and booty.

IN the mean time the grand vizir, who was no great adept in the art of war, advanced so slowly in his preparations, that his army was not ready to take the field till the latter end of *April*. But the czar, being informed that the grand signior was equipping a powerful fleet in the *Black Sea*, gave immediate orders to do the same: however, the waters of the *Don* being so low that the large ships became useless, nothing was done on either side.

WHILE these great preparations were making, most of the christian powers interposed their mediations to prevent the prosecution of this war, and to persuade the king of *Sweden* to conclude a peace; but he, imagining that by the assistance of the *Turks* he should yet triumph over his enemies, refused to listen to any proposals of a pacific nature.

Cantemir e-
lected prince of
Walachia.

ABOUT this time the grand signior being informed that *Brancovan*, prince of *Walachia*, held a secret correspondence with the czar, and had promised to revolt to him with thirty thousand men, caused him to be deposed, and *Demetrius Cantemir* to be elected in his room; with a promise that no tribute should be demanded of him, nor any sum be paid on his entrance upon his new principality, as had been usually done: but *Cantemir*, soon finding that the *Turks* paid no manner of regard to these promises, resolved to go over to the czar; and having the direction of building a bridge over the *Danube*, at the expence of the *Turks*, he retarded the work as much as possible, to give the czar an opportunity of arriving there before it was finished. But *Peter*, entertaining too great a diffidence of *Cantemir's* sincerity, and relying upon the promises of *Brancovan*, delayed his march too long to hinder the *Turks* from passing that river.

Revolts to the
czar.

The czar re-
duced to great
straits.

IN *June*, the czar arrived at *Jazy*, the capital of *Moldavia*, where prince *Cantemir* joined him, and where he expected the provisions promised him by *Brancovan*; but after waiting several days without effect, and having some other assurances of *Brancovan's* treachery, he saw his error in giving such credit to him, but too late; being now in a country without provisions, magazines, or the least hopes of assistance; for though *Cantemir* continued firm, yet the *Moldavians* would not adopt his system, nor afford any succours to his ally.

Is surrounded
by the Turks
on the borders
of the Pruth:

As soon as the grand vizir was informed of the czar's being at *Jazy*, he immediately decamped, and having crossed the *Danube*, advanced against the *Russians*, on the borders of the *Pruth*, with an army three times more numerous than theirs. The czar, however, having disposed his troops behind a line of *chevaux de frise*, made so strong and regular a fire upon the enemy, that all their endeavours to break in upon him proved ineffectual, and night coming on, they were obliged to retire out of the reach of the czar's artillery. The next morning the battle was renewed, and the *Turks* employed the whole day in attempting to force the *Russian* lines, but without success: on the third day, general *Poniatowski*, seeing the distressed situation of the *Russians*, and that there was no possibility for them to escape, being surrounded on all sides, advised the vizir to reduce them by famine; and this advice he would most certainly have followed, had not the czarina *Catharine*, who insisted upon following the czar in this dangerous expedition, hit upon an expedient to prevent it. She prevailed upon her husband to send a letter to the vizir, with proposals of peace, which she accompanied with a very considerable present of money and jewels; this stratagem had so good an effect, that the vizir was very willing to come to an accommodation, and accordingly a treaty was concluded, which, though greatly to the advantage of the *Ottoman Porte*, saved the czar from the inevitable necessity of surrendering at discretion. During this negotiation an incident happened which greatly redounds to the honour of the czar: the first demand of the grand vizir was, that prince *Cantemir* should be delivered up, and the czar was strongly pressed by those about him to yield to it; but he peremptorily refused,

Where he is
saved by the
empress Ca-
tharine,

and concludes
a peace.

a refused, saying, "I can resign to the *Turks* all the country as far as *Curzka*, because there
 "are hopes of recovering it again; but I will by no means violate my faith, and deliver
 "up a prince who hath abandoned a principality for my sake; because honour once for-
 "feited can never be retrieved." After the treaty was concluded, the vizir sent several
 waggons of provisions to the *Russian* army, who decamped in good order, with drums
 beating, and colours flying, after an expedition which had cost the czar some millions in
 money and jewels, and upwards of twenty thousand men.

WHEN the news of this treaty reached *Constantinople*, the grand signior was so well pleas-
 ed, that he ordered publick rejoicings to be made for three days, and expressed his ap-
 probation of the vizir's conduct, by the most gracious reception, and several valuable pre-
 b sents. However, the king of *Sweden*, and his party, inspired him with such sentiments,
 that this peace was twice broken, and as often renewed, in the space of a few months.

THE treaty was no sooner concluded, than the czar quitted the borders of the *Pruth*, *Returns to his*
 and returned towards his own dominions, in order to take from the *Turks* all subject of *own domin-*
 complaint, and to prevent their opposing his designs in the north; leaving to his generals *ons.*
 the conduct of his troops that were to cross *Poland*, who having joined general *Baur*, en-
 tered *Pomerania*, with an intent to form the blockade of *Stralsund*. The czar went to
Carelsbad, to drink the waters of that place, for the recovery of his health; which having
 done with good success, and concluded a negotiation with M. *Kameke*, whom the king of
Prussia had sent thither to meet him, he departed from thence to *Torgau*, in order to be
 c present at the nuptials of the czarowitz his son with the princess of *Wolfenbuttle*.

THE czarowitz had arrived there two days before, and the queen of *Poland* had made *The czaro-*
 great preparations for the wedding; which, however, was solemnized with very little *witz married.*
 ceremony, on the twenty-fifth of *October*. This was, strictly speaking, a marriage of con-
 venience, or rather necessity; and a most deserving young lady, who merited a much
 better fate, was made the unhappy sacrifice. The czarowitz, from his fond attachment
 to vicious pleasures, had not the least inclination to marry, nor the smallest degree of re-
 gard for the prince's proposed to him. The indolence of his temper, the irregularity of
 his conduct, and his great aversion to foreigners, had created in the czar so bad an opinion
 of him, that he frequently hinted, that unless he soon gave some tokens of amendment,
 d he must expect to have his crown shaved, and be thrust into a convent: the sole reason,
 therefore, that induced him to marry, was to prevent the danger he was in of forfeiting
 his succession to the crown.

A FEW days after these disagreeable nuptials were celebrated, the new married couple
 took the route of *Wolfenbuttle*, and the czar set out for *Elbing*, where he arrived, with the
 czarina, on the eighth of *November*. But the *French* and *Swedish* factions, which now
 prevailed at the *Porte*, soon made it necessary for the czar to return to his own dominions;
 and therefore departing from *Elbing*, he passed through *Koningsbourg*, *Memel*, *Riga*, and
Revel; at all which places he was received with great marks of affection and esteem: and
 e having given the necessary orders for the reparation of the garrisons, and the cultivation
 of the country, he at length arrived at *Petersburg*, whither all the royal family had come
 to meet him.

THE czar being now in peaceable possession of *Livonia*, and that province having for- *The czar offers*
 merly been looked upon as a fief of the empire, he offered to accept the investiture of *to accept the*
 it from the emperor *Charles VI.* provided he might be admitted a prince of the empire, *investiture of*
 and be allowed to send a minister to the general diet; and as the partiality with which the *Livonia from*
French ambassador had behaved to the *Russians* at *Constantinople* had extremely irritated the *the emperor,*
 czar against that nation, he likewise offered to furnish his imperial majesty with twenty-
 five thousand men, to assist him in his designs against *France*. But these offers were de- *but is refused.*
 clined; the emperor alledging, that though the czar was then master of *Livonia*, yet the
 f restitution of it might become an article in some future treaty with *Sweden*; and that if
 this dutchy should become a fief of the empire, it would be obliged to take part in all
 the quarrels that might happen in *Poland*. This, however, was no more than a plausible
 pretext; the emperor being certainly afraid of having so powerful a member in the col-
 lege of princes, as afterwards plainly appeared: for when *Livonia* was ceded to the czar
 by treaty, though he repeated this request, he could not obtain it.

THE czar had actually given orders to his generals on the side of the *Black Sea*, to de-
 molish the fortifications of *Taganroc* and *Asoph*, and was sincerely disposed to fulfil the late
 treaty in every other particular; but some fresh advices from *Turky* made it necessary to
 suspend the farther execution of these designs. The grand vizir, when this treaty was
 g signed, had agreed that the king of *Sweden* should quit the *Ottoman* territories: and indeed *A. D. 1712.*
 he did all in his power to perform this agreement; but *Charles* and his faction endeavour- *Alterations at*
 ed to be before-hand with the vizir, and to persuade the sultan that he had betrayed the *the Porte in*
 interest *favour of*
Charles.

interest of the empire. The vizir, having intelligence of these designs, not only placed a guard upon all the roads between *Bender* and *Constantinople*, but gave the king to understand, that it was expected he should immediately depart: and upon *Charles's* returning him a very haughty answer, the vizir immediately stopt his daily pension, and quartered a detachment of his army at *Bender* as a guard upon him. But this face of affairs was soon after changed; for *Charles* having found means to inform the *French* ambassador of his situation, that minister made such good use of his interest with the sultan, that the vizir was soon afterwards deposed and banished, and the bashaw *Jusuf*, aga of the janissaries, appointed in his stead.

A. D. 1712.
The Turks
threaten a new
rupture.

THIS new vizir, in concert with the khan of *Tartary*, persuaded the sultan to declare war again with the czar; and accordingly circular letters were wrote to all the vizirs and bashaws of the empire, to assemble their forces, and repair to the imperial camp at *Iffaktze* on the *Danube*. The *Russian* hostages at the *Porte*, perceiving this new war ready to kindle, endeavoured to prevent it; and, in several conferences with the vizir, assured him, that the czar had already begun, and was determined to proceed in the execution of the late treaty: and the vizir having insisted on the immediate surrender of *Asoph*, and the demolition of *Taganroc*, which was accordingly done, a fresh negotiation was begun between the two powers; but, by the machinations of the *French* and *Swedish* factions, it was not concluded till *April* following.

The czar is
publicly mar-
ried to Catha-
rine.

New treaty
between the
Turks and
Russians.

ON the twentieth of *February*, the czar's marriage with the czarina *Catharine*, which had been declared in private before, was publicly solemnized at *Petersburg* with great magnificence; and on the sixteenth of *April* a new treaty of peace between the *Turks* and *Russians* was concluded. This treaty consisted of eight articles. By the first, the czar was obliged to withdraw his forces from *Poland* within thirty days, and not to return thither on any pretence, except the king of *Sweden* should return to his own dominions, join with the *Poles*, and attack *Moscovy* on that side. By the second article, the *Porte* was at liberty to procure the king of *Sweden's* return to his dominions, at such time, and in such manner, as the grand signior should think proper; but in case he should march through the *Russian* territories, the *Turkish* troops that attended him should commit no ravages or other acts of hostility. By the subsequent articles of this treaty it was stipulated, that the czar should remain in possession of *Kiow* and the *Ukraine*, with their ancient liberties, and renounce all pretensions to the country of the *Cosaks* on this side the *Dnieper*. That no fortress should, for the future, be erected between the two frontiers of *Asoph* and *Ciranski*; nor at *Camenski* or *Savar*: and that the peace should continue twenty-five years.

The king of
Sweden not
satisfied with
it.

THIS treaty was concluded and signed on both sides with great appearances of sincerity; and the sultan communicated the contents of it to the king of *Sweden* by letter; but that prince, being prepossessed with an opinion, that the influence of the *English* and *Dutch* ministers had chiefly contributed to the conclusion of the treaty, talked of it in a very indifferent manner, and soon after induced the sultan to break it.

The czar en-
ters Pomerania.

IN the mean time prince *Menzikoff*, at the head of thirty-six thousand men, had marched into *Pomerania*, in order to join the *Danes* and *Saxons*, which having done, ten thousand of the *Russians* formed the blockade of *Stetin*, and the others lay before *Stralsund*, which was also, in some measure, blocked up by land. Soon afterwards the czar, the czarina, and the czarowitz, arrived in *Pomerania*, where *Peter* had several conferences with king *Augustus* on their future operations, in which it was agreed to make a previous attack upon the island of *Rugen*, because, by being masters of that place, they should hinder the *Swedes* from throwing any succours into *Stralsund*, and must therefore render it impossible for that city to hold out. In consequence of this resolution, the two monarchs went to reconnoitre the island, and gave orders to their generals to make the necessary preparations for executing this enterprise: but the *Swedes* having, in the mean time, landed ten thousand men on the island, it was judged most prudent to postpone the attack to a more favourable opportunity; and the czar, having left king *Augustus* to command the army, went a second time to *Carelsbad*, to drink the celebrated waters of that place, from whence he paid a visit to the king of *Prussia* at *Berlin*.

Visits the king
of Prussia at
Berlin.

DURING the czar's absence, count *Steinbock*, who commanded in *Rugen*, headed a detachment of his forces at *Stralsund*, and from thence marched to *Mecklenburgh*, where he levied most exorbitant contributions, under pretence that the inhabitants had furnished the enemies of *Sweden* with forage, and other provisions, in the two preceding campaigns. Mean while *Augustus*, with his troops, marched towards *Gustrow*, which he surprised, and waited there till the *Danes* should join him, with an intent to attack count *Steinbock*; who, having but a small tract of land to subsist on, began to consider the danger of his situation, and the consequences of hazarding a battle with an army greatly superior to him in numbers, and therefore proposed a cessation of arms for three months; to which *Augustus* too readily agreed.

Cessation of
arms between
the Swedes
and Augustus.

^a THE news of this transaction reached the czar while he was at *Berlin*, and proved very disagreeable to him, as he began to suspect *Augustus* of carrying on a private treaty with the *Swedes*: this induced him to make all possible haste to *Mecklenburgh*, to join the king of *Denmark*; who, being equally jealous of *Augustus's* conduct, had, by precipitate marches, advanced as far as *Gadobusch*: but, before this junction could be accomplished, the *Swedes* fell upon the *Danish* army, and, though they occupied a very advantageous situation, and had been joined by a body of *Saxon* troops, entirely defeated them. After this action, the *Saxons*, who had taken no part in it, immediately joined the *Russians*, that they might together be able to oppose the victorious *Swedes*, who, it was more than probable, would take the rout of *Pomerania*, to penetrate into *Poland*, and facilitate the return of their monarch; but *Steinbock*, instead of making that way, which seemed by far the most eligible, advanced towards *Jutland*, in order to take up his quarters in *Holstein*, pursuant to the instructions he had received from the regency at *Stockholm*. The czar, thereupon, deliberated some time whether he should attack *Steinbock* on his march: but finding this design attended with some difficulties, he continued his rout to *Pomerania*; where, in concert with the king of *Denmark*, he agreed to open the next campaign with the attack of *Rugen*, and the siege of *Stralsund*.

The czar departs from Berlin.

The Swedes defeat the Danes.

^c IN the mean time new troubles were daily fomenting in *Turkey*, where the *French* and *Swedish* ministers, who could by no means relish the late peace, endeavoured to persuade the sultan, that it was extremely prejudicial both to his honour and his interest. In consequence of these cabals, *Grudzinski*, at the head of four thousand men, was ordered to make an irruption into *Poland*; and accordingly penetrated as far as *Pisdry*, then occupied by general *Baur's* regiment of *Russians*, commanded by general *Gordon*, who, not being in the least apprehensive of any hostilities from that quarter, were entirely cut to pieces. Another party of *Grudzinski's* detachment marched to *Schudrin*, beyond *Posnania*, where the *Russians* had a magazine, which was guarded by three hundred men; who, after an obstinate defence, were at last obliged to surrender. As soon as general *Baur* was informed of this irruption, he left *Pomerania*, and flew with all speed to *Posnania*, where, hastily assembling a body of four thousand *Russians*, and being joined by eight companies of the crown army, he attacked *Grudzinski*, and forced him to retire in great confusion. *Baur* pursued him closely night and day, and at last came up with him at *Kruterschien*; whereupon he and his officers immediately retired into *Silesia*, and the abandoned troops surrendered themselves without opposition.

The Turks break the peace,

and enter Poland,

where they gain some advantages,

but are defeated.

^e THIS infraction of the treaty afforded the czar just grounds of complaint, and induced marshal *Scheremetow* to publish a declaration, wherein he warmly remonstrated against this manifest violation of the late peace, and against the conduct of the nobility of *Cracovia*, *Saradia*, and *Calish*, who had favoured the invasion, and assisted the enemies of his master; and concluded with giving notice to the *Poles*, that if they did not behave with more moderation, or took the least step in favour of *Stanislaus* or the *Swedes*, the czar would immediately re-enter *Poland* with all his troops. This the king of *Sweden* and his party did not fail to make good use of; loudly exclaiming against the czar, who, said they, had first broke the treaty by still keeping an army in *Poland*, and pursuing some *Cosaks* quite into the *Turkish* territories. Hereupon great debates arose in the divan; and the sultan, suffering himself to be prevailed upon by the khan of *Tartary*, the *French* ambassador, and the *Swedish* minister, seemed inclinable to break the peace on that single pretence; though it could not be denied but that the czar had punctually observed the treaty in every other respect.

The czar remonstrates:

but to no purpose.

^f THE sultan, however, was desirous of being satisfied whether the czar had really any forces in *Poland* or not, and for that purpose sent an *Aga* into that kingdom, to make the proper enquiries; but this officer being entirely in the *Swedish* interest, made such a report as he was instructed to do. The sultan having about this time private intelligence of the grand vizir's being bribed to the *Russian* party, immediately deposed him, and gave the seal to *Solyman* bashaw; after which, thinking he had sufficient grounds to justify his conduct, he declared war against the czar, and ordered the two *Moscovite* ambassadors, and all their retinue, to be imprisoned in the castle of the *Seven Towers*. Orders were likewise dispatched to all the bashaws to assemble their troops with the utmost expedition; and the sultan, with his whole court, removed to *Adrianople*, in order to put himself at the head of his army. He was scarcely arrived there, when he was informed that a solemn embassy from king *Augustus* and the republic of *Poland*, consisting of near three hundred persons, with the palatine of *Massovia* at their head, was coming to him. Being now determined to conduct king *Charles* into *Sweden* in a very grand manner, and to place *Stanislaus* on the throne of *Poland*, he ordered the whole embassy to be seized on the road, and conducted to prison.

The Turks declare war against the czar.

An accommo-
dation takes
place.

The king of
Sweden re-
fuses to depart
from Turkey.

His unaccoun-
table beha-
viour at
Bender.

Operations in
Germany.

The czar sets
out for Russia.

Equips a great
fleet,

makes a descent
on Finland,

NOTWITHSTANDING these vigorous preparations, *Ali Comourgi*, the sultan's favourite, being in the czar's interest, and king *Augustus* having, by a secret correspondence, brought over the khan of *Tartary*, public affairs seemed to take a different turn; and they having convinced the sultan, that the aga, whom he had sent into *Poland*, had been bribed by the *Swedish* faction to make a false report, he seemed disposed to hearken to proposals of accommodation. After several negotiations, the czar's plenipotentiaries undertook, that their master's troops should really evacuate *Poland*. On the other hand, the sultan agreed, that the king of *Sweden* should be immediately sent out of the *Turkish* dominions; but stipulated, that the *Russian* and *Polish* ambassadors should be responsible for the safety of his person, and that he should raise no commotions in his passage. The serasquier of *Bender* was thereupon ordered to acquaint the king of *Sweden* with this resolution, and to signify to him, that his immediate compliance with it was expected. *Charles*, determined not to depart, told the bashaw, he must first have wherewithal to pay his debts, and provide for his journey; and the bashaw asking how much would be requisite, the king replied at random, a thousand purses (A). The bashaw, having informed the *Porte* of his demand, had twelve hundred purses remitted to him, but with express orders not to deliver them until the moment of the king's departure: but *Charles*, and his treasurer *Groteusen*, having found means to prevail upon the bashaw to deliver the money, he still persisted in his resolution of continuing where he was. The khan of *Tartary*, who was to conduct him on his journey, had received the same orders as the bashaw, with respect to delivering the money; so that both of them were obliged to write to the *Porte* in their own exculpation. Hereupon they received a positive order to drive *Charles* out by force, or to bring him dead or alive to *Adrianople*; but he continuing obstinate in his resolution, they were obliged to put their orders in execution, and this occasioned the famous action of *Bender*, wherein the king of *Sweden* exhibited greater proofs of rashness than bravery, by opposing an army of twenty-six thousand men, with only the officers of his household, and about three hundred *Swedes*, as we have related more particularly in the history of *Sweden*.

THESE negotiations with the *Turks*, did not however impede the military operations in the *Swedish* provinces in *Germany*. The *Saxon* troops made several motions, as well to inclose the *Swedes*, as to facilitate the junction of the *Danes* and *Russians*; and the czar pursued general *Steinbock* as far as *Altena*, which place he had laid in ashes, in revenge for the *Danes* having destroyed *Stade*. From thence he sent general *Bour* with four thousand men to attack a body of *Swedes* who defended the bridge of *Hollingstadt*. The *Swedes* made an obstinate resistance; but at length the *Russians* drove them back into the village, took several of them prisoners, and afterwards destroyed the bridges. *Steinbock* began now to be sensible of his error in taking the route of *Holstein*, and in order to prevent still worse consequences, he intended to repass the *Eyder* and get into *Pomerania*; but receiving intelligence that the *Russian* cavalry was in full march against him, he changed his design, and intrenched himself between *Fredericstadt*, *Husum*, and *Tonningen*. The czar, unwilling to lose the present favourable opportunity, put himself at the head of five battalions of his guards and a few dragoons, and on the twelfth of *February* attacked the *Swedes* in the intrenchments they had thrown up before *Fredericstadt*: the contest was warm, and for a long time doubtful; but at length the *Swedes* were obliged to retire to the main body of the army, and the garrison of the town fled with great precipitation.

THE czar continued the pursuit; and after taking part of their baggage, with about three hundred prisoners, returned to *Fredericstadt*, where he remained all that night, with an intent to attack the whole army as soon as he could be properly reinforced: but *Steinbock*, being apprehensive of this, obtained leave to march his army into *Tonnigen*, which immediately put an end to the campaign; it not being a proper season of the year either to besiege or bombard the place. The *Russian* troops went into quarters, which were so properly chosen, that they could easily prevent the *Swedes* from passing the *Eyder*.

THE czar's presence being now become necessary at home, he left the command of the army to the king of *Denmark*, assuring him that he was going to find employment for the *Swedes* on the side of *Finland*: and having in his journey had interviews with the elector of *Hanover*, and the king of *Prussia*, he at length arrived at *Riga*, where he found the czarina delivered of a princess, to whom he gave the name of *Maria Petrowna*. After a short stay there, the czar set out for *Petersburg*, and having assembled a fleet of about three hundred ships, he embarked in the beginning of *May* with thirteen thousand men, and landed at *Helsingfos* on the coast of *Finland*. A body of *Swedish* troops under the command of general *Lubecker*, were posted there; but not daring to oppose the czar's landing, they contented themselves with setting fire to the barracks, and retiring to *Abo*. *Peter*,

(A) About 100,000*l.* sterling.

a not thinking himself strong enough to attack them there, established a large magazine at *Bergo*, and soon afterwards returned to *Petersburg*, to get a sufficient reinforcement to enable him to push his conquests in that province.

WHILE the czar was thus employed, the vice-admiral put to sea with an intent to destroy some *Swedish* ships that lay before *Helsingfos*, and greatly obstructed the czar's communication with his army by water: but the admiral's ship striking on a sand, he was obliged to set it on fire to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy; and the other captains having also managed but badly, the enterprize proved unsuccessful. This however did not deter the czar from returning with his reinforcement. He put to sea with twenty frigates, and sailed in quest of the *Swedish* squadron; but being informed that they were so advantageously posted as to render it difficult to attack them with any probability of success, he readily abandoned this design, and proceeded to join his army which was then at *Schrendo*, about five leagues from *Helsingfos*. The *Russians*, being now augmented to twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, provided with a good train of artillery, forced the passage of *Carelsflow* (B), which was defended by eight hundred *Swedes*, and in a few days after arrived at *Abo*, which they found totally abandoned. A large quantity of provisions which the enemy had left behind was of service to the *Russian* troops: but what the czar esteemed a great booty, was a considerable number of books, which he immediately sent to the library he was forming at *Petersburg*, whither he himself repaired soon after, leaving orders with his generals to follow the *Swedish* army, which had retired to *Thavastus*.

and takes *Abb.*

THOUGH this was not a place of any great strength, the *Swedes* defended it for some time very bravely, and after quitting it, and throwing some of their artillery in the water, they took possession of *Pulkona*. The *Russians* still continued the pursuit; but on reconnoitering this post, and considering the great difficulty of forcing it, they endeavoured to attack the enemy in their rear. To this purpose they made several floats of timber, got together all the boats and pontons they could, and with about seven thousand men, commanded by general *Apraxin*, *Butterlin*, and *Czernichew*, crossed several deep morasses which the *Swedes* had deemed impassable. The *Swedish* general *Arnfeldt* having notice of their design, sent a detachment to oppose their passage; but a thick fog aiding their operations, they luckily accomplished it. Prince *Galitzin* then attacked the *Swedish* horse, and after an obstinate engagement the *Russians* were driven back almost into the water; but their other wing charged the enemy's infantry with such fury that they were obliged to retire: by this time the remainder of the *Russians* were come up, when they altogether returned to the fight, and having driven the *Swedes* from their entrenchments, obliged them to retreat with great precipitation to *Norest* and *Tammerfort*. This victory cost the czar a great number of men; and the season of the year being now pretty far advanced, he ordered *Thavastus* to be properly fortified, to prevent the enterprizes of the *Swedes*, till he should have a better opportunity of pursuing his conquests in that country.

The battle of *Pulkona*,

in which the *Swedes* are defeated.

WHILE the *Russians* were thus employed in *Finland*, the troops in *Holstein* and *Pomerania* were equally successful. The king of *Denmark* had blocked up *Tonningen*; and general *Steinbock*, after maintaining himself there as long as possible, was at last forced, thro' hunger and want, to surrender himself and his troops prisoners of war. The *Danes* had likewise, in conjunction with the *Russians* and *Saxons*, made themselves masters of the isle of *Rugen*, with very little loss; and were now preparing to form the siege of *Stralsund*. On the other hand, prince *Menzikoff* had for some time blocked up *Stetin* with an army of twenty-four thousand men; but as the king of *Prussia* seemed very desirous of having that town, the prince and he came to an agreement that *Stetin* and the rest of *Upper Swedish Pomerania* should be sequestered into his hands. The czar was not satisfied with this treaty at first: but the king of *Prussia* gave him such good reasons for it, that he soon afterwards acquiesced.

Affairs of *Holstein*.

General *Steinbock* surrenders.

Rugen taken by the *Danes*.

THE emperor and the other belligerent powers at last agreed to hold a congress at *Brunswick*, and the regency of *Stockholm* had also consented to send plenipotentiaries to treat of a general peace; but the czar, who desired nothing more ardently than such a peace as might confirm his conquests, foreseeing the little success that this important undertaking was like to be attended with, and adhering to the well known maxim of making peace sword in hand, took all necessary measures during the winter to pursue his designs upon *Finland*.

Fruitless congress at *Brunswick*.

IN the mean time *Peter* was very assiduous in establishing his new city of *Petersburg*. He had transplanted thither upwards of one thousand families from *Moscow*, and offered very great advantages to all foreigners who would settle there; he likewise published an order thro' all his dominions, declaring that all goods which had been usually sent to

Petersburg peopled and improved.

(B) In the beginning of *Septemler*.

Arch-

Archangel, should, for the future, be sent to *Petersburg*, paying the accustomed duties; and at the same time, the more effectually to secure and increase the trade and commerce of his subjects, he published a declaration, that if the regency of *Sweden* should stop any vessels coming to his dominions, he would prevent all ships from entering any of their ports; to which end he ordered a great number of galleys to be equipped at *Cronstet*, *Petersburg*, *Reval*, and other places.

A. D. 1714.

The Russians
complete the
conquest of
Finland.

PRINCE *Galitzin* continued to harass the *Swedes* after the battle of *Pulkona*, and drove them from place to place, till he had laid the greatest part of *Finland* under contribution. At length their general, *Arnfeldt*, having recruited his army with a great number of peasants, entrenched himself near *Lapler*, within a quarter of a mile of the *Wasa*. There the *Russians* attacked him again, and the *Swedes* sustained the first onset so bravely; that the assailants were repulsed; but they no sooner rallied and returned to the charge, than the peasants took to their heels, and drew most of the *Swedish* soldiers after them. By this victory the czar became master of the whole province of *Finland*; soon after which he published a manifesto, setting forth, that as he had often proposed an equitable peace to *Sweden*, and that crown had continually rejected his offers, they could blame nobody but themselves, for any part of their calamities.

Nyflot at-
tacked,

and taken.

IN the beginning of *June*, colonel *Schubajoff*, governor of *Wiburg* in *Finland*, was ordered with a detachment of one thousand men, and a sufficient train of artillery, to attack *Nyflot*, the capital fortress of the province of *Savolaxia*. In obedience to this order he appeared before the place on the 8th of *June*, and posted his troops on a little island called *Malm*, from whence he drove a body of *Swedes*, who had lodged themselves there to dispute his passage. Having erected proper batteries, he began on the 20th to fire upon the works and continued so to do till the 28th, when, a sufficient breach being made, he summoned the *Swedish* governor to surrender; but this last considering that the approach to the town was defended by a very rapid stream which ran close by the walls, declared he would hold out till the last extremity; but when he saw the *Russians* preparing floats for passing the river, and that they seemed determined to conquer the place, whatever it might cost them, he at last agreed to a capitulation, and the next day surrendered the place.

THE *Swedes* being apprehensive that the *Russians* would make a descent upon the isle of *Oeland*, sent admiral *Walrang* to oppose them. The forces under his command gained several advantages on the coast of *Abo*, where they sunk some *Russian* vessels, took about two hundred prisoners, and seized on the port of *Teverivin*. The *Russian* fleet was then at *Revel*, and consisted of thirty ships of the line, several frigates, and yachts, and about one hundred galleys, which the *Swedes* intended to destroy in the port: but the czar, who acted as rear-admiral, receiving intelligence of this design, desired admiral *Apraxin* to send him with twenty-five galleys to reconnoitre the enemy, which he accordingly did, and observed the *Swedish* admiral *Walrang*, with six ships of the line and three frigates, stationed on the coast, and the vice-admiral *Lillis* with several bomb-vessels steering towards the south-west, in order to accomplish the destruction of the *Russian* fleet at *Reval*. The czar sent immediately notice of this to his admiral, who thereupon joined him early the next morning.

AFTER some deliberation, it was resolved to detach twenty galleys under the commodore *Ismaiowitz*, to endeavour to pass behind the enemy's fleet as near to the coast as they could. This was immediately executed, tho' the *Swedish* admiral kept a very hot fire upon them all the time; but the galleys were at such a distance that the enemy's shot could not hurt them. Fifteen other galleys steered the same course immediately after, with the like success; upon which *Walrang* made a signal for the vice-admiral to return and join him: but the *Russians*, determined to force their way through the enemy's fleet, bore down upon them, with such good order and success, that they lost but one galley in this hazardous enterprize, which had the misfortune to touch and stick upon a sand.

The Russian
fleet obtains a
victory over
the Swedes,

and takes the
island of
Oeland.

ALL the fleet having thus passed, commodore *Ismaiowitz* gave notice that he had blocked up the enemy's rear-admiral *Ebrenschild*; whereupon admiral *Apraxin* drew his ships in order of battle, summoned the *Swedes* to surrender, and upon his refusal, attacked him so briskly that the *Russians* obtained a complete victory; the *Swedish* admiral, and all his ships being taken or destroyed.

THE first consequence of this victory was the taking of the island of *Oeland*, where the czar landed with sixteen thousand men. He intended likewise to transport thither his forces which were encamped near *Abo*, in order to attack *Stockholm*: but the season of the year not permitting him to execute so important an enterprize, he took the rout of *Reval*, and from thence returned to *Petersburg*, where he made a triumphant entry. Soon after, the czar went on board his own sloop, where he hoisted the flag of a vice-admiral, and hav-

ing received the compliments of the nobility on this occasion, he accepted of a magnificent entertainment at the palace of prince *Menzikoff*; and after dinner took particular notice of his prisoner M. *Ekrenschild*, saying to the company present, "Here you see a brave and faithful servant of his master, who hath made himself worthy of the highest reward at his hands, and who shall always have my favour as long as he is with me, tho' he has killed me many a brave *Russian*. I forgive it you, (added he to the admiral with a smile) and you may depend on my good will."

SUCH was the situation of affairs when *Charles XII.* returned to his dominions, where he was complimented by all the neighbouring princes, who were desirous to bring him, if possible, to listen to terms of peace: but he declined giving any answer to their proposals, which were, that he should confirm the treaty for the sequestration of *Stetin*, and forbear all hostilities against the *Danes* and *Saxons* in the empire: whilst his *Prussian* majesty would engage, on his part, that the kings of *Poland* and *Denmark* should not attack *Swedish Pomerania*. His silence herein was looked upon as a plain indication of his intending to renew the war in *Lower Saxony*, in order to recover the duchy of *Bremen*, which the king of *Denmark* had lately ceded to the elector of *Hanover*, and to restore the ducal house of *Holstein*; in the prosecution of which design he was assisted with money by the *French*, and with troops by the landgrave of *Hesse Cassel*, on account of his son's having married the princess *Ulrica Eleonora*. The king of Sweden returns to Stockholm, and rejects all proposals of peace.

HEREUPON the king of *Prussia* assembled his forces, in order to be in readiness to secure *Stetin*, and preserve the peace of *Lower Saxony*, in concert with the house of *Brunswick* and other princes interested therein: while on the other hand the czar declared, that as he had withdrawn his troops from *Pomerania* upon the pressing instances of the king of *Prussia*, he was now determined to send a powerful army to assist his allies in reducing the fortresses of *Stralsund* and *Wisemar*, and driving the *Swedes* entirely out of *Germany*, unless king *Charles* would accept the propositions which had been made to him. All parties prepare for war.

WHILE these military preparations were carrying on, the great reputation of the czar brought an ambassador to his court from the khan of the *Uzbek Tartars*, who arrived at *Petersburg* on the 27th of *May*. The next day he had an audience, and after the accustomed ceremonies he opened his commission, which consisted of three articles: first, that his prince and master, the khan *Hadgi Mabemet Bahadir*, rejoiced at the success of his czarish majesty, and recommended himself to his protection. Secondly, that he desired the czar would enjoin his vassal the *Tartarian* khan *Ajuga* to live in peace and good neighbourhood with him; instead of which he seemed inclinable to stir up the *Tartars* of *China*, and others his neighbours against him; and for which he offered to furnish the czar with five thousand soldiers, who should always be ready to march when and where he pleased. And thirdly, as a farther testimony of his friendship for the czar, he offered him a free passage through his dominions for the yearly caravans to *China*, and proposed to enter into a treaty of commerce with him. This last article was particularly advantageous to the *Russians*, as their caravans had hitherto been obliged to traverse the whole extent of *Siberia*, and took up a year in their journey; whereas, by this permission, they might accomplish it through good roads, in about four months. An ambassador arrives from the Uzbek Tartars, with several advantageous offers.

AFTER the audience, the czar invited the ambassador to dine with him the next day at *Cronslot*, and directed his great chancellor, the count *Golostkin*, to accompany him on board a snow, while the czar went in his own yacht, called the *Catharine*. They accordingly set sail early in the morning with a gentle breeze; but had not proceeded above two leagues, when, by the unskilfulness of the *Russian* captain, the snow got among the flats, and soon after struck on the sand. The mariners worked incessantly till seven in the evening in order to get her off, but a violent storm which arose rendered their attempts utterly ineffectual; and the storm continuing, all their boats were beat to pieces, and every one looked upon their destruction as inevitable. Towards morning, however, the tempest abated, and the vessel being towed gently out of the flats, came at last to an anchor, to the infinite satisfaction of the ambassador, who had never beheld such a scene before, and also of the czar himself, who during the whole night had expressed great concern for him. The ambassador in great danger by a storm.

ABOUT this time a scheme was proposed for building a bridge over the *Neva*, in order to join *Petersburgh* with the continent of *Ingria*, to which there was no passage but with boats and oars: but the czar was so far from approving this project, that he even prohibited the use of oars, and strictly ordered that no person should cross that river but with sails. Though this order was the occasion of many lives being lost, yet it answered the great designs of the czar, in teaching his subjects the art of navigation, whether they would or not. He employed a great part of his time this year, in fortifying the citadel, erecting public edifices, and making many other improvements in his new city of *Petersburg*: he The czar makes great improvements at Petersburg.

ordered that all the houses should be built with bricks and covered with tiles; and, to procure the best artificers from all parts of *Europe*, he offered them their houses rent free, and an absolute exemption from all kind of taxes for fourteen years.

Institutes the
order of St.
Catharine.

TOWARDS the latter end of this year, he instituted the new order of *St. Catharine*, in honour of his royal consort, and to perpetuate the memory of her love to him in his distressed condition on the banks of the river *Pruth*. He invested her with full power to bestow it on such of her own sex as she should think proper. The ensigns of this order are, a broad white ribband wore over the right shoulder, with a medal of *St. Catharine* adorned with precious stones, and the motto, *Out of love and fidelity*.

A. D. 1715.
and reforms
many abuses in
the state.

THE czar now made it his study to discover the causes of several disorders, which, during his absence, had crept into the public administration, whereby his army had suffered greatly, many thousands of his artificers were reduced to the greatest misery and distress, the trade and commerce of his dominions had very sensibly decayed, and his revenues were in the utmost confusion. To this end, in the beginning of the year 1715, he established a grand court of inquisition, under the direction of general *Dolgorucki*, which affected most of the great men in the kingdom, who were now obliged to render a very strict account of their conduct. The great admiral *Apraxin*, prince *Menzikoff*, M. *Korsakoff* vice-governor of *Petersburg*, M. *Kikin* president, and M. *Sinowin* first commissioner of the admiralty; *Welkonski* and *Aponchin*, two of the principal senators, with an incredible number of other officers of inferior rank, were summoned to the tribunal. *Apraxin*, *Menzikoff* and *Bruce*, alledged in their defence, that as the commands of his majesty, and the exigencies of public affairs, had obliged them to spend the greatest part of their time in the field, they were so far unable to account for the conduct of their unfaithful servants, that they were almost wholly ignorant of the transactions of their own private families; and as the excuse appeared very probable, the czar, out of personal esteem for them, punished them only in their purses, by mulcting them severely for the faults that had been committed in their several departments. The rest of the delinquents, whose conduct could not be justified, underwent much greater punishments; *Korsakoff* publicly suffered the knout; *Welkonski* and *Aponchin* did the same, and had besides red-hot irons drawn across their tongues: some, of an inferior rank were chastised with batoags, and others banished into *Siberia* and other remote places, after forfeiting their estates. This severity was productive of very beneficial consequences, and shewed the czar to be a man of no less genius and sagacity in discovering the corruption of his ministers, than of justice in punishing them for it, and love to his subjects in preventing the bad effects of its longer continuance.

The Prussians
and Swedes
take the field.

THE armies having now taken the field, the king of *Prussia* published a manifesto to justify the sequestration of *Swedish Pomerania*, and the march of his army to prevent the danger that threatened his new dominions, and the whole *German* empire. In the mean time the count de *Croissy* arrived at *Berlin*, to offer the *French* king's mediation for reconciling the differences between the kings of *Prussia* and *Sweden*; which the czar being informed of, declared that he would not on his part accept of any other mediation for the peace of the north, than that of the king of *Great Britain*, and the states general. Hereupon the *French* king's offer was rejected, and each party prepared for a vigorous prosecution of the war.

Stralsund sur-
renders to the
czar.

THE northern allies having sent their forces into *Pomerania*, the czar, towards the latter end of *June*, sailed with his fleet towards *Gotland*, with an intent to shut up the passages from *Stockholm* into that province, in which he happily succeeded: for the army that was in *Finland*, having made a shew of marching to the north of *Sweden*, the troops in the neighbourhood of *Stockholm* remained near the capital, which greatly facilitated the czar's operations. Having accomplished this design, the *Russian* fleet sailed about the middle of *September* from *Gotland* to the coasts of *Sundermania*, and landed fifteen thousand men at *Jewel*, about eight leagues from the *Swedish* army, whilst a body of horse from *Finland* went round the *Baltic* gulph, to penetrate into the northern provinces of *Sweden*, which put the whole kingdom into a terrible consternation. Mean while the czar dispatched general *Sheremetow* with fifteen thousand men into *Pomerania*, in order to strengthen the allied army, and put an end to the tedious siege of *Stralsund*, which accordingly surrendered about the latter end of *December*; the king of *Sweden* having narrowly escaped being taken, by getting off in a small bark, with only ten persons, and landing at *Isted* in *Scandinavia*, from whence he went to *Carelsroon*, where he continued all the winter, making new levies to reinforce his army. Prince *Galitzin* had likewise great success in *Finland*, having surprised the fortress of *Ula*, and obliged the *Swedish* troops to pass the *Kimi* and *Torno*; so that there remained but about four hundred *Swedes* in the whole province, and they were shut up in the castle of *Cajaneberg*, situated on an inaccessible rock.

a THE czar having returned to *Petersburg* from his naval expedition, devoted his whole attention to the finishing the fortifications and improvements of that city. On the 22d of *October* he had the satisfaction of seeing a son born to the czarowitz: but the joy of this happy occasion was soon damped by the death of the amiable and illustrious princess that bore him; for what with the brutal behaviour of her husband, and the unskilful treatment of those who attended her, she languished about six days after her delivery, and then died; having taken a very tender and affectionate leave of the czar, and recommended her two infant children to his care and protection. The day after her interment, the czarina *Catharine* was also safely delivered of a prince; and the public rejoicings on this occasion was celebrated for eight days successively with the utmost splendor and magnificence. The wife of the czarowitz delivered of a son.

b IN the beginning of the next year the czar, being apprehensive the *Tartars* might, at the instigation of the *Turks*, intermeddle in the affairs of *Poland*, thought proper, by way of precaution, to order general *Wiesbach*, with six regiments of dragoons, to march to *Woronetz* on the *Don*, in order to watch their motions. On the 14th of *January*, the czarina dowager *Marava Matweowna*, relict of the late czar *Theodore Alexowitz*, died at *Petersburg*, and was buried with great funeral pomp: on which occasion the czar first abolished the antient custom of immoderate weeping and vociferous lamentation. She had indeed been generally reported dead for many years; because she never stirred from her apartments after the premature death of her consort, to whom she had been married but one month, and was seldom seen by any but her own servants. The czarina delivered of a prince.

c THE *Swedes* having repassed the *Baltic* after the loss of *Stralsund*, and threatened to make the king of *Denmark's* dominions the seat of the northern war, the czar found his presence necessary in *Lower Saxony*, in order to concert measures for the assistance of that prince; and having accordingly set out from *Petersburg* with the czarina his consort in the beginning of *February*, they arrived at *Dantzick* on the 29th of that month, where they continued till the latter end of *April*. While the czar remained in this city, he concluded a marriage between the princess *Catharine* his niece, and duke *Charles Leopold* of *Mecklenburg Schwerin*, which was solemnized on the 19th of *April* with great pomp and splendor. A few days after, the czar set out for *Konigsberg*, the capital of *Prussia*, where he gave audience to the famous *Persian* ambassador, who had lately arrived there from *France*. During the czar's absence from *Dantzick*, he ordered certain articles to be exhibited to the magistrates of that city, prohibiting all commerce between them and *Sweden*, and insisting on their furnishing him with four privateers of twelve guns and fifty men each, and maintaining them during the war, or paying him two hundred thousand rixdollars in money. These articles met with great opposition: but the czar signified, that, unless they were agreed to, he should declare against the city, and treat its inhabitants as enemies. However, by the mediation of the king of *Poland*, the rigour of these articles was mitigated to a prohibition of all commerce with *Sweden* during the war, the payment of one hundred thousand rixdollars, and the maintenance of four ships, which his *Polish* majesty undertook to furnish. This matter being settled, the czar set out for *Stetin*, whither the king of *Prussia* had gone privately to meet him, in order to confer on the present situation of affairs in the north, and particularly on the side of *Denmark*. These two princes agreed in opposing the progress of the *Swedish* arms in the dominions of the *Danes*, but did not think proper to assist the king of *Denmark* to make conquests on the *Swedes*; because, as they were already so much weakened by the loss of *Finland*, *Livonia*, and *Pomerania*, it was to be feared that, in case any further attempts should be made against them, other powers would arm in their defence. From *Stetin* the czar went to *Stralsund*, and from thence he passed into *Mecklenburg*, where the allies had pushed the siege of *Wismar* with so much vigour, that it at last capitulated. He had formed a design of putting the duke of *Mecklenburg* in possession of that fortress, that the *Russians* might thereby always have a safe retreat for their ships on that side of the *Baltic Sea*; and had actually ordered a body of twenty-six hundred troops to advance that way: but before they could arrive, the place surrendered, and the czar's intention was defeated; which so greatly chagrined him, that from hence may be dated the epoch of several memorable events, and particularly the misunderstanding that afterwards happened between him and the court of *Hanover*. The czar arrives at Dantzick,

f SOON after the czar had an interview with the king of *Denmark* at *Hamburg*, when it was agreed to make a descent upon *Schonen*, in order to oblige the king of *Sweden* to quit *Norway*, into which kingdom he had already penetrated with an army of twenty thousand men, and was advancing with all expedition to *Christiana* the capital. The czar seemed forward in this expedition, and having promised to join the *Danish* fleet at *Copenhagen*, he assembled forty-five galleys, and a body of eight hundred men. Taking the command of the fleet upon himself, he sailed for *Lubeck*, and arrived in the road of *Copenhagen* on the and goes to Stetin.

The allies take Wismar.

The czar arrives at Copenhagen.

the 17th of July. The king of *Denmark* received the czar and the czarina with great magnificence, and during their stay there, which was near three months, entertained them with all manner of diversions. About this time the *English* and *Dutch* squadrons under the command of Sir *John Norris*, and rear admiral *Grave*, arrived at *Copenhagen*; whereupon several councils were held, in which it was proposed that they should join the *Russian* and *Danish* fleets in the intended attack upon *Schonen*, and that the czar should have the chief command of the expedition. These proposals being agreed to, the czar hoisted his imperial flag on the 16th of *August*, and after receiving a royal salute from the whole fleet on this occasion, he gave the signal for sailing: but being soon afterwards informed that the *Swedish* fleet was gone to *Carelscoön* for provisions, he returned again to *Copenhagen*. Hereupon several councils of war were held, in which every necessary disposition for this important enterprize was settled, and the troops ordered to hold themselves in readiness to embark; when, on a sudden, these orders were countermanded, and this grand project, which had for some time been the general object of speculation, was laid aside: the czar having declared that he thought the season too far advanced to attempt it, and that it would be more adviseable to postpone it till the ensuing spring. This strange alteration in the czar's sentiments and conduct could not fail of being highly disagreeable to the king of *Denmark*, who immediately published a memorial, stating the several facts and circumstances relating to this intended expedition, and flatly charging the czar with being the sole occasion of its delay; to which *Peter* did not think fit to make any answer; but having reembarked his forces, and given them orders to march through *Pomerania* into *Poland*, he took his leave of the *Danish* court, and proceeded with the czarina to *Lubeck*.

His conduct there.

He departs from thence.

Projects of baron Goertz.

THE czar's behaviour in this affair appears at first sight very unaccountable, as the enterprize was certainly well projected, and, had it been carried into execution, must have reduced the king of *Sweden* to the necessity of making peace upon such terms as the allies should propose: but as we have already seen how far he intended to act in behalf of the king of *Denmark*; by the conference between him and the king of *Prussia* at *Stetin*, so he was induced to act in this manner from a still stronger motive. Baron *Goertz*, who was now become the prime minister and chief favourite of the king of *Sweden*, had projected a strange revolution in the affairs of *Europe*, by concluding a separate peace between the czar and that prince, upon a plan so extremely flattering to their ambition that they could neither of them resist it. As *Goertz* was sensible that the czar could not be brought into this scheme without being permitted to keep the provinces he had conquered on the north-east sides of the *Baltic*, that minister endeavoured to persuade the king his master, that he would be amply recompensed for the loss of those places which he was not then in any condition to recover, by having the honour to replace *Stanislaus* on the throne of *Poland*, settle the crown of *England* on the head of the pretended son of *James II.* and restoring the duke of *Holstein* to the possession of his inheritance; in short, that there was scarce any enterprize, however arduous, which might not be undertaken and accomplished by the united forces of *Russia* and *Sweden*. As the height of *Charles's* ambition was to become sole arbiter of *Europe*, nothing could be more plausible for attaining that point than the present scheme; and as the czar had lately taken great disgust at the allies on account of his disappointment in the affair of *Wismar*, *Goertz*, with the assistance of prince *Menzikoff*, and doctor *Areskine* the czar's physician, found it not difficult to bring this monarch into his project; though *Peter* afterwards took great pains to clear himself of any such imputation.

Intestine broils in Poland.

DURING these transactions, the affairs of *Poland* fell into great confusion: a new confederacy was set on foot by *Gurinzki* lieutenant of the palatine of *Sandomir*, who insisted upon the dismissal of the *Saxon* troops, and declared they would listen to no accommodation till that was done. This obliged *Augustus* to request the mediation of the czar, who having appointed prince *Dolgorucki* for that purpose, he, after several skirmishes between the contending parties, at last brought them to a treaty, and several congresses were held to compromise the differences, but to no purpose. *Peter* then sent general *Ronne* into *Poland*, with a considerable body of troops, to support that party which should seem most inclinable to peace. But the arrival of these troops served only to create fresh disturbances, the *Poles* positively declaring that they would not enter into any treaty, till prince *Dolgorucki* should order the *Russian* forces to retire out of the kingdom; to which he answered, that these troops had marched into *Poland*, in order to act against such as should disturb the publick tranquillity; and that as the *Poles* had chosen the czar for a mediator, it did not become them to prescribe laws to him, but they ought to conform themselves to such measures as he should think most expedient for the establishment of peace, which he advised them to conclude without farther delay; promising, that, so soon as that was done, he would immediately order the *Russian* troops to withdraw. To this the confederates replied, that a mediator ought not to make use of arms, but rather to hear with patience the allegations of

The czar is chosen mediator,

a of the contending parties, and endeavour to reconcile them. They were then given to understand, that though what they had alledged might hold true with respect to private parties, yet that princes in arms generally adopted far different maxims; and *Dolgorucki* declared in plain terms, that his master's troops should continue in *Poland* till a treaty was actually concluded and signed. Hereupon several warm debates arose, and the deputies of the confederacy absolutely refused to proceed any farther in the treaty, until the prince should put an order into their hands for the retreat of the *Russians*; which he declining to do, the conferences broke up: but by the interposition of the imperial ambassador and the pope's nuncio, the contending parties met again the next day, when after much altercation, the deputies were prevailed upon to desist from their demand, and to accept a declaration from *Augustus* that he would use his utmost endeavour with the czar for the retreat of his forces immediately after the conclusion of the peace. Prince *Dolgorucki* then communicated a plan for the suspension of arms; but it not being approved of, king *Augustus* declared he would immediately set out for the army. This resolution alarmed the confederates, who, after some difficulty, agreed to the suspension, which was accordingly published. These previous obstacles being thus removed, the negotiation went on apace, and it was at length agreed by all parties, that the king might, if he pleased, be out of the kingdom for three months in the year; that the *Saxon* ministers should no ways intermeddle with, or concern themselves in the affairs of *Poland*; that the king might keep a *Saxon* guard, who were not to exceed the number of twelve hundred men, and to be maintained at his own expence; that the commander of this guard should take an oath of fidelity to the king and the republic; and that no foreign troops should be brought into the kingdom, nor the *Saxon* guard be augmented by any new levies on any pretence whatsoever. Thus these intestine commotions, which had subsisted so long, were at last amicably adjusted, and the *Poles* promised themselves a lasting series of tranquility from this treaty of pacification.

and at last accommodates the differences.

FROM *Lubeck* the czar proceeded to *Hamburg*, and from thence to the *Hague*, where he continued till the fourth of *April*. During this time a discovery was made in *England* of the intrigues of baron *Goertz* and count *Gyllemburg*, in order to excite a rebellion in *Great Britain*, in favour of the pretender to that crown. *Gyllemburg* was arrested at *London*, and *Goertz* at the *Hague*, and by their papers which were seized, it appeared that the project was to have been executed in *March*, and that the king of *Sweden* was to make a descent in *England* with ten thousand foot, four thousand horse, a large train of artillery, and a sufficient quantity of arms for twelve thousand men more: it likewise appeared that the czar had been made acquainted with this design by the means of doctor *Areskine* his physician, and that the *Swedes* were in great hopes of procuring his assistance. The last part of the discovery occasioned the czar to send a long memorial to the court of *Great Britain*, wherein he endeavoured to remove the suspicions which that court had entertained of his conduct in this affair, and gave them the strongest assurances of his friendship: and as there was no positive proof to contradict this memorial, the king of *Great Britain* contented himself with answering it in general terms: though it cannot be denied that if the enterprise had not been so opportunely discovered, the czar would, in all probability, have been very deeply concerned in it.

A. D. 1717.
The czar goes to the Hague,

FROM *Holland*, the czar set out for *France*; not so much to gratify his curiosity and boundless thirst after knowledge, as to accomplish certain political views which he entertained at this time, it must be confessed; and which were not strictly agreeable to his engagements with his allies. To this purpose he offered to send a numerous army into the heart of the empire, if the *French* king would pay him certain large subsidies for so doing: but however agreeable this proposal might be to the court of *France*, they found it impracticable, without breaking the treaty of alliance concluded with *Great Britain* so lately as the fourth of *January* in this year; and therefore it was rejected. But before the czar's departure from *Paris*, he entered into a treaty of friendship with *France*, wherein the king of *Prussia* was included, and in consequence of which the czar promised to withdraw his forces from *Mecklenburg*. King *George I.* notwithstanding what had passed in relation to the *Swedish* conspiracy, was very desirous of preserving a good understanding with the czar, and therefore ordered admiral *Norris* and Mr. *Whitworth* to wait upon him at *Amsterdam*, in his return from *Paris*, to assure him that his intention of withdrawing his troops out of the empire had afforded his *Britannic* majesty great satisfaction, and that he was willing to resume the treaty of commerce which had lately been proposed, and to facilitate the conclusion of it to the utmost of his power. But the czar having, as a preliminary article, insisted on a *British* squadron of fifteen men of war being sent to act against the *Swedes*, under the order of the *Russian* admirals, which the court of *Great Britain* did not think proper to comply with, the proposed treaty was no farther proceeded in.

and from thence to France.

Where he concludes a league of friendship with Lewis XIV.

Accusation of arms between the czar and the king of Sweden.

The czar returns to Petersburg. Great disorders in the administration.

Soon after the czar's return to *Amsterdam*, baron Goertz was set at liberty, and had several conferences with the *Swedish* resident at *Lutphen*, who was admitted with great secrecy to an interview with the czar and his minister at *Loo*; and having undertaken to accommodate the differences between the *Russians* and the *Swedes* within three months, the czar engaged to suspend all operations against the king of *Sweden* for that time.

THE czar, being now resolved to return home, departed from *Amsterdam*, and having passed through *Berlin* and *Dantzick*, and settled several affairs there, he arrived at *Petersburg* on the seventeenth of *October*, after an absence of sixteen months. Here he found the popular clamour so loud against the public administration, that he devoted the whole of his time to enquire into, and redress the several disorders which had arisen in his absence, and assisted at the senate every morning by four o'clock, to hear and examine the accusations and defence of the parties concerned: but finding that a great length of time would necessarily be taken up in the conviction of those who stood accused of male-administration, and that their crimes in general were of a much blacker nature than what he at first imagined, he established an extraordinary court of justice for the trial and punishment of these offenders, which was directed to pronounce sentence without favour or partiality, and to ground its decisions upon the known principles of equity and common sense.

In the month of *December*, M. *Webber*, the *British* resident, arrived at *Petersburg*, and signified to the *Russian* ministry, that the king his master could not help being alarmed at the czar's interview with baron Goertz at *Loo*, and at the appearances of his having employed that nobleman to procure a separate peace with the king of *Sweden*. They, at first, stiffly denied the interview; but, by a chain of concurring circumstances, were at length obliged to acknowledge it. About this time the duke of *Ormond* arrived at *Petersburg*, with one *Jernigan*, an *English* Roman catholic. His design was, not only to negotiate a marriage between the pretender to the crown of *England*, and the princess *Anne Petrowna*, one of the czar's daughters; but also to procure a peace between the czar and the king of *Sweden*, that the latter might be more at leisure to turn his thoughts on settling the pretender in the throne. These views were, however, both frustrated; the one by Goertz's procuring the princess for the duke of *Holstein*, and the other by *Charles's* refusing the duke of *Ormond* admission into *Sweden*, in quality of the pretender's minister.

Irruption of the Cuban Tartars.

In *January* 1718, an express arrived from the *Ukraine*, with advice, that the *Cuban Tartars* were marching in great numbers towards the frontiers of *Russia*: whereupon the necessary orders were given for opposing them; and the grand signior, to remove all suspicion of his conniving at this irruption, sent the czar a letter, written with his own hand, wherein he promised, that in case these robbers should be defeated, and take refuge in his dominions, he would drive them out by fire and sword, as a proof of his readiness to discharge, in every respect, the obligations he owed to so faithful a neighbour. Some time before this, the czar had sent prince *Alexander Bekowitz*, at the head of three thousand men, to take possession of a river in the *Caspian* sea, where he had been told there was plenty of gold-dust, and to discover certain mines in the mountains of *Great Tartary*. His troops landed without opposition: but, upon their penetrating farther into the country, the *Tartars* and *Calmucks* assembled to the number of fifty thousand, and refused the czar's presents; though they promised to supply the *Russians* with water and provisions, of which they were in great want, on condition that they should separate, and return home. Injudiciously trusting to his promise, they began their march in separate bodies; immediately after which, the enemy fell upon them, thus weakened by famine, and divided by stratagem, and destroyed both the prince and all his men.

Unsuccessful expedition to the Caspian sea.

WHEN the news of this misfortune reached the czar, it was not doubted but that, stimulated by revenge, he would take the first opportunity of punishing the barbarians; and accordingly great preparations were made for that purpose: but this, and all other undertakings, were suspended for a while, to make way for an affair which the czar had more at heart than any other thing, and which may be looked upon as one of the most extraordinary events that has been recorded in history. This was, to enquire into the crimes, and to punish the disobedience of his son and heir apparent, the czarowitz *Alexis*, who, during his absence, had left *Russia*, and thereby incurred the penalty of the law, which made it high treason for any one to travel into foreign parts, without the czar's permission. While the sieur *Tolstoy* was dispatched to *Naples*, where the czarowitz then was, in order to bring him back to *Moscow*, Peter thought proper to publish the following declaration, setting forth his reasons for proceeding in so extraordinary a manner, and justifying his conduct in an affair of so uncommon and delicate a nature.

Proceedings against the czarowitz Alexis.

“ PETER. I. by the grace of God, czar and emperor of *Russia*, &c. to all our faithful subjects, ecclesiastical, military, and civil, of all the states of the *Russian* nation. It is notorious and well known to the greatest part of our faithful subjects, and chiefly to those who live in the places of our residence, or who are in our service, with how much care

The czar's declaration.

“ and

a “ and application we have caused our eldest son *Alexis* to be brought up and educated;
 “ having given him for that purpose, from his infancy, tutors to teach him the *Russian*
 “ tongue and foreign languages, and to instruct him in all arts and sciences, in order not
 “ only to bring him up in our christian orthodox faith of the *Greek* profession, but also in
 “ the knowledge of political and military affairs, and likewise in the constitution of foreign
 “ countries, their customs and languages; that, thro’ the reading of history, and other
 “ books in all manner of sciences, becoming a prince of his high rank, he might acquire
 “ the qualifications worthy of a successor to our throne of *Great Russia*. Nevertheless we
 “ have seen with grief, that all our attention and care for the education and instruction
 “ of our son proved ineffectual and useless, seeing he always swerved from his filial obe-
 b “ dience, shewing no application for what was becoming a worthy successor, and slighting
 “ the precepts of the masters we had appointed for him; but on the contrary, frequenting
 “ disorderly persons, from whom he could learn nothing good, or that would be advan-
 “ tageous and useful to him. We have not neglected often to endeavour to reclaim and
 “ bring him back to his duty, sometimes by caresses and gentle means, sometimes by re-
 “ primands, sometimes by paternal corrections. We have more than once taken him with
 “ us into our army and the field, that he might be instructed in the art of war, as one of
 “ the chief sciences for the defence of his country; guarding him, at the same time, from
 “ all hazard of being hurt, and preserving his person out of regard to the succession, tho’
 “ we exposed ourself to manifest perils and dangers. We have at other times left him at
 c “ *Moscow*, putting into his hands a sort of regency in the empire, in order to form him
 “ in the art of government, and that he might learn how to reign after us. We have
 “ likewise sent him into foreign countries, in hopes and expectation, that, seeing in his
 “ travels governments so well regulated, this would excite in him some emulation, and
 “ an inclination to apply himself to do well. But all our care has been fruitless, and like
 “ the seed of the doctrine fallen upon a rock: for he has not only refused to follow
 “ that which is good, but even is come to hate it; without shewing any inclination, or
 “ disposition, either for military or political affairs, hourly and continually conversing
 “ with base and disorderly persons whose morals are rude and abominable. As we were
 “ resolved to endeavour by all imaginable means to reclaim him from that disorderly course,
 d “ and inspire him with an inclination to converse with persons of virtue and honour,
 “ we exhorted him to chuse a consort among the chief foreign houses, as usual in other
 “ countries, and hath been practised by our ancestors the czars of *Russia*, who have con-
 “ tracted alliances by marriages with other sovereign houses; and we left him at full liberty
 “ to make a choice. He declared his inclinations for the princess, grand-daughter of the
 “ duke of *Wolfenbuttle* then reigning, sister-in-law to his imperial majesty the emperor
 “ of the *Romans* now reigning, and cousin to the king of *Great Britain*; and having
 “ desired us to procure him that alliance, and permit him to marry that princess, we readily
 “ consented thereunto, without any regard to the great expence which was necessarily
 “ occasioned by that marriage: but, after its consummation, we found ourselves disap-
 e “ pointed of the hopes we had, that the change in the condition of our son would pro-
 “ duce good fruits, and change in his bad inclinations: for, notwithstanding his spouse
 “ was, as far as we have been able to observe, a wife sprightly princess, and of a virtuous
 “ conduct, and that he himself had chosen her, he nevertheless lived with her in the greatest
 “ disunion, while he redoubled his affection for lewd people; bringing thereby a disgrace
 “ upon our house in the eyes of foreign powers to whom that princess was related; which
 “ drew upon us many complaints and reproaches. Our frequent advices and exhortations
 “ to him, to reform his conduct, proved ineffectual; and he at last violated the conjugal
 “ faith, and gave his affection to a prostitute of the most servile and low condition, living
 “ publicly in that crime with her, to the great contempt of his lawful spouse, who soon
 f “ after died; and it was believed that her grief, occasioned by the disorderly life of her
 “ husband, hastened the end of her days. When we saw his resolution to persevere in his
 “ vicious courses, we declared to him, at the funeral of his consort, that if he did not for
 “ the future conform to our will, and apply himself to things becoming a prince, pre-
 “ sumptive heir to so great an empire, we would deprive him of the succession, without
 “ any regard to his being our only son, (our second son was not then born); and that he
 “ ought not to rely upon his being such, because we would rather chuse for our successor
 “ a stranger worthy thereof, than an unworthy son; that we could not leave our empire to
 “ such a successor, who would ruin and destroy what we have, by God’s assistance, esta-
 “ blished, and tarnish the glory and honour of the *Russian* nation, for the acquiring of
 g “ which we had sacrificed our ease and our health, and willingly exposed our life on several
 “ occasions; besides, that the fear of God’s judgment would not permit us to leave the
 “ government of such vast territories, in the hands of one whose insufficiency and un-
 “ worthiness

“worthiness we were not ignorant of. In short, we exhorted him in the most pressing
 “terms we could make use of, to behave himself with discretion, and gave him time to
 “repent and return to his duty. His answer to these remonstrances was, that he acknow-
 “ledged himself guilty in all these points; but alledging the weakness of his parts and
 “genius, which did not permit him to apply himself to the sciences, and other functions
 “recommended to him, he owned himself incapable of our succession, and desired us to
 “discharge him from the same. Nevertheless, we continued to exhort him with a pater-
 “nal affection, and joining menaces to our exhortations, we forgot nothing to bring him
 “back to the right way. The operations of the war having obliged us to repair to *Den-*
 “*mark*, we left him at *Petersburg*, to give him time to return to his duty, and amend his
 “ways: and afterwards, upon the repeated advices we received of the continuance of his
 “disorderly life, we sent him orders to come to us at *Copenhagen*, to make the campaign,
 “that he might thereby the better form himself. But, forgetting the fear and command-
 “ments of God, who enjoins obedience even to private parents, and much more to those
 “who are at the same time sovereigns, our paternal cares had no other return than un-
 “heard-of ingratitude; for instead of coming to us as we ordered, he withdrew with
 “large sums of money, and his infamous concubine, with whom he continued to live in
 “a criminal course, and put himself under the protection of the emperor; raising against
 “us, his father and his lord, numberless calumnies and false reports, as if we did prose-
 “cute him, and intended, without cause, to deprive him of our succession; alledging
 “moreover, that even his life was not safe if he continued with us, and desiring the em-
 “peror not only to give him refuge in his dominion, but also to protect him against us
 “by force of arms. Every one may judge, what shame and dishonour this conduct of
 “our son hath drawn upon us and our empire, in the face of the whole world: the like
 “instance is hardly to be found in history. The emperor, tho’ informed of his excesses,
 “and how he had lived with his consort, sister-in-law to his imperial majesty, thought fit,
 “however, upon these pressing instances, to appoint him a place where he might reside;
 “and he desired farther, that he might be so private there, that we might not come to the
 “knowledge of it. Mean while his long stay having made us fear, out of a tender and
 “fatherly affection for him, that some misfortune had befallen him, we sent persons
 “several ways to endeavour to get intelligence of him, and after a great deal of trouble
 “we were at last informed by the captain of our guard, *Alexander Romanzoff*, that he was
 “privately kept in an imperial fortress at *Tyrol*: whereupon we wrote a letter, with our
 “own hand, to the emperor, to desire that he might be sent back to us: but notwith-
 “standing that the emperor acquainted him with our demands, and exhorted him to re-
 “turn to us, and submit to our will, as being his father and lord; yet he alledged, with
 “a great many calumnies against us, that he ought not to be delivered into our hands;
 “as if we had been his enemy and a tyrant, from whom he had nothing to expect but
 “death. In short, he persuaded his imperial majesty, instead of sending him back at
 “that time to us, to remove him to some remote place in his dominions, namely,
 “*Naples in Italy*, and keep him there secretly in the castle, under a borrowed name. Never-
 “theless, we having notice of the place where he was, did thereupon dispatch to the
 “emperor our privy-counsellor *Peter Tolstoy*, and the captain of our guard aforesaid, with
 “a most pressing letter, representing how unjust it would be to detain our son, contrary to
 “all laws divine and human, according to which private parents, and with much more
 “reason those who are besides invested with a sovereign authority as we are, have an
 “unlimited power over their children, independently of any other judge; and we set
 “forth on one side, the just and affectionate manner with which we had always used our
 “son, and on the other, his disobedience; representing in the conclusion, the ill-con-
 “sequences and animosities which the refusal of delivering up our son to us might oc-
 “casion, because we could not leave this affair in that condition. We at the same time
 “ordered those we sent with that letter, to make verbal remonstrances even in more press-
 “ing terms, and to declare that we should be obliged to revenge, by all possible methods,
 “such detaining of our son. We wrote likewise a letter to him with our own hand, to
 “represent to him the horror and impiety of his conduct, and the enormity of the crime
 “he had committed against us his father, and how God threatened in his laws to punish
 “disobedient children with eternal death: we threatened him, as a father, with our curses,
 “and, as his lord, to declare him a traitor to his country, unless he returned, and obeyed
 “our commands; and gave him assurances, that if he did as we desired, and returned,
 “we would pardon his crime. Our envoys, after many solicitations, and the above
 “representation made by us in writing, at last obtained leave of the emperor to go and
 “speak to our son, in order to dispose him to return home. The imperial minister gave
 “them at the same time to understand, that our son had informed the emperor that we pro-
 “secuted

a “secuted him, and that his life was not safe with us, whereby he moved the emperor’s
 “compassion, and induced him to take him into his protection; but that the emperor,
 “taking now into his consideration our true and solid representations, promised to use his
 “utmost endeavours to dispose him to return to us; and would moreover declare to him,
 “that he could not in justice and equity refuse to deliver him to his father, or have any
 “difference with us on that account. Our envoys, upon their arrival at *Naples*, having
 “desired to deliver to him our letter, written with our hand, sent us word that he did
 “refuse to admit them; but that the emperor’s viceroy had found means, by inviting
 “him to his house, to present them to him afterwards, much against his will. He did
 b “then indeed receive our letter, containing our paternal exhortation, and threatening our
 “curse, but without shewing the least inclination to return: alledging still a great many
 “falsities and calumnies against us, as if, by reason of several dangers he had to ap-
 “prehend from us, he could not and would not return; and boasting that the emperor
 “had not only promised to defend and protect him against us, but even to set him upon
 “the throne of *Russia*, against our will, by force of arms. Our envoys perceiving this
 “evil disposition, tried all imaginable ways to prevail with him to return: they intreated
 “him; they expatiated by turns upon the graciousness of our assurances towards him, and
 “upon our threats in case of disobedience, and that we would even bring him away by force
 “of arms; they declared to him, that the emperor would not enter into a war with us
 c “on his account, and many other such like representations did they make to him. But
 “he paid no regard to all this, nor shewed any inclination to return to us; until the im-
 “perial viceroy, convinced at last of his obstinacy, told him in the emperor’s name, that
 “he ought to return, for that his imperial majesty could not by any law keep him from
 “us, nor, during the present war with *Turky*, and also in *Italy* with the king of *Spain*,
 “embroil himself with us upon his account. When he saw how the case stood, fearing
 “he should be delivered up to us whether he would or not, he at length resolved to re-
 “turn home, and declared his mind to our envoys and to the imperial viceroy; he like-
 “wise wrote the same thing to us, acknowledging himself to be a criminal, and blame-
 “worthy. Now, although our son, by so long a course of criminal disobedience against
 d “us, his father and lord, for many years, and particularly for the dishonour he hath cast
 “upon us in the face of the world, by withdrawing himself, and raising calumnies against
 “us, as if we were an unnatural father, and for opposing his sovereign, hath deserved
 “to be punished with death; yet our paternal affection inclines us to have mercy upon
 “him; and we therefore pardon his crimes, and exempt him from all punishment for the
 “same. But considering his unworthiness and the series of his irregular conduct above
 “described, we cannot in conscience leave him after us the succession to the throne of
 “*Russia*; foreseeing that by his vicious courses, he would entirely destroy the glory of
 “our nation and the safety of our dominions, which, through God’s assistance, we have
 “acquired and established by incessant application; for it is notorious and known to
 e “every one, how much it hath cost us, and with what efforts we have not only recovered
 “the provinces which the enemy had usurped from our empire, but also conquered
 “several considerable towns and countries, and with what care we have caused our people
 “to be instructed in all sorts of civil and military sciences, to the glory and advantage of
 “the nation and empire. Now, as we should pity our states and our faithful subjects, if,
 “by such a successor, we should throw them back into a much worse condition than ever
 “they were yet; so, by the paternal authority, in virtue of which, by the laws of our em-
 “pire, any of our subjects may disinherit a son, and give his succession to such other of his
 “sons as he pleases; and, in quality of sovereign prince, in consideration of the safety of
 “our dominions, we do deprive our son *Alexis*, for his crimes and unworthiness, of the
 f “succession after us to our throne of *Russia*, even though there should not remain one
 “single person of our family after us. And we do constitute and declare successor to the
 “said throne after us, our second son *Peter*, tho’ yet very young, having no successor that
 “is older. We lay upon our said son *Alexis* our paternal curse, if ever at any time he
 “pretends to, or reclaims, the said succession; and we desire our faithful subjects, whe-
 “ther ecclesiastics or seculars, of all ranks and conditions, and the whole *Russian* nation,
 “in conformity to this constitution and our will, to acknowledge and consider our said
 “son *Peter*, appointed by us to succeed, as lawful successor, and agreeably to this
 “our constitution, to confirm the whole by oath before the holy altar, upon the holy
 “gospel, kissing the cross. And all those who shall ever at any time oppose this our
 g “will, and who from this day forward shall dare to consider our son *Alexis* as successor, or
 “to assist him for that purpose, declare them traitors to us and their country. And we
 “have ordered that these presents should be every where published and promulgated, to
 “the end that no person may pretend ignorance. Given at *Moscow*, the third of *February*
 “1718. Signed with our hand, and sealed with our seal. PETER”

The czarowitz is brought to Moscow,

and renounces the succession.

His examination.

ON the 11th of *February* the czarowitz was brought to *Moscow*, and the same evening waited on his father, with whom he had a long conference. The next day, a great council was held; and on the 14th, early in the morning, the guards and all the garrison of *Moscow* surrounded the castle, and an order was issued to all the czar's ministers, bo-jars, and counsellors, to repair to the great hall of the castle, and to the prelates to assemble in the cathedral at the tolling of the great bell. The unhappy prince was then conducted to the hall, and being come in his father's presence, threw himself in tears at his feet, and presented a writing containing a confession of his crimes. This the czar delivered into the hands of baron *Schaffiroff* the vice-chancellor, and raising up his son, asked him what was his request? *Alexis* replied, that he only implored his majesty's mercy to save his life. The czar granted this: but at the same time told him, that as he had deprived himself of all hopes of succeeding to the crown, he ought solemnly to renounce the same; to which he answered, that he was ready to conform himself to the czar's pleasure. The czar then questioned him concerning the motives of his disobedience, and who had advised him to elope out of the kingdom; and upon the prince's whispering the czar in the ear, they both returned into an inner chamber, where it is imagined he made a discovery of the persons who had persuaded him to that rash action. The czar and czarowitz having returned into the hall, the latter signed an instrument, by which he declared himself incapable of governing, and renounced all right to the crown (A); whereupon the foregoing manifesto was read aloud in the midst of the assembly, and the right of succession thereby vested in *Peter* was publicly recognized, and confirmed by an oath (B) taken by all the ministers and grandees then present, and ordered to be taken by every individual subject in the empire; after which the assembly was dismissed, and the czar retired to the castle.

It was generally thought, that this formal renunciation of the succession would have been the only punishment inflicted on this unhappy prince: but the czar, having some reason to suspect that he had been fomenting discord and division between him and his subjects, in order to excite them to a rebellion in his own favour: thought it necessary, for his own safety and the public welfare, to make some farther enquiry into the motives of his conduct: and therefore declared to him, that if he would truly and faithfully discover the particular circumstances of his elopement, who were his advisers, and every thing that related to it, and give a full answer in writing to such questions as he should propose, without the least disguise, restriction, or reserve, he would freely pardon him: but that if such discovery was not full and open, and all his accomplices particularly named, the promise of pardon should be void and of no effect. This the czarowitz solemnly engaged to do: and accordingly, a few days after the following questions were put to him.

Quest. I. Was there any premeditated design in the answer you gave to the letter you received from me upon the interment of your wife, or in your reply to what I afterwards wrote (C) upon the same subject? And as you always desired to go into a convent, both by

(A) This renunciation was couched in the following terms: "I, the undersigned, declare upon the holy gospel, that, on account of the crimes I have committed against his czarish majesty, my father, and sovereign, as set forth in his manifesto, I am, through my own fault, excluded from succeeding to the throne of *Russia*. Therefore I confess and acknowledge that exclusion to be just, as having merited it by my own fault and unworthiness; and I hereby oblige myself, and swear in the presence of Almighty God, in Unity of nature, and Trinity of persons, as my supreme judge, to submit in all things to my father's will, never to set up a claim or pretension to the succession, or accept of it under any pretext whatever; acknowledging my brother *Peter Petrowitz* as lawful successor to the crown. In testimony whereof I kiss the holy cross, and sign these presents with my own hand.

"ALEXIS."

(B) The form of this oath was as follows: "I swear before Almighty God, and upon his holy gospel, that whereas our most gracious sovereign the czar *Peter Alexowitz*, has caused circular letters to be published thro' his empire, to notify that he has thought fit to exclude his son prince *Alexis Petrowitz* from the throne of *Russia*, and to appoint for his successor to the crown his second son the prince royal *Peter Petrowitz*; I do acknowledge this order and

"regulation made by his majesty in favour of the said prince *Peter Petrowitz*, to be just and lawful, and entirely conform and submit myself to the same; promising always to acknowledge the said prince royal *Peter Petrowitz* for his lawful successor, and to stand by him on all occasions, even to the loss of my life, against all such as shall presume to oppose the said succession; and that I never will, on any pretence whatsoever, assist the prince *Alexis Petrowitz*, nor in any manner whatsoever contribute to procure him the succession. And this I solemnly promise by my oath upon the holy gospel, kissing the holy cross thereupon."

(C) As these letters and answers afford the most striking evidence of the czar's prudence and the prince's insincerity, and will convey to the reader a clear idea of the grounds and motives of this extraordinary transaction, we have inserted the following translation of them. The first letter from the czar to his son, is dated the 27th of *October*, 1715, and displays a noble spirit of religion, with the most ardent desire of leaving a successor who should perpetuate his name and glory to future ages.

"Son, (says the czar to him) you cannot be ignorant of what is known to all the world, that our people groaned under the oppression of the *Swedes*, before the beginning of this present war. By the usurped possession of many of our maritime ports, so

"necessary

a by your letters and discourse, when I took leave of you before my departure from *Petersburg*, and it is now clear that all this was the effect of dissimulation; tell me with whom you contrived it, and who are those that know you acted only with a design to deceive me?

THE

“ necessary to our state, they cut us off from all com-
 “ merce with the rest of mankind; and we saw, with
 “ deep regret, that they had even cast a mist over the
 “ eyes of persons of the greatest discernment, who
 “ tamely brooked their slavery, and made no com-
 “ plaints to us. You know how much it cost us at
 “ the beginning of this war, to make ourselves tho-
 “ roughly experienced, and to stand our ground in
 “ spite of all the advantages which our irreconcilable
 “ enemies gained over us. The Almighty alone has
 “ conducted us by his hand, and conducts us still. We
 “ submitted to that probationary state with resignation
 “ to the will of God, not doubting but it was he who
 “ made us pass thro’ it: he has accepted our submis-
 “ sion; and the same enemy, before whom we were
 “ wont to tremble, now trembles before us. These
 “ are effects which, under God’s assistance, we owe to
 “ our labour, and those of our faithful affectionate
 “ sons, and *Russian* subjects. But while I survey the
 “ successes with which God has blessed our arms, if
 “ I turn my eyes on the posterity that is to succeed me,
 “ my soul is pierced with anguish; and I have no en-
 “ joyment of my present happiness, when I carry my
 “ views into futurity. All my felicity vanishes away
 “ like a dream, since you, my son, reject all means
 “ of rendering yourself capable of governing well after
 “ me. Your incapacity is voluntary; for you cannot
 “ excuse yourself from want of genius; it is inclina-
 “ tion alone you want. Far less can you plead the
 “ want of bodily strength, as if God had not furnished
 “ you sufficiently in that respect: for though your
 “ constitution be none of the strongest, it cannot be
 “ reckoned weak. Yet you will not so much as hear
 “ of warlike exercises; tho’ it is by those means we
 “ are risen from that obscurity in which we were bu-
 “ ried, and have made ourselves known to the nations
 “ about us, whose esteem we now enjoy. I am far
 “ from desiring you to cherish in yourself a disposition
 “ to make war for its own sake, and without just rea-
 “ sons: all I demand of you is, that you would apply
 “ yourself to learn the military art; because, without
 “ understanding the rules of war, it is impossible to be
 “ qualified for government. I might set before your
 “ eyes many examples of what I propose to you; but
 “ shall only mention the *Greeks*, with whom we are
 “ united by the same profession of faith. Whence
 “ came the declension of their empire, but from the
 “ neglect of arms? Sloth and inaction have subjected
 “ them to tyrants, and that slavery under which they
 “ have long groaned. You are much mistaken, if you
 “ imagine it is enough for a prince that he have good
 “ generals to act under his orders: No, my son; it is
 “ upon the chief himself that the eyes of the world
 “ are fixed; they study his inclinations, and easily
 “ slide into the imitation of his manners. My brother,
 “ during his reign, loved magnificence in dress, and
 “ splendid equipages, and horses richly caparisoned;
 “ the taste of his country was not much formed that
 “ way; but the pleasures of the prince soon become
 “ those of the subjects, who are readily led to imitate
 “ him both in the objects of his love and disgust. If
 “ people are so easily disengaged from things that are
 “ only for pleasure, will they not be still more prone
 “ to forget, and in process of time wholly to lay aside
 “ the use of arms, the exercise of which grows the more
 “ irksome the less they are habituated to them? You
 “ have no inclination to learn the profession of war;
 “ you do not apply yourself to it; and consequently
 “ will never know it. How then will you be able to
 “ command others, and to judge of the rewards which
 “ those subjects deserve who do their duty, or of the
 “ punishment due to such as fall short of obedience?
 “ You must judge only by other people’s eyes; and

“ will be considered as a young bird, which, reaching
 “ out its beak, is as ready to receive poison as proper
 “ nourishment. You say, the infirm state of your
 “ health makes you unfit to bear the fatigues of war:
 “ but that is a frivolous excuse. I desire you not to
 “ undergo the fatigues of that profession, though it is
 “ there that all great captains have begun; but I
 “ wish you had an inclination to the military art; and
 “ reason may give it you, if you have it not from na-
 “ ture. Had you once this inclination, it would oc-
 “ cupy your thoughts at all times, even in your hours
 “ of sickness. Ask those who remember my brother’s
 “ reign: his state of health was much more infirm
 “ than yours; he could not manage a horse of never
 “ so little mettle, nor hardly mount him; yet he loved
 “ horses, and perhaps there never will be in the coun-
 “ try finer stables than his. Hence you see, that suc-
 “ cess does not always depend upon personal labour,
 “ but upon the inclination. If you think that there
 “ are princes, whose affairs fail not to succeed, tho’
 “ they go not to the war in person, you are in the
 “ right; but if they go not to the field of battle, they
 “ have however an inclination to go, and are acquaint-
 “ ed with the military art. For instance, the late king
 “ of *France* did not always take the field himself; but
 “ we know to what degree he was a lover of war, and
 “ how many glorious exploits he performed therein;
 “ which made his campaigns be called the theatre
 “ and school of the world. The bent of that prince’s
 “ mind was not turned to military affairs only; he had
 “ also a taste for the polite arts, for manufactures, and
 “ other institutions, which have made his kingdom
 “ more flourishing than any other. After all these
 “ remonstrances which I have laid before you, I return
 “ to my first subject, which immediately concerns
 “ yourself. I am a man, and consequently must die:
 “ to whom shall I leave the care of finishing what by
 “ God’s grace I have begun, and of preserving what
 “ I have in part recovered? To a son who, like that
 “ slothful servant in the gospel, buries his talent in the
 “ earth, and neglects to improve what God has com-
 “ mitted to his trust. How often have I reproached
 “ you for your fullness and indolence? I have been
 “ obliged to chastise you on that account. For those
 “ several years past, I have hardly spoke to you, be-
 “ cause I almost despair of bringing you back to the
 “ right way; discouraged and disheartened by the
 “ fruitlessness of all my endeavours. You loiter on
 “ in supine indolence; abandoning yourself to shame-
 “ ful pleasures, without extending your foresight to
 “ the dangerous consequences which such a conduct
 “ must produce both to yourself and the whole state:
 “ you confine yourself to the government of your own
 “ house, and in that station you acquit yourself very
 “ ill. *St. Paul* has told us, *he that knows not how to*
 “ *govern his own house, how shall he be able to rule the*
 “ *church of God?* In like manner I say to you, since
 “ you know not how to manage your domestick af-
 “ fairs, how can you be able to govern a kingdom?
 “ I am determined, at last, to signify to you my final
 “ purpose; being willing, however, to defer the ex-
 “ ecution of it for a short time, to see if you will re-
 “ form; if not, know that I am resolved to deprive
 “ you of the succession, as I would lop off an useless
 “ branch. Do not imagine, that because I have no
 “ other child but you (1), I mean by this only to in-
 “ timidate you: I will most certainly execute my reso-
 “ lution; and God requires it of me. For, since I
 “ spare not my own life for the sake of my country
 “ and the welfare of my people, why should I allow
 “ an effeminate prince to ascend the throne after me,
 “ who would sacrifice the interest of the subjects to his
 “ pleasures? And should he be obliged to expose his

(1) This letter was written about eight days before the birth of *Peter Petrowitz*, the czar’s second son.

THE czarowitz answered: I communicated the letters I received from your majesty after the interment of my wife, to *Alexander Kikin* and *Nicephorus Wasenski*, and consulted both of them in particular. It is possible they might confer with each other; but they were consulted separately. They advised me to renounce the succession; and even to demand a discharge from it, on account of my bad health. I was also desirous of so doing myself: and therefore wrote sincerely, without artifice or disguise. For why should I take a burthen upon me that I am not able to bear? They also advised me to retire into a convent as the surest way of avoiding the succession, and to inform you of such my intention; even though, as I have already declared, I should have no design to put it in execution: but as you had given me time to consider of it, I was in hopes by that means to delay it. Not long after your departure from *Petersburg*, *Alexis Kikin* took a journey to *Carlsbad* with an intention to seek a place for me, of which I expected to have notice from him, as I was then meditating my escape. Before I sent my answer to your majesty, I was with prince *Basil Nolodimerowitz Dolgorucki* and count *Frederick Matucwitz Apraxin*, whom I desired, whenever your majesty spoke to them concerning me, to persuade you to deprive me of the succession, and suffer me to spend the rest of my days in privacy and retirement; and they both promised me they would. When I had sent the letter, prince *Basil* came to me in your majesty's name, and desired me to shew him what I had written: I accordingly read it to him, and he answered, "I have spoken of you to your father, and "I believe he will deprive you of the succession, for he seems satisfied with the letter." I do not remember whether ever I shewed the letter to *Frederick Matucwitz*; but I wrote it in concert with *Kikin* and *Nicephorus*, and sent them copies of it, sealed up by *Basil Barikoff*; because, as *Kikin* lived at a distance, I had not always an opportunity of

"life in their behalf, would leave them to perish, rather than redress their grievances. I will call in a mere stranger to the crown, if he be but worthy of that honour, sooner than my own son, if he is unworthy."

PETER."

To this letter the czarowitz replied: "Most gracious sovereign and father, I have read the letter which your majesty sent me of the 27th of October, 1715, after the interment of my wife; and all the answer I can make to it is, that if your majesty is determined to deprive me of the succession to the crown of *Russia*, on account of my inability, your will be done. I even request it of you very earnestly; because I judge not myself fit for government. My memory is greatly impaired; and without memory there is no possibility of managing affairs. The powers both of my body and mind are much weakened by the diseases to which I have been incident, and I am thereby incapacitated for the rule of so great a people. Such a charge requires a man far more vigorous than I am. For these reasons, I am not ambitious to succeed you (whom God preserve through a length of years) in the crown of *Russia*, even though I had no brother, as I have one at present, whom I pray God to preserve. As little will I for the future set up any claim to the succession; to the truth of which I solemnly swear, taking God to be my witness; and in testimony thereof I write and sign these presents. I put my children into your hands; and for myself I ask no more of you than a bare maintenance during my life, leaving the whole to your pleasure."

Your humble servant,

"and son, ALEXIS."

Peter soon penetrated through the disguise his son had assumed; and therefore on the 19th of January 1716, he wrote him the following letter, which he intitled his *last admonition*; and in which, as well as the former, we with pleasure observe the commendable usage of making pertinent applications from the Sacred Writings. "My sickness has hindered me till now from answering yours, and explaining to you my final intention. You speak of the succession, as if I stood in need of your consent in the disposal thereof. I reproached you with the aversion you had to business, and signified to you that I was highly dissatisfied with your conduct in general: but as to these particulars, you have given me no answer. Your silence is a declaration that you have no mind to reform, and that my paternal exhorta-

tions make no impression upon you: wherefore I resolve to write to you this once, for the last time. If you despise the advices I give you while I am alive, what regard will you pay to them after my death? *David* has said, *Every man is a liar*: but though you had the inclination at present to be true to your promises, yet a corrupt priesthood will be able to turn you at pleasure, and force you to falsify them. As they are at present deprived of those places of honour, of which they have rendered themselves unworthy by their lewdness and immorality, they have no dependence but upon you; and the warm side which you shew to them already, makes them hope that you will one day alter their condition for the better. Have you ever weighed the obligations which you owe to me, as your father, who have given you your being, and neglected nothing for your education? Have you shared with him the pains and anxieties which he has endured for you since you arrived at the age of maturity? You censure and condemn most laudable actions, the sole aim of which is the good of my people, undertaken at the expence of my health: whence I have ground to conclude, that, instead of watching for their preservation, you will be their destroyer, if you survive me. It is my duty to prevent this calamity, by obliging you to form other sentiments; since I cannot bear that you should live like an amphibious animal, that is neither fish nor flesh; for I cannot otherwise define the kind of life which you lead. Take your choice; either endeavour to make yourself worthy of the throne, or embrace a monastic state. My health begins to decay: wherefore I am impatient to know your resolution. I expect your answer, either in writing or by word of mouth; and if you afford me no satisfaction in these points, I will shew you no regard, but treat you as a common malefactor."

PETER."

To this the czarowitz returned an answer in the following terms:

"Most gracious sovereign and father, Yesterday morning I received your letter of the 19th of this month. My indisposition hinders me from writing to you at large; but I am willing to embrace the monastic state, and I beg your gracious consent thereunto."

"Your servant, and unworthy son,
"ALEXIS."

conversing

a conversing with him; besides that, he informed me there were spies from your court to observe who came to visit me. As to *Barikoff*, I cannot say whether he knew the purport of the letters he carried: at least I never told him; but ordered him to carry them privately to *Kikin*, who, after he had corrected, always returned them. I also consulted with *Kikin* and *Nicephorus* upon my second letter to your majesty; but without sending it to them, (so far as I remember), because the time was short. I only know, that, before I wrote the letter, *Kikin* came to me, and advised me to retire into a convent, as did likewise *Nicephorus*, saying, "If there is no other expedient, send for your confessor, and tell him, that you are forced to retire into a monastery; and let him tell this to the arch-
b bishop of *Resan*, that it may not be thought you are shaven for any crime." Accord-
b ingly I followed their advice; and having spoken to my confessor *George*, arch-priest of the cathedral, he assured me that he would tell the archbishop of it at a proper time. I afterwards asked him whether he had performed his promise, and he answered me, No; whereupon I desired him not to mention it at all. I know not what view *Nicephorus* had in advising me to act in this manner; but the confessor knew nothing of my conferences with *Kikin*, nor did I ever enter into any deliberations with him. After sending this second letter, I wrote one to my confessor *James*, and another to *John Kikin*, informing them that I was going to be forced into a convent, and desired them to give the person who carried the letter a certain sum of money out of what they had of mine in their hands: I do not remember the sum, but I said to the girl who waited on me, and whom I sent with the letters, "If I die, (for I was then sick) carry my two letters to the persons they
c "are directed to, and they will give you some money." She kept these letters in a small cabinet; but knew nothing of those I received from your majesty, or of my answers to them. When I made my escape, I took this girl with me by artifice, telling her I was only going to *Riga*, and having carried her farther, made her believe, as I did the rest of my attendants, that I had orders to go to *Vienna* to form an alliance against the *Ottoman Porte*, and that I was obliged to travel privately, lest the *Turks* should have notice of my design. Lastly, those who had any farther knowledge of my aforesaid letter to your ma-
jesty, were the princes *Uriga*, *Yuriewitz*, and *Truebeskoi*, and the czarowitz of *Siberia*: but they never saw the letter itself. Prince *Truebeskoi* asked me about three weeks after, "What
d "letter was that your father gave you when I was present? Were the contents good or "bad?" Whereupon I told him the substance of it, and of my answer. "You do well," said he, "not to lay claim to the succession: there are crosses and afflictions in the midst
"of grandeur and riches." The *Siberian*, asked me, "What letters were those which
"Makaroff brought you? we all know the contents of them." I owned it to him, and gave him a sum of money to pay my mistress for her subsistence when I should retire into the convent; but took it from him again a few days after. The persons who knew of this were, *Nicephorus Wafenski*, *John Affonassief*, and the confessor *George*: But I do not remember that I ever mentioned the letters to the confessor: at least he knew nothing of my escape.

e *Quest. II.* Did they not in their discourse, during my great illness at *Petersburg*, express an earnest desire to join with you in case I should die?

Ans. I never heard any body speak upon that subject whilst you was ill.

Quest. III. How long is it since you formed the project of your escape, and with whom did you concert it? for as you acted so suddenly in this affair, it may be presumed to have been premeditated a long time. Declare openly the whole matter, with whom, and in what place, whether by word of mouth, or letter, or what other channel. Farther, by whose counsel did you write the aforesaid fraudulent letter by the way? who assisted you in it, and for what reason did you write it? and have you not wrote besides to some other person during your absence?

f *Ans.* I have frequently and at different times discoursed with the said *Kikin*, and especially before I received your letters, and returned my answer to them. The purport of our discourse was, that if I once arrived in any foreign country, wheresoever it was, I should continue there to live at ease, and be absent from business: I was not however very hasty in executing this project; but when I set out from *Carlsbad*, *Kikin* said to me, "When
"you are recovered, write to your father, and tell him you are still to take medicines till
"the spring: then you may go into *Holland*, after that into *Italy*, and thus you may con-
"tinue absent two or three years." From *Carlsbad* I wrote to him, to know whether I should proceed in the manner we had agreed upon; and he made me this answer, "How
"can you do it without your father's permission? you have cause to fear lest he should be
"angry: write to him, and ask his leave: but do not forget your own business." I could
g not understand what he meant by these words; and when I had changed my resolution of going into *Holland*, and was come back to *Petersburg*, I found he had been condemned

to banishment ; but as he was not under any arrest, I had an opportunity of discoursing with him ; when he asked me if any person had been with me from the court of *France* ? I answered, No. He then told me, I was much in the wrong not to have held a correspondence with that court, and retired thither ; for that the king of *France* was a prince of great soul, and would willingly have protected me. I asked him what he meant by those words in his letter, “ Do not forget your own business ? ” To which he answered, “ I meant that you should have retired into *France*, but durst not write plainly to you, and “ you might have guessed at my meaning.” As to my actual escape, I never consulted with any body about it ; but having received your letter from *Copenhagen*, and finding I was at liberty to leave *Russia*, I formed a resolution in consequence of the above-mentioned discourse with *Kikin*, of retiring either to the emperor or to the republic of *Venice*, or *Switzerland*, but never communicated my design to any body ; any farther than informing the elder *Affonassief*, that I was determined to fly to one of these places, without saying which of them. “ I never before had any conversation with them upon this subject, nor was “ there ever any consultation held concerning it. None of my domesticks had the least “ notice of my escape, except those I have before named.” When I met *Kikin* at *Libau*, I asked him, whether he had found me out a place. To which he answered, “ Yes, I would “ have you go to *Vienna* to the emperor, he will not deliver you up.” I then asked him what I should do if any body was sent to meet me at *Dantzick* or *Konigsberg* ? “ Escape,” said he, “ alone, by night ; or at least take but one servant with you ; let what will be “ come of the baggage and the rest : but if they should send two persons to you, feign “ yourself sick, and make one of them go before, whilst you escape with the other.” As to the fraudulent letter, it was, by *Kikin*’s advice, written from *Libau*, and dated from *Konigsberg*, that it might not be suspected he had any hand in it ; for I saw him there publicly : it was given to prince *Chakofski*, captain in the regiment of *Semenow*, with orders to send it by the post : but he knew nothing of my affairs ; and the design of writing this letter was, to prevent any person from being sent after me. By *Kikin*’s advice, I wrote a letter to *John Affonassief*, desiring him to follow me, having left information with the postmaster of *Dantzick* whither he should come. The reason of my writing this letter was upon *Kikin*’s persuasions, that if *Affonassief* removed from *Petersburg*, the matter could not be discovered, since nobody was privy to my intended escape but them two. I do not remember the name of the place where I directed *Affonassief* to join me ; but *Kikin* proposed my desiring him to shew the letter to prince *Menzikoff*, by which means no information could be made against himself. He farther prevailed upon me to write a letter of thanks to prince *Basil* for his kindness, which he undertook to deliver ; but I do not know whether he did or not. Before my departure, prince *Menzikoff* asked me, where I would leave my mistress ? To which I answered, that I intended taking her with me as far as *Riga*, and then to send her back : but he told me I had much better take her with me : and such indeed was my real intention ; but I did not even acquaint her with it, that not the least hint of my design might transpire. After this, I took leave of *Kikin*, who desired me to inform both him and *Affonassief* how I proceeded on my journey, saying no more than that I had safely passed *Dantzick* without danger from the confederates. I accordingly wrote to both of them in that manner, from *Stargard* ; and to remove all suspicion, I also wrote to others in the same terms, particularly to *Nicephorus Wasenski*, *Theodore Dubrofski*, the czarowitz of *Siberia*, and *Nariskin* ; though none of them knew of my flight, but *Kikin* and *Affonassief*. These letters were sent to prince *Galitzin* at *Riga*, that he might forward them to *Petersburg* : but I know not whether they were received, because nobody wrote to me in answer to them. After these, I wrote no more letters to *Russia*, except from *Courland* and *Livonia* about some private affairs, and to *Dubrofski* concerning certain books and other moveables of mine in his custody. I recollect that *Kikin* farther said to me, “ If your “ father sends any one to persuade you to return, do not comply : he will cause you to be “ beheaded.” Upon which I told him, I was glad he had found out a place for me ; and asked him how I should have got off if my father had not ordered me to come to him ? To which he replied, “ You should have offered to go to him of your own accord, and “ by that means you might have escaped.”

Quest. IV. Did you receive any letters during your absence, or hold correspondence with any person directly or indirectly ? or have you conversed in any, and what other manner ? Had you no news at all from *Russia* ? or did you know any thing of public affairs, so far as related to you and me ?

Answ. Whilst I was upon the road in my flight, I had no news of public or other affairs in *Russia*, either in writing or by word of mouth, directly or indirectly, except advice from count *Schonben* at *Ekrenberg*, that as intimation had been given of my being amongst them, I ought to lie private and concealed ; and at another time, when *Weselowski* spoke of me

a at *Vienna*. I cannot call to mind to which of these two letters there was subjoined a copy of another from *Bleyer*, importing, that certain enquiries had been made among my domesticks concerning my departure, and that there was a mutiny in the army of *Mecklenberg*, particularly in the regiment of guards, which was chiefly composed of nobility, who had formed a design against the czar's life, and talked of sending the czarina and her son to the place where the old czarina was, in order to bring her to *Moscow*, and place her son upon the throne, when he should be found, it not being known what was become of him. This letter was left behind with my other papers. I also received another letter from count *Schonben* upon the subject of my journey from *Naples*. I never wrote to any person in cyphers during my absence; nor did I ever receive any news, except what I have now mentioned, and the printed gazettes.

b *Quest. V.* When, where, and why, was the *Greek* priest with you?

Ans. There was no *Greek* priest with me at any time since my departure from *Petersburg*, till the arrival of messieurs *Tolstoy* and *Romanzow* at *Naples*.

Quest. VI. Discover, at least, the substance of a letter which the imperialists forced you to write upon this occasion, if you cannot repeat it verbatim; and who obliged you to write it, when, and where? who of your followers had any knowledge of it? to whom did you deliver it? did you take any minutes of it, and did the imperialists compel you to write it or no?

Ans. The secretary of count *Schonben*, whose name was *Kiel*, when I was conducted to *Naples*, forced me to write letters to the senate and the archbishops, saying, it was highly necessary that I should write to them, because it had been reported by some that I was dead, and by others that I was taken and carried to *Siberia*: accordingly I wrote to the senate, and the two archbishops of *Rostou* and *Konditz*, to the following effect: "I believe that you and every one else have been much surprized at my departure, unknown to all the world. The ill treatment I have received, even to the design of being confined in a convent, has obliged me to it: but God has procured me the opportunity of retiring at a distance. I am under the protection of an eminent person," for I was not permitted to name him, "till it shall please God to recall me. In the mean time I beg of you not to forget me, and if any of those who are desirous of wiping me out of the memory of men, should report that I am dead, or raise any other injurious rumour concerning me, give no credit to it, and disabuse others; for I both live and am in good health, thanks be to God and my benefactors who protect me, and who have also promised not to forsake, but to assist me in all my necessities. I am, whilst I live, full of good wishes for you and the whole country." This I think was the substance of the letter, but I do not exactly remember it word for word; for as they would not suffer me to take a copy of it, I have only the letter as I began to write it; but it was finished on another paper. When I had done writing it, I gave it to the secretary, who said he was going to *Vienna*, and I was sent to the castle of *St. Elme*. Upon my arrival at *Vienna*, I addressed myself to count *Schonben*, to demand protection: he said, he would go to the emperor and know his will; but desired me in the mean time to take care that *Weselowski* did not see me. Upon his return, he told me, that the emperor was not yet come to any resolution, but had desired him to confer with prince *Eugene* and count *Staremberg* upon this subject. It was afterwards resolved to protect and send me to some fortress: the count assuring me, that the emperor would not forsake me, and whenever there should be occasion, would assist me in the recovery of the throne by force of arms. I told him, I did not ask so much, but only that the emperor would grant me his protection.

Quest. VII. Declare to us, and discover whatever hath any relation to this affair, tho' it be not here expressed, and clear yourself as if it were at confession; for if you conceal any thing that shall by any other means be afterwards discovered, do not impute the consequence to me, since you have been already told, that in such case the pardon granted you should be null and void.

Ans. I will tell every thing that has any relation to this affair. At my departure from *Petersburg*, Prince *Menzikoff* gave me a thousand ducats; and when I took my leave of the senators, they gave me two thousand rubles; I also borrowed of *Ilia Isaiew* five thousand ducats in specie, and two thousand in current silver. But neither prince *Menzikoff*, the senators, or *Ilia Isaiew*, knew any thing of my escape, as I told them I was going to *Copenhagen* to attend you; and upon that supposition they gave me the money. What I farther heard at different times, and from different persons, which may be material to mention, is as follows: I have heard the czarowitz of *Siberia* say, "Michael Samarin has told me, that in a little time things will be changed with you. Do not forget me when you are in your prosperity; for all that Samarin says comes to pass." The czarowitz also told me, in *March* 1716, that on the first of *April* there would be a change: and when I asked

I asked him what change ? he said, " Either the czar will die, or *Petersburg* be overthrown; " for I have seen it in a dream." When the time was elapsed, I asked him why nothing had happened ! He said, " It may fall out some years hence on that day : I did not say " it would be this year ; but only take notice of the first of *April* : as to the year I know " nothing of it." When *Nicephorus Wafenski* came from *Moscow* to *Thorn*, he told me he had heard *Alexander Sergief* say, that " the czar would not live above five years ;" and when I was in the neighbourhood of *Stetin*, prince *Basil Dolgorucki* said to me, " If the " czarina was not with the czar, we could not live for the severity of his temper ; and " that he would be the first to betray him at *Stetin*."

NOTWITHSTANDING the important condition upon which this confession was made, it was far from being sincere ; as it appeared from the papers of the czarowitz which had been seized, and from the examination of several of his accomplices, that he had omitted many things of great consequence, and actually formed a design of usurping the throne even in his father's life-time. It must be observed, that this unhappy prince and his father were by no means formed for living together : the one was of a prodigious enterprising genius, and sought nothing but the glory and grandeur of his empire ; the other was absorbed in effeminacy, and terminated all his wishes in voluptuous enjoyments. The czar finding all his efforts of reformation fruitless and ineffectual, began to look upon his son as an enemy, who would absolutely destroy the power and elevation of the empire, and defeat the intent of all his industry and labour ; and the czarowitz, on the other hand, seeing it impossible to pursue his manner of life, without the greatest opposition from such a father, imbibed the most unfavourable sentiments of him. These two great personages being thus at variance, would gladly have got rid of each other. The father, in whose hands the power was, thought himself justified in the exercise of it, and sought only to save the appearances of humanity under the colour of justice.

The trial of
the czaro-
witz.

To this purpose he established a high court of justice for the trial of his son, which being opened on the 13th of *June*, 1718, the czar addressed himself to the assembly in the following manner : " Though the flight of the czarowitz *Alexis*, and a part of his crimes, be " already known to the world by the manifesto published at *Moscow*, on the third of *Fe-* " *bruary* ; yet there are now discovered such unexpected and surprising attempts, as plainly " shew with what baseness and villainy he endeavoured to impose upon us his sovereign and " father, and what grievous perjuries he hath committed against Almighty God, to pre- " vent an enquiry into his bad practices, or a discovery of his pernicious intrigues ; all " which shall now be laid open before you, with perspicuity and order." Accordingly the several letters from the czar to the czarowitz, and his answers to them, his several confessions, and the examinations of divers persons who were his accomplices, having been read to the court, the czar thus resumed his speech : " You have now heard a very ample " narrative of the almost unprecedented crimes whereof my son is guilty, and which he has " committed against his father and sovereign : though, according to all laws, civil and " divine, and especially those of this empire, which grant an absolute jurisdiction to fathers " over their children, (even fathers in private life,) we have a full and unlimited power " to judge our son for his crimes according to our pleasure, without asking the advice " of any person whatsoever ; yet, as men are more liable to prejudice and partiality in " their own affairs, than in those of others, and as the most eminent and expert physi- " cians rely not on their own judgment concerning themselves, but call in the advice and " assistance of others ; so we, under the fear of God, and an awful dread of offending him, " in like manner make known our disease, and apply to you for a cure ; being apprehen- " sive of eternal death, if, ignorant perhaps of the nature of our distemper, we should " attempt to cure ourselves ; and the rather, as in a solemn appeal to Almighty God, I " have signed, sworn, and confirmed a promise of pardon to my son, in case he should " declare to me the truth. And tho' he has violated this promise by concealing the most " important circumstances of his rebellious designs against us ; yet that we may not in any " thing swerve from our obligations, we pray you to consider this affair with seriousness " and attention, and report what punishment he deserves, without favour or partiality " either to him or me ; for should you apprehend that he deserves but a slight punishment, " it will be disagreeable to me. I swear to you by the great God and his judgments, that " you have nothing to fear on this head. Neither let the reflection of your being to pass " sentence upon the son of your prince have any influence on you, but administer justice " without respect of persons, and destroy not your own souls and mine too by doing any " thing which may injure our country, or upbraid our consciences in the great and terri- " ble day of judgment." The czar afterwards addressed himself to the clergy who were assembled at *Petersburg* on this occasion, to the same purpose as he had harangued the senators ; adding, " Tho' his affairs fall not within the verge of the spiritual, but of the civil " jurif-

- a “ jurisdiction, and we have this day referred it to the impartial decision of the secular
 “ court; yet remembering that passage in the word of God, which requires us on such
 “ occasions to consult the priests and elders of the church, in order to know the will of
 “ heaven, and being desirous of receiving all possible instruction in a matter of such im-
 “ portance; we desire of you, the archbishops, and the whole ecclesiastical estate, as
 “ teachers of the word of God, not to pronounce judgment in this case, but to examine
 “ and give us your opinions concerning it according to the sacred oracles, from whence
 “ we may be best informed what punishment my son deserves; and that you will give it
 “ us in writing under your hands; that being properly instructed herein, we may lay no
 “ burthen upon our conscience. We therefore repose our confidence in you, that, as
 b “ guardians of the divine laws, as faithful pastors of the Christian flock, and as well
 “ affected towards your country, you will act suitable to your dignity; conjuring you by
 “ that dignity, and the holiness of your function, to proceed without fear or dissimu-
 “ lation.”

In consequence of these declarations, both the ecclesiastical and secular assemblies pro-
 ceeded in this great business; the one to search the scriptures of the *Old and New Testament*,
 the constitution of the empire, and the military laws, for pertinent authorities that might
 be applied to the present case, in order to judge what pains and penalties the czarowitz
 had deserved; and the other, to examine the legal evidence which arose against him from
 his own confession, and the depositions that had been taken in the course of this affair.

- c Accordingly, the clergy, a few days after, laid before the senate several extracts from the
 holy scriptures, and the particular laws and constitutions of the empire (A), which being
 duly considered, they, on the 24th of *June*, pronounced the following sentence:

- “ By virtue of an express ordinance issued by his czarish majesty, and signed with his
 “ own hand, on the thirteenth of *June*, for the judgment of the czarowitz *Alexis*
 “ *Petrowitz*, in relation to his crimes and transgressions against his father and sove-
 “ reign; the undernamed ministers, senators, estates military and civil, after having
 “ assembled several times in the regency chamber of the senate of *Petersburg*, and having
 “ heard read the original writings and testimonies given against the czarowitz, as
 “ also his majesty’s admonitory letters to that prince, and his answers to them in his
 d “ own hand-writing, and other acts relating to the process; and likewise the criminal
 “ informations, declarations, and confessions of the czarowitz, partly written with his own
 “ hand, and partly delivered by word of mouth to his father and sovereign, before the
 “ several persons under-named, constituted by his czarish majesty’s authority to the effect
 “ of the present judgment; do acknowledge and declare, that, though according to the
 “ laws of the *Russian* empire, it belongs not to them, the natural subjects of his czarish
 “ majesty’s sovereign dominion, to take cognizance of an affair of this nature, which
 “ for its importance depends solely on the absolute will of the sovereign, whose power,
 “ unlimited by any law, is derived from God alone; yet, in submission to his ordinance
 “ who hath given them this liberty, and after mature reflection, observing the dictates of
 e “ their consciences without fear, flattery, or respect of persons, having nothing before
 “ their eyes but the divine laws applicable to the present case, the canons and rules of
 “ councils, the authority of the holy fathers and doctors of the church; and taking also
 “ for their rule the instructions of the archbishops and clergy assembled at *Petersburg* on
 “ this occasion, and conforming themselves to the laws and constitutions of this empire,
 “ which are agreeable to those of other nations, especially the *Greeks* and *Romans* and
 “ other Christian princes; they have unanimously agreed and pronounced the czarowitz
 “ *Alexis Petrowitz* to be worthy of death for his afore said crimes, and capital transgressions

*Sentence pro-
 nounced a-
 gainst him.*

(C) The particular passages in holy writ cited on
 this occasion were, *Levit.* xx. 1, 9, *Deut.* xxxi. *Matt.*
 xx. 1. *Mark* vii. 9. *Rom.* i. 28. *Ephes.* vi. 1. Those
 from the constitutions of the empire were as follows;
 “ If any person, by any ill design, forms any attempt
 “ against the health of the czar, or does any thing to
 “ his prejudice, and is found inclined to execute his
 “ pernicious designs; let him be put to death, after he
 “ is convicted thereof.” *Stat.* i. “ In like manner,
 “ if any one, during the reign of his *Czarian* majesty
 “ through a desire to reign in the empire of *Russia*,
 “ and put the czar to death, shall begin to raise troops
 “ with this pernicious view; or if any one shall form
 “ an alliance with the enemies of his *Czarian* majesty,
 “ or hold a correspondence with them, or assist them,
 “ to arrive at the government, or raise any other dis-
 “ order; if any one declares it, and the truth be
 “ found out upon such declaration, let the traitor suf-
 “ fer death upon conviction of the treason.” *Stat.* ii.

From the military laws the following citations were
 made, chap. 3. art. 19. “ If any subject raises men,
 “ or takes up arms against his *Czarian* majesty; or if
 “ any person forms a design of taking his majesty pri-
 “ soner, or killing him; or if he offers any violence
 “ to him; he and all his abettors and adherents shall
 “ be quartered, as guilty of treason, and their goods
 “ confiscated.” To which article the following ex-
 planation was added; “ They also shall suffer the
 “ same punishment, who, though they have not been
 “ able to execute their crime, shall be convicted of in-
 “ clination and desire to commit it; and likewise,
 “ those who shall not have discovered it when it came
 “ to their knowledge.” Chap. 26. art. 37. “ He
 “ who forms a design of committing any treason, or
 “ any other matter of the like nature, shall be punished
 “ with the same capital punishments as if he had ac-
 “ tually executed his design.”

“ against his sovereign and father, he being his czarish majesty’s son and subject : And
 “ that, notwithstanding the promise given by his czarish majesty to the czarowitz, in a
 “ letter sent by M. Tolstoy and captain Romanzoff, dated from *Spaw*, the 10th of *July*,
 “ 1717, to pardon his elopement if he voluntarily returned ; yet he hath forfeited and
 “ rendered himself unworthy of that pardon, by renewing and continuing his former
 “ transgressions, as is fully set forth in his majesty’s manifesto of the third of *February* in
 “ this present year. And altho’ his majesty did, upon the arrival of the czarowitz at
 “ *Moscow*, and his humbly confessing his crimes, and asking pardon for them, take pity
 “ on him, and promise him pardon if he would declare without reserve or restriction all
 “ his designs, and who were his advisers and accomplices ; yet the answers and confessions
 “ of the czarowitz were delivered without any sincerity ; he not only concealing many of
 “ his accomplices, but also capital circumstances relating to his own transgressions ; par-
 “ ticularly his rebellious design of usurping the throne even in the life-time of his father ;
 “ flattering himself that the populace would declare in his favour : all which hath since
 “ been fully discovered by the informations taken in the criminal process. Thus it is
 “ evident, from the whole conduct of the czarowitz, that he was not disposed to wait till
 “ the succession should come to him according to equity, and the order of nature which
 “ God has established ; but intended to take the crown off the head of his father, while
 “ living, and set it upon his own, not only by a civil insurrection, but by the assistance of
 “ a foreign army, which he had actually requested. The czarowitz has hereby rendered
 “ himself unworthy of the clemency and pardon promised him by the emperor his fa-
 “ ther ; and since the laws divine and ecclesiastical, civil and military, condemn to death
 “ without mercy, not only those whose attempts against their father and sovereign have
 “ been proved by testimonies and writings ; but even such as have been convicted of an in-
 “ tention to rebel, and of having formed a base design to kill their sovereign, and usurp the
 “ throne ; what shall we think of a rebellious design, almost unparalleled in history, joined
 “ to that of a horrid parricide, against him who was his father in a double capacity ; a
 “ father of great lenity and indulgence, who brought up the czarowitz from the cradle
 “ with more than paternal care and tenderness ; who earnestly endeavoured to form him
 “ for government, and with incredible pains, and indefatigable application, to instruct
 “ him in the military art, and qualify him to succeed to so great an empire : with how
 “ much stronger reason does such a design deserve to be punished with death. It is
 “ therefore with hearts full of affliction, and eyes streaming with tears, that we, as
 “ subjects and servants, pronounce this sentence ; considering that it belongs not to us to
 “ give judgment in a case of so great importance, and especially to pronounce sentence
 “ against the son of our most precious sovereign lord the czar. Nevertheless, it being his
 “ pleasure that we should act in this capacity, we, by these presents, declare our real
 “ opinion, and pronounce this sentence of condemnation with a pure and christian con-
 “ science, as we hope to be able to answer for it at the just, awful, and impartial tribunal
 “ of Almighty God. We submit, however, this sentence, which we now pass, to the
 “ sovereign power, the will, and merciful revival of his czarish majesty, our most merciful
 “ sovereign.”

This sentence was signed by all the members of the court, to the number of an hun-
 dred and eighty ; and on the sixth of *July* it was read to the czarowitz. The next day,
 early in the morning, advice was brought to the czar, that the violent agitation of the
 czarowitz’s mind, joined to the terrors of approaching death, had thrown him into violent
 convulsions : about noon another messenger arrived, with an account, that the prince’s life
 was in great danger ; and a few hours afterwards a third came to inform the czar, that
 the prince being past all hopes of surviving the evening, earnestly desired to see him.
 Hereupon the czar, with some of his principal courtiers, repaired to the fortress where the
 czarowitz was confined. The prince, upon sight of his father, burst into tears, and ear-
 nestly besought him to remove the curse he had laid upon him at *Moscow*, to forgive him
 all his heavy crimes, to impart to him his paternal blessing, and to cause prayers to be put up
 for his departing soul. The czar returned a very pathetic answer ; and, after representing
 to him in few words the heinousness of his crimes, he pardoned and blessed him in so
 moving a manner, that the whole company melted into tears. About five in the evening,
 a fourth messenger was sent to the czar, to inform him, that the prince begged to see
 him once more ; but just as the czar was upon the point of complying with this last request,
 another messenger arrived, with advice that the prince was dead.

THOUGH it may be reasonably imagined that the czar was but moderately afflicted at
 this event, considering the insupportable load of anguish which must have wrung his soul
 every time he reflected on the unworthiness of his successor ; yet he was not wanting in
 performing his funeral obsequies with due pomp and solemnity. He ordered the body to lie

a in state two days in the church of the Holy Trinity, from whence it was removed to the new church in the citadel, and interred in the imperial tomb there; the czar and the czarina, with all their court, and the principal nobility of the empire, being present at the funeral.

b THE sudden death of this unhappy prince occasioned much speculation, and various reports were spread concerning it; some affirming that the czar sent him a poisonous draught, and strictly charged the person who carried it, to see that it was taken; while others went still further, said that the czar obliged him to read his own sentence in open court, and that the paper being poisoned, the fumes ascended to his brain and occasioned his death: but surely the great caution with which he proceeded in this affair, the many instances of his paternal affection to him, even when he was fully acquainted with his horrid intentions, and his behaviour at the last interview but a few hours before his death, are sufficient to clear the czar from any such odious imputations. He judged it necessary, however, to vindicate his character from so vile an aspersion, and therefore caused circular letters to be wrote to several courts of *Europe*, setting forth his reasons for commencing this criminal prosecution against his son, the several proceedings therein, and the particular circumstances relating to the prince's death, in nearly the same manner as we have related.

Various opinions concerning his death.

c As to those accomplices whom the czarowitz had named, they, being arrested and put to the torture, accused others; these again informed against more, so that great numbers of almost every rank, age, and sex, were found guilty, and abandoned to the utmost severity of the law; some were beheaded, some hanged, some impaled, some broke upon the wheel, others punished with the knout, a great many banished into *Siberia*, and a few imprisoned for life, among whom were the mother of the unfortunate prince, and the czar's own sister the princess *Mary*; both of whom being convicted of having a hand in this iniquitous affair, the former was shut up in a convent upon the borders of the lake *Ladoga*, and the other confined in the castle of *Schüßelburg*.

The czarowitz's accomplices punished.

d THIS important affair, and the business of the grand inquisition concerning the intestine disorders of the government being finished, the czar had leisure to turn his thoughts to foreign affairs, and to attend to the conferences which were opened between his ministers and those of *Sweden*, in the isle of *Oeland*. The subject of these conferences was a peace between the two powers. Each party seemed to entertain the most sanguine expectations from the conclusion of it; baron *Goertz*, the *Swedish* minister, flattering the czar with the hopes of keeping all the conquests he had made during the war, and at the same time persuading the king his master to consent to such a cession, in consideration of the succours with which the czar was to furnish him, whereby he would be able to re-establish *Stanislaus* on the throne of *Poland*, and to recover from the kings of *Great Britain* and *Denmark* what they had taken from him.

A conference opened at Oeland.

e IN order to influence this important negotiation, the czar sailed with his fleet to *Abo*, that he might the more expeditiously furnish his ministers with necessary instructions; but when the finishing stroke was ready to be put to it, the hopes of both parties were totally blasted by the death of the king of *Sweden*, which happened in the night between the twenty-ninth and the thirtieth of *November*, 1718, by a shot from a battery in the town of *Frederickshall* in *Norway*. This sudden and unexpected event quite changed the face of affairs in the North; baron *Goertz* was arrested as he was going to join his master at the siege of *Frederickshall*, and having drawn upon himself the hatred of the whole *Swedish* nation, by the pernicious counsel he had given the king, and the haughty and imperious manner in which he had treated the nobility, he fell a sacrifice to their resentment, and was soon afterwards beheaded by the hands of the common hangman.

Death of the king of Sweden.

f BY the death of this minister, the czar saw all his projects of peace, and the cession of those places he had conquered, entirely defeated and overthrown, unless the *Swedish* nation, intimidated by the prospect of continuing a war which had already been too long and bloody, should consent to receive such terms as he was willing to give them. He therefore signified to *Ulrica*, the new queen of *Sweden*, an earnest desire that the negotiations begun at *Oeland* might go on; and she having appointed baron *Lilienstadt* to supply the place of *Goertz* at the congress, the czar ordered M. *Osterman*, his minister there, to repair to *Petersburg* for fresh instructions.

Its consequences.

g THE czar being soon afterwards informed that a treaty was concluded between the emperor, the king of *Great Britain* as elector of *Hanover*, and the king of *Poland*, was so much offended with the latter of these princes, that he wrote him a very sharp letter, upbraiding him with being guilty of the blackest ingratitude after what he had done to serve and assist him, in endeavouring to incite the emperor of *Germany*, the *Ottoman Porte*, the khan of *Tartary*, and other powers to take up arms against him, and suffering false reports to be spread, that he intended to dismember the duchy of *Courland*, and several other provinces

A. D. 1719. Difference between the czar and the king of Poland.

vinces from the protection of *Poland*. *Augustus* immediately answered this letter, and recri-
minated upon the czar, that he had caused copies of it to be dispersed over the whole king-
dom of *Poland* before the original was delivered, contrary to custom and the nature of true
friendship: he justified that part of his conduct which the czar had condemned, and desired
to be treated by him with more respect, or he should look upon his indecent behaviour as
hostile, and be forced to take notice of it in a proper manner; since nobody could blame
him for endeavouring to maintain his own prerogatives and the rights of his kingdom. He
assured the czar, that the person he had sent to *Constantinople* was not charged with any
public negotiation, but went thither only to purchase necessaries for his household: that he ne-
ver endeavoured to excite the *Ottoman Porte* against him, nor had his ministers in their late
conference at *Warsaw* with the *Tartarian* envoy made any proposals relative to an invasion of
the *Russian* dominions. *Augustus* farther assured the czar, that he never had done, nor ever
would do any thing prejudicial to his interest, or contrary to their mutual friendship, provided
he would on his part reciprocally fulfil all the conditions expressed in the conventions between
them; and particularly if he would restore the provinces of *Courland* and *Livonia*, with-
draw all his troops from *Poland*, make full satisfaction for the injuries which his ministers
had complained of, pay the many millions stipulated by treaties, and which remained un-
paid, restore whatever had been extorted from the city of *Dantzick*, and forbear to excite
any differences or animosities between him and the states of the republic. On these condi-
tions *Augustus* told the czar, that nothing should be dearer or more acceptable to him than
a constant friendship and strict union between them.

The czar de-
serted by his
allies.

Treaty be-
tween Eng-
land and Swe-
den.

THOUGH by this answer of the king of *Poland*, and the engagements he had entered into,
the czar might plainly perceive that the allies had deserted him; yet when M. *Osterman*
returned to the congress at *Oeland* in the month of *April*, it was less to negotiate with
them than to menace the *Swedes*, he being ordered to declare, "That unless they accepted
" the conditions proposed within two months, they must expect a visit from forty thousand
" plenipotentiaries, who would force them to it sword in hand." But the death of
Charles, whose ambitious valour gave too much umbrage to his neighbours, had changed
the dispositions of all the *European* powers with regard to that desolated kingdom: and they
began seriously to deliberate how far it would be consistent with their respective interests, to
permit the czar to over-run *Sweden*, and deprive it of its best provinces. The famous
quadruple alliance was concluded about this time, by which it was expressly stipulated, that
the enemy of any one of the contracting powers should be deemed so to all the rest; for
which reason the court of *France* took great pains to reconcile the king of *Great Britain*
with the queen of *Sweden*, and happily succeeded therein. The Lord *Carteret* was ap-
pointed his *Britannic* majesty's minister at that court: this nobleman arrived at *Stockholm* in
the month of *June*: and having previously adjusted the affairs of commerce and navigation
between the two crowns, he entered into a double treaty with the *Swedish* ministry; the first
containing a renovation of the alliance between *Great Britain* and *Sweden*, and the other
between her *Swedish* majesty and the elector of *Hanover*. By these treaties it was agreed,
that *Bremen* and *Verden* should remain in the hands of the king of *Great Britain*, for a
million of crowns, to be paid upon the ratification; and that in case the northern war
should continue, his *Britannic* majesty should not only pay to *Sweden* an annual subsidy of
three hundred thousand crowns, but act against the czar with his forces, in order to procure
the restitution of the *Swedish* provinces, and the estates of the duke of *Holstein*. The
king of *Prussia* likewise followed the example of *England*; and for the cession of *Stetin* and
its districts, entered into a treaty with the queen of *Sweden* to much the same purport,
engaging himself as soon as possible to procure the peace of the North.

THUS the czar not only saw himself abandoned by his allies, but those very allies acting
in consort with his enemy; who greatly encouraged by this alteration in affairs, paid very
little regard to *Osterman's* menaces at the congress of *Oeland*. The czar, still farther
chagrined by the arrival of an *English* squadron in the road of *Copenhagen*, under the
command of Sir *John Norris*, meditated a descent upon *Sweden*; and while this design was
carrying into execution, he published a laboured manifesto (A), tending to justify his own
conduct,

(A) " We *Peter I. &c.* do hereby make known to
" all, and particularly to the high and low estates, as
" well secular as ecclesiastical, of the kingdom of
" *Sweden*; that altho' it is notorious how long this
" bloody war has lasted between the two crowns of
" *Russia* and *Sweden*, yet we have certain information,
" that not only in the reign of his late royal majesty
" *Charles XII.* of glorious memory, but also in the reign
" of her present royal majesty, it has been insinuated

" to the subjects of *Sweden* as a thing certain, that
" the only cause of the continuance of this war was
" our implacable temper; that we never shewed the
" least inclination to peace, nor would consider
" the propositions made for that purpose on the part
" of *Sweden*; but that our sole design was to over-
" throw that kingdom, or at least to possess ourselves
" of its richest and most valuable provinces. It is
" therefore incumbent on us to wipe off these ground-
less

- a conduct, and to lay the blame of the war wholly upon the *Swedes*; whose queen replied, that the allegations therein contained were entirely groundless, calculated to make impressions upon, and to breed discord and discontents among her subjects, who, she persuaded herself, were fully convinced of her inclinations to procure the safety and repose of her kingdom by a good peace; but that what had hitherto prevented it was, that by the conditions proposed to her, the czar reserved to himself all his conquests except *Finland*, and upon that footing offered to enter into friendship with her, although he himself had first undertaken the war, and even while the negotiations for peace were going on, had burnt and plundered many places, as well before as after the arrival of the plenipotentiary *Osterman*, with a design to depress the courage of her subjects: she therefore left them to judge what they were to expect from the proximity of such a neighbour, who was even then penetrating into the very heart of the kingdom with his furious arms; and whether it
- b

“ less accusations, and to make known to all the
 “ world, by this our manifesto, the innocence of
 “ our intentions, the justice of our cause, and the fin-
 “ cerity of our desires to obtain a peace; and though
 “ we intend not herein to enlarge upon the several
 “ reasons which gave rise to this war, yet we judge it
 “ absolutely necessary to mention them in a succinct
 “ manner. The great number of injuries which we
 “ sustained from the *Swedes* in the last century, were
 “ sufficient of themselves to authorize a rupture with
 “ that crown; yet we never designed to enter into a
 “ war on that account, if we had not been obliged to
 “ it by a new affront offered us in person, and by the
 “ wicked and crafty designs formed against our life
 “ when we passed through the city of *Riga* by count
 “ *d’Alberg*, governor-general of that city, and by the
 “ insolent refusal made by the court of *Sweden* to give
 “ us the satisfaction we demanded on that occasion.
 “ And tho’ the war was afterwards commenced to re-
 “ venge the injury done to us, yet we always signified
 “ our desire of peace with that crown, but never could
 “ obtain any negotiation to be set on foot for that
 “ purpose until last year: when we were informed by
 “ secretary *Preys*, general *Welling*, and baron *Goertz*,
 “ of his *Swedish* majesty’s pacifick inclinations: and
 “ the isle of *Oeland* being proposed as a proper place
 “ for holding the congress, we immediately consented
 “ to it, and disposed our faithful ally the king of
 “ *Prussia* to do the same; and though we also invited
 “ our other allies so to do, we could not per-
 “ suade them to send their ministers to the congress.
 “ Notwithstanding which, we sent thither, in the be-
 “ ginning of the year 1718, our ministers, who, in
 “ the treaty with the *Swedish* plenipotentiaries,
 “ granted such favourable conditions to that crown,
 “ as in spite of his majesty’s known inclination for
 “ war, made such an impression upon him, that a so-
 “ lemn peace would in a short time have been con-
 “ cluded on both sides, and a more strict alliance be-
 “ tween the two crowns, had not the conferences been
 “ interrupted by his fatal death. To set the sincerity
 “ of our intentions in a still clearer light, be it
 “ known, that though we had agreed to no cessation
 “ of arms with his *Swedish* majesty, and were conse-
 “ quently at liberty to carry on the war: and tho’ we
 “ were last summer in a condition to embark with an
 “ army of thirty thousand men, and to land in the
 “ very heart of *Sweden*, for which we had the fairest
 “ opportunity, the *Swedes* having made no prepara-
 “ tions either by sea or land to resist us; yet we wil-
 “ lingly desisted from all such enterprizes, because we
 “ would not give the *Swedish* nation any ground to
 “ say, that under the colour of a negotiation for peace,
 “ we had ruined their kingdom; it being our sincere
 “ intention not only to establish a lasting peace and
 “ amity with that nation, but also to procure them
 “ perpetual advantages in commerce equal to those of
 “ our own nation. And although we had very par-
 “ ticular advice both of the death of his *Swedish* ma-
 “ jesty, and of the disorders occasioned by the election
 “ of her present majesty; yet we forbore taking the
 “ least advantage of those intestine broils, and gave
 “ strict orders to our forces that were assembled at
 “ *Abo*, to undertake nothing against the *Swedes*, in
 “ firm expectation that the new regency, and all good
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“ patriots of that kingdom, would use their utmost
 “ endeavours to advance the safety and prosperity of
 “ their country, by renewing the negotiations, and
 “ concluding a speedy peace. We therefore gave the
 “ strongest assurances of our inclination for peace to
 “ count *Gyllembourg*, her present majesty’s plenipo-
 “ tentiary, who gave us the like assurance by word of
 “ mouth as her majesty did in writing, and that baron
 “ *Lillienstad* should be sent to the congress as first ple-
 “ nipotentiary, in the room of baron *Goertz*, by the
 “ beginning of *April*, in order to renew the con-
 “ ferences and conclude a peace. And this we had
 “ the less reason to doubt, since, notwithstanding the
 “ great inclination which the late king of *Sweden*
 “ always had for war, most of the conditions between
 “ us were actually agreed upon in his life-time; but
 “ though we staid till *June* without committing the
 “ least hostilities, those assurances on the part of *Swede-*
 “ *den* were not made good, nor could we expect they
 “ would be, after the declaration which count *Gyllem-*
 “ *bourg* had, by her majesty’s order, presented to our
 “ minister, by which it sufficiently appeared that her
 “ majesty’s design was rather to continue the war
 “ than conclude a peace, since she demanded the resti-
 “ tution of almost all the provinces which we have
 “ conquered during the war, and not only refused to
 “ send a minister to *Oeland*, but threatened to break
 “ off the congress. The *Swedes* have likewise en-
 “ tered into particular negotiations with other powers
 “ from whom she need fear no danger in time of war,
 “ nor reap any profit in time of peace, and threatens
 “ by their assistance to take every hostile measure a-
 “ gainst us. Perceiving, therefore, the dangerous
 “ designs of that crown, we find ourselves obliged
 “ (after invoking the divine assistance) to have recourse
 “ to arms, and to invade the dominions of *Sweden*,
 “ not with a view to conquer or take any more of her
 “ provinces, but only to obtain the desired peace,
 “ which we wish for on the same conditions as before;
 “ but instead of demanding any thing farther, are
 “ ready to yield up some of the conquests already in
 “ our hands. We therefore declare, that in case the
 “ crown of *Sweden* shews no inclination for peace, we
 “ shall then be obliged to undertake and continue (by
 “ God’s assistance) the most vigorous war even in the
 “ heart of that kingdom; and in that case, we protest
 “ before God and the world, against all the calamities
 “ which may thereby happen to the *Swedish* subjects,
 “ and especially against the innocent blood which must
 “ unavoidably be shed in the prosecution of such our
 “ design; charging the same wholly upon those who,
 “ by passion or interest, have endeavoured to hinder
 “ the conclusion of a peace between us. And we
 “ have ordered this our manifesto to be published and
 “ make known to all the subjects of that crown, that
 “ they may take such salutary methods as may best
 “ conduce to the warding off the impending ruin, but
 “ which cannot be done without concluding a peace
 “ with us. In the mean time, as on our part we have
 “ ever been, so we still are ready and willing to con-
 “ clude such peace on reasonable conditions, and to
 “ order all hostilities immediately to cease. Given on
 “ board of our fleet in the month of *July*, 1719.
 “ PETER.”

would not be more honourable for them, as brave patriots, to follow the steps of their valiant ancestors, than suffer themselves to be amused by the vain promises of an enemy, and draw upon themselves a yoke, which, in the end, would prove more insupportable than death itself.

The czar makes a destructive descent on Sweden;

It must be confessed that it was high time for the *Swedes* to defend themselves against an enemy who had planned, and was in the actual execution of a most destructive expedition; for admiral *Apraxin* had burnt and destroyed no less than six principal towns, eleven brick palaces, and one hundred and nine of wood, belonging to the chief nobility, eight hundred and twenty-six villages and hamlets, three mills, ten magazines, two mines of copper, and five of iron. Major-general *Lesly* likewise reduced to ashes two towns and twenty-five castles, five hundred and thirty-five villages and hamlets, forty mills, sixteen magazines, and nine mines of iron, to save only one of which the *Swedes* offered in vain three hundred thousand rix-dollars. All the corn and cattle which the enemy could not carry off were destroyed; and eighty thousand bars of iron were thrown into the sea, besides what they put on board their ships.

but renews the proposals for peace,

THE czar's design in all this devastation was only to bring *Sweden* to conclude a peace upon his own terms; for which purpose he sent *Osterman* in a public character to the court of *Stockholm*; but the regency, not thinking proper to admit him into the capital till they were informed of his errand, sent deputies to meet him within two miles of that city, to enquire into the nature of his instructions. They found that, agreeable to the projected peace of *Oeland*, the czar demanded nothing less than the absolute surrender of *Esthonia*, *Ingria*, and *Carelia*, with the towns of *Reval*, *Wyburg*, *Narva*, and *Kexholm*, and the cession of *Livonia* for forty years; in return for which he only offered to restore the province of *Finland*. These propositions being rejected with scorn, the congress of *Oeland* broke up, the ministers retired, and the *English* squadron, which had remained till then in the road of *Copenhagen*, sailed towards the ports of *Sweden*, but found that the *Russian* fleet had retired to their own harbours eight days before. The occasion of this retreat was generally imagined to be owing to the approach of the united fleets of *Great Britain* and *Sweden*; but the czar, in order to obviate such a conjecture, which reflected greatly upon the glory of his arms, published a very long and circumstantial account of that step, endeavouring to shew that it was not owing to any dread or apprehension of the approach of his enemies that he withdrew his ships, but at the pressing instances of the queen of *Sweden*, joined to the advanced season of the year, which suspended his operations, and rendered it necessary to bring back his forces into his own ports.

which are rejected.

ON the eighth of *September*, Mr. *Berkeley*, son of lord *Berkeley* of *Stratton*, set out from *Stockholm* with letters from lord *Carteret* and admiral *Norris*, to the czar with offers of his *Britannic* majesty's mediation for a peace between him and the queen of *Sweden*: but when Mr. *Berkeley* shewed these letters to the *Russian* plenipotentiaries before their departure from *Oeland*, they would neither undertake to deliver them to the czar, nor give Mr. *Berkeley* a passport to *Petersburg* for that purpose. General *Bruce* took upon himself to answer the letter from lord *Carteret*, to whom he represented, that the contents thereof, and of the letter from sir *John Norris*, were of so singular a nature, and so little agreeable to the friendship and alliance which still subsisted between his czarish majesty and the king of *England*, that he could not possibly comply with his desire, until he had first received the czar's orders on that head. Hereupon the sieurs *Jeffries* and *Weber*, the *British* ministers at *Petersburg*, were immediately ordered to leave that city and retire to *Dantzick*. This being looked upon as a sufficient indication of the disposition of the court of *London*, and the czar being likewise informed that admiral *Norris* had received orders to join the *Swedish* fleet, and oppose the future operations of the *Russians*, Peter caused all the *English* merchants in his dominions to be arrested, and threatened to confiscate their effects, if the *British* nation should declare war against him. At the same time *Weselowski*, the *Russian* resident at *London*, presented a very warm memorial to that court, charging king *George I.* with a notorious violation of treaties, and a manifest breach of friendship. His majesty answered this writing, both as king of *Great Britain* and as elector of *Hanover*, in such a manner, as drew from the resident a reply couched in such disrespectful terms, and filled with so many injurious reflections upon the *British* ministry, that he was ordered to depart out of the kingdom.

Rupture between the czar and the king of Great Britain.

A. D. 1720. Great preparations of the czar.

WITH the new year, the czar began to make extraordinary preparations for the ensuing campaign, as he saw himself reduced to the necessity of maintaining the war alone against *Sweden*, who was supported by an *English* fleet, favoured by the kings of *Prussia* and *Denmark*, and ready to make peace with *Poland*. He therefore assembled a very considerable army on the side of *Finland*, and intended to sail with a powerful fleet to make himself master of the *Bothnic* gulph.

IN the mean time the palatine of *Mazovia* arrived at *Petersburg*, as ambassador from the republic of *Poland*, to demand satisfaction for certain damages done to the provinces of that kingdom by the marches and counter-marches of the *Russian* troops, and the heavy contributions, and other exactions they had made on the inhabitants. The czar, who had some pretensions on *Poland*, which he did not chuse to relinquish, and who, on the other hand, was sensible of the interest which the emperor took in the affairs of king *Augustus*, was obliged to act with great caution in this matter, lest the *Poles* should unite with *Sweden* against *Russia*, and insist upon the restitution of *Courland* and *Livonia*: he therefore left the conduct of this important negotiation to prince *Dolgorucki*, who had long been his ambassador in *Poland*, and who gave the deputies of the diet to understand, that the czar his master was very willing to enter into an union and good understanding with the republic: but desired to know, first, whether the letters that were sent in answer to his were approved of by them; for that they were couched in such terms as looked like a declaration of war: and secondly, whether the treaty concluded at *Vienna*, between the emperor and the king of *Poland*, was made with the consent of the republic. He afterwards demanded, that the city of *Dantzick* should be obliged to execute the treaty made with the regency, by which she was obliged to furnish a certain number of frigates to join the naval forces of the czar. To the first question the deputies answered, that when the public deliberations were transferred from *Grodno* to *Warsaw*, it was resolved, that the king, the primate in the name of the senators, and the grand marshal in the name of the nobility, should write to the czar in the manner they had done: that these letters contained nothing like a declaration of war; but only a necessary remonstrance, that if the *Russian* troops still continued in the kingdom, contrary to the repeated promises of their being recalled, the republic would be obliged to take proper measures to prevent the intire ruin of so many provinces: that they were bound to protect the city of *Dantzick*, which the czar had laid under such heavy contributions: and that they could explain themselves no otherwise, in regard to the affairs of *Courland*, than by representing the ancient right to the crown, which they were resolved to maintain. To the second question it was briefly answered, that the republic had no knowlege of the treaty concluded at *Vienna*; and, as it was made since the diet of *Grodno*, they could have no share in it: but that if the king, as elector of *Saxony*, had concluded any particular treaty, he had a right so to do, without rendering any account to the republic. And as to the czar's demand relating to the city of *Dantzick*, the deputies observed, that as the kings of *Poland* had always left them in the full possession of their liberties and privileges, and as the republic had maintained no naval force, nor ever obliged the subjects of maritime towns to arm any vessels for them, they could not oblige the citizens of *Dantzick* to make any armament for the czar; and that if this was implied by any particular treaty with that city, there had been already great difficulties on that article, which ought to be examined. To these answers of the deputies, the *Russian* ambassador made a very short and categorical reply, telling them, that his master could by no means renounce his pretensions to *Courland*, nor yield up *Livonia* to the republic; that the city of *Dantzick* must execute the convention made with the *Russian* generals; and that the council of finances should examine into what was due from the czar to the republic, and from the republic to the czar.

The Poles demand satisfaction for damages done them by the Russians.

DURING these transactions, a treaty of peace between *Prussia* and *Sweden* was signed at *Stockholm*; another treaty was carrying on between *Sweden* and *Denmark*; and the queen of *Sweden*, by an act of singular generosity, resigned her crown to the hereditary prince of *Hesse Cassel*, her royal consort. The king of *Great Britain* also, being as firmly united with the regent of *France* as with the court of *Sweden*, had engaged the former to pay to the *Swedes* the subsidies that were due to them from the most Christian king; so that at the time when *Sweden* was at the lowest ebb of credit, she received six hundred thousand crowns from the court of *France*, and assurances that the subsidy should be regularly paid for the future. This succour, joined to those of *England* and *Hanover*, excited fresh courage in the drooping *Swedes*, and shewed the czar, that he was not to expect peace but by force; wherefore he redoubled his efforts to get into the field before the enemy.

Alterations in favour of the Swedes.

As soon as the season of the year would permit, the *English* fleet weighed anchor from *Copenhagen*, and arrived in the *Sound*, to support the mediation which his *Britannic* majesty had again proposed, in order to bring about a reconciliation between the czar and the new king of *Sweden*: but the czar was still as averse to this offer as before, and chose rather to enter into an immediate treaty with that prince himself, than to accept the mediation of any power whatever. An opportunity soon offered to pave the way for such a treaty: the *Swedish* minister to the court of *Petersburg*, sent to notify the accession of the new king to the throne, taking occasion to assure the czar, in a short speech which he made at his first audience, that the king his master earnestly desired to conclude a firm and lasting peace with him, and to maintain a constant friendship and good neighbourhood; the czar, in his answer,

answer, expressed the same inclinations; but detained the *Swedish* minister some time at *Petersburg*, to let him see the vast preparations that were making for a vigorous prosecution of the war.

The Russians
defeat them at
sea;

ON the 17th of *August* the *Swedish* vice-admiral in the *Baltic*, approaching with his squadron to reconnoitre the *Russian* fleet commanded by prince *Galitzin*, and apprehending it to be less powerful than it really was, ordered an attack to be made, which proved very unsuccessful; the aggressors being obliged to retire with the loss of four frigates, one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, and nine hundred men killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. The czar celebrated this victory by a naval triumph at *Petersburg*, caused a medal to be struck to perpetuate the glory of the action, presented prince *Galitzin* with a sword set with diamonds, and distributed a large sum of money among the officers and sailors, who had given such signal proofs of their valour. Nor were his land-forces less active, or less successful; for they burnt the new town of *Uma* in *Swedish Lapland*; and penetrating into that country, destroyed forty-one villages, with a great number of magazines, storehouses, and other buildings.

and revenge
Swedish Lap-
land.

Overtures for
a peace be-
tween the Rus-
sians and the
Swedes.

DURING these hostilities, the czar, in order to return the compliment he had received from the king of *Sweden*, sent general *Romanzoff* to *Stockholm*, to congratulate that prince on his accession to the throne, and assure him that his czarish majesty had always entertained the highest esteem for his person, and earnestly wished to find him as much disposed to peace as he himself was. Besides this commission, M. *Romanzoff* had instructions, if he found a favourable opportunity, to propose an exchange of prisoners and a suspension of arms; but though the court of *Sweden* did not seem willing to close with either of these overtures, yet the talents which M. *Romanzoff* was master of, made count *Horn*, the *Swedish* prime minister, so sensible of the czar's pacific disposition, that prince *Misserki*, who succeeded him, found very little difficulty in obtaining the cartel, which had formerly been refused. In short, the *Swedes* were at length convinced of the czar's sincerity in his repeated offers of peace, as he could have no reason to dissemble in that respect, at a time when his arms were victorious, and he was continually gaining advantages over them. The truth is, that *Peter's* greatness of soul was not to be confined within the common maxims of state policy: he plainly perceived, that, in the midst of his conquests, his subjects wanted peace, and therefore resolved to procure it; justly thinking, that there could be no means in suing for what would confer happiness even upon his enemies. He therefore accepted the mediation proposed by *France*; and plenipotentiaries were appointed on both sides to meet at *Nystadt*, where a peace was concluded, by which *Livonia*, *Esthonia*, *Ingria*, and *Carelia*, were ceded to *Russia* (A).

Peace pro-
longed with
the Turks.

Farther refor-
mation in the
state.

WHILE this negotiation was carrying on, *Peter* received the agreeable news that his minister at *Constantinople* had changed the last treaty concluded with the Porte into a treaty for a perpetual peace, the ratifications of which he immediately dispatched. About the same time he took occasion to examine into several disorders that had crept into his treasury, and made such a reformation therein as produced an annual saving of upwards of one hundred thousand rubles. In this interval also the general tariff was prepared, which was afterwards established in all the ports of *Russia*. But nothing engaged his care and attention so much as the intended communication between the river *Volga* and the *Baltic* sea, by means of the canal already began below *Ladoga*, which, falling into the *Caspian* sea, afforded him hopes of opening a trade with *China*, *India*, and *Persia*, and of supplying those nations with *European* commodities. For this purpose he sent several able mathematicians to take an exact survey of the *Caspian* sea, of which they brought back a chart, shewing its form to be very different from all former representations of it. *Peter* afterwards sent this chart to the royal academy of sciences at *Paris*, where it was gratefully received, and ordered to be preserved among their choicest archives.

(A) in the fourth article of this treaty it is expressly stipulated, "That the crown of *Sweden* shall yield and give up to the *Russian* empire for ever, as lawful conquests, the provinces of *Livonia*, *Esthonia*, and *Ingria*; a part of *Carelia*, together with the district of *Wiburg*, and the towns and fortresses of *Riga*, *Dunamunde*, *Pernau*, *Reval*, *Dorpat*, *Narwa*, *Wiburg*, *Kexholm*; and all the towns, forts, harbours, places, districts, and coasts, belonging to the said provinces; with the islands of *Oesel*, *Dagoe*, and *Moen*, and all the other islands lying off the frontiers of *Courland* towards the coasts of *Esthonia*, *Livonia*, and *Ingria*, on the east side of *Reval*, and in the road of *Wiburg*, as they were possessed by the crown of *Sweden*." And in the ninth and tenth articles, his czarish majesty engages, on his side, "to preserve and maintain the inhabitants of all ranks

"and degrees in *Livonia*, *Esthonia*, and the isle of *Oesel*, (or *Oeland*) and also the towns, magistracies, companies, and trades in the said provinces, in the constant and unmolested enjoyment of all the rights, privileges, customs, and jurisdictions, which they were in possession of under the dominion of *Sweden*; and that in these ceded countries he shall be so far from offering any violence to the consciences of the inhabitants, as to permit the evangelical (Lutheran) religion, with the churches and schools, and all the endowments, &c. thereto belonging, to remain and continue on the same footing as under the *Swedish* government; with a proviso, that the professors of the *Greek* religion shall likewise enjoy an intire liberty of conscience, and the free exercise of their religion in the provinces."

a BOTH the *Russians* and the *Swedes* had been so long distressed by the late bloody war, that they were equally glad to see it ended, and seemed to vie with each other in their rejoicings on this happy occasion. The czar immediately set at liberty all the *Swedish* prisoners, with leave to such as chose it to enter into his service, in the same rank as they had held among the troops of their own country. To others, who liked better to return home, he gave such strong recommendations for that valour and fidelity which he had been a witness to, as procured them an affectionate reception. He then appointed a day of public thanksgiving, which was observed by all ranks and degrees of people with the greatest solemnity and devotion. In the morning of that day, the czar and czarina, with all the court, attended divine service in the great cathedral; where, after the Liturgy, the treaty of peace was publicly read in the presence of all the foreign ministers: b after which, the senate advancing in a body, count *Golofkin*, the great-chancellor, made a speech to the czar, and desired he would be pleased to accept the title of *Peter the Great, Father of his Country, and Emperor of all Russia*. The czar, at first, modestly declined this honour; but at the repeated instances of the senate he accepted it: whereupon the whole assembly echoed their applause in repeated acclamations: and the public rejoicings at *Petersburg*, on this occasion, continued for fifteen days. The vice-chancellor, baron *Schaffiroff*, soon after notified this new title to all the foreign ministers at the court of *Petersburg*; and orders were likewise dispatched to all the *Russian* residents at foreign courts, to the same purpose: so that, in a short time, the czar was acknowledged *Emperor* c of *Russia* by all the *European* powers, except the king of *Denmark*.

The czar takes the title of emperor.

THE peace of *Nystad* having removed all obstacles to *Peter's* design of transferring the principal mart of his empire from *Archangel* to *Petersburg*, he now renewed the orders he had formerly given for that purpose; and to put a stop to all complaints from the merchants, on account of their being forced to change their settlements, he ordered the commissioners of trade to prepare convenient storehouses and habitations for them in that city. This regulation was followed by another of a very different nature, but well worthy the singular piety of that great monarch; who, being convinced of the many evils that ever accompany error and superstition, and of the great advantages which emanate from the pure fountain of true religion, ordered the holy Scriptures to be carefully translated d into the *Russian* language, and sold at a low price to the people; at the same time expressly commanding all the clergy in his dominions to preach no doctrine but what was agreeable to those Scriptures.

The seat of trade removed from Archangel to Petersburg.

The Bible translated into the Russian language.

HAVING made these and some other very useful and necessary regulations, his imperial majesty resolved to share part of the public joy with his faithful subjects at *Moscow*, and to enter this his ancient city in triumph. Accordingly, on the twenty-first of *December*, he set out from *Petersburg*, with the empress and the whole court, attended by all the foreign ministers, and the principal nobility of the kingdom: and on the twenty-ninth of the same month made a most magnificent entry into *Moscow*, at the head of the *Preobazinski* guards, followed by the lieutenant-colonels prince *Menzikoff* and M. *Buterlin*, the second e regiment of guards, and the four regiments of *Ingria*, *Astracan*, *Le Fort*, and *Bouturliki*. He was received under a general discharge of the artillery; and after passing through the first triumphal arch, he was complimented at the second by the archbishop of *Novogorod*, at the head of the clergy: at the third he stopt a considerable time, to satisfy the curiosity of the populace, who expressed every possible demonstration of joy; and at the fourth he was received by the whole body of the magistrates and merchants, whom he very graciously assured of the continuance of his favour and protection.

Peter makes a triumphant entry into Moscow.

NOTWITHSTANDING the feasts, balls, and other public diversions that were made on this occasion, *Peter* was no ways inattentive to the affairs of the state; but held frequent councils thereon, and being desirous, as his second son *Peter Petrowitz* was dead, to f settle the succession on a prince who would follow his maxims, and prosecute the great designs which he had begun for civilizing his people, he ordered public notice to be given, on the twenty-third of *February*, to all his subjects inhabiting the city of *Moscow*, to repair the next day to the *Castle-church*; which they having done, printed papers were delivered to them all, signifying, "That it was his imperial majesty's pleasure, that every man should "swear, and give under his hand, that he would not only approve the choice his majesty "should make of a successor, but acknowledge the person he should appoint as emperor "and sovereign." An order was likewise published a few days after at *Petersburg*, requiring the magistrates, and all other persons, to subscribe the same declaration; and all the grandees of the empire were commanded, on pain of death and confiscation, to repair g to *Moscow* by the latter end of *March* for that purpose, except those inhabiting *Astracan* and *Siberia*, who, living at too great a distance, were excused from giving their personal attendance, and permitted to subscribe before their respective governors. This oath was readily taken by all ranks and degrees of the people, who were well assured that their em-

A. D. 1722.

The people swear to approve his choice of a successor.

petor would make choice of one who was every way worthy of the succession, and capable of supporting the dignity intended for him : but they were still in the dark as to the identical person, though it was generally believed to be prince *Nariskin*, who was nearly related to the emperor, and allowed to have all the qualities requisite for his successor : but a little time shewed them, that this conjecture was groundless.

Troubles in
Persia.

PETER, having so far settled this important point, began to prepare for new conquests, which the late peace with *Sweden*, and certain troubles that now arose in the East, gave him a fair opportunity to make. Several *Russian* merchants having been robbed and massacred by the *Lesgians*, a people of *Persia*; and the *Russian* caravan from *China* having been treated in the same manner by the *Usbecks*, who were the allies of *Myrr Maghmud*, known in *Europe* by the name of *Myrr Weis*, and who had raised himself to absolute power by obliging his prince, *Schah Hussein IV.* to declare him his prime minister and protector of *Persia*; the emperor thought proper to complain of these outrages by his ambassador, who, upon his entering *Persia*, found that kingdom in the utmost confusion. He therefore went directly to the camp of *Myrr Maghmud*, of whom he obtained an immediate audience, and declared to him the subject of his commission; remonstrating, that as his troops joined with the *Usbecks*, had, without any reason, plundered and massacred the subjects of *Russia*, the emperor his master could not help looking on such violence as contrary to the law of nations, and therefore demanded a proper satisfaction.

To these remonstrances the rebel returned a very insolent answer; advising the czar, if he intended to send any more caravans to *China*, either to make an alliance with the *Tartars*, and stipulate for the liberty of passing through their country, or to escort his caravans with a good body of troops; for that he could not prescribe laws to the *Usbecks*, his allies. *Peter* was no sooner informed of this answer than he sent orders to all the eastern provinces of the empire to assemble his troops; and having armed the *Cossaks* and *Calmucks*, he ordered several barks, gallies, and other vessels, to be built at *Astracan*, and along the *Wolga*, for an intended expedition into the *Caspian* sea. It was not the contempt shewn by *Myrr Maghmud* in sending back the ambassador, nor the massacre of the *Russians* in *Persia*, that alone excited *Peter* to this undertaking, though they were powerful incentives to it; but the design of establishing an extensive and useful commerce, which he had always considered as the basis of his power and grandeur, and which was the chief motive of all his enterprizes. It was with this view that he built the city of *Petersburg*; with this view that he kept the provinces of *Livonia* and *Carelia*; with this view that he travelled over the greatest part of *Europe*; and with this view that he founded the coasts of the *Caspian* sea.

Peter sets out
on an expedition
against
Persia.

BEFORE his imperial majesty left *Moscow*, to set out on this expedition, he was attacked by a violent fit of the cholic, a disease he was frequently subject to; and apprehending it might be attended with fatal consequences, he caused his will, which he had written intirely with his own hand, and wherein he had particularly named his successor, to be lodged among the archives of the empire: he likewise changed the presidents of several of the colleges, established a council of regency, in which prince *Menzikoff* presided, and made many other necessary regulations. At length, having recovered from his indisposition, he set out with the emperors from *Moscow*, on the 24th of *May* for *Colonna*; the grand admiral *Apraxin*, lieutenant-general *Buterlin*, prince *Trubetskoi*, the hospodar *Demetrius Cantemir*, and the privy counsellor *Tolstoi* being gone before.

The Turks
are alarmed
at his preparations.

THE *Turks* being informed of the great military preparations that were making at *Astracan* and throughout all the eastern provinces of the *Russian* empire, took umbrage at them; the bashaws who commanded on the frontiers of *Persia*, in *Gurgistan* or *Georgia*, sending advice to the *Porte*, that the emperor of *Russia* had formed a design of subduing the last mentioned province, and of making himself master of the *Caspian* Sea; in which case upwards of four hundred thousand mussulmans must inevitably fall into slavery. The grand vizir having communicated these advices to the *Russian* minister at *Constantinople*, sent an aga to his imperial majesty to dissuade him from the enterprize: but *Peter* took care to satisfy both the *Turks* and the *Persians* of his real designs, in a manifesto which he published and distributed along the borders of the *Caspian* Sea, wherein he declared, " That he came not upon the frontiers of *Persia* with an intention of reducing any of the provinces of that kingdom to his obedience, but only to maintain the lawful possessor of them on his throne; and to defend him powerfully, together with his faithful subjects, against the tyranny of *Myrr Maghmud*, and to obtain satisfaction from him and his *Tartars* for the robberies and mischiefs which they had committed in the *Russian* empire." Besides, the unfortunate *Schah Hussein* had sent three successive expresses to his imperial majesty, imploring his assistance on terms too advantageous to the *Russians* for so wise a prince as *Peter* to refuse.

a IN the course of this expedition the rebel *Myrr Maghmud* did every thing in his power to oppose the designs of the *Russians*: he engaged the neighbouring *Tartars* to harraßs them in their march, and advanced himself towards *Ghilom*, with a strong body of troops; but the generals whom the czar left at *Derbent*, having assembled such of the *Calmuks*, *Cosaks*, and *Tartars* as were near, and supporting them with the regular troops, fell with such fury upon the wearied army of the rebels, that they were soon put to flight. This victory was followed by the surrender of the towns of *Derbent*, *Terki*, and *Baku*, the most considerable places on the coasts of the *Caspian Sea*, together with the provinces of *Dageßan* and *Schirvan*.

Over whom he gains several advantages.

And makes considerable conquests.

b THE power of the *Russians*, in subduing so great a part of the country, began somewhat to dismay *Myrr-Maghmud*. He had a great many enemies in the heart of the kingdom; who now saw through the veil of his hypocrisy; and the *Persians*, always faithful to their kings, could not forgive him his behaviour to *Hussein*, whose fate they were still ignorant of: some said he was dead: others, that he was concealed in a strong castle; and some, that he had been taken prisoner. In short, this rebel perceiving that he could no longer confide in the *Tartars*, who disapproved of his ambitious designs, endeavoured to procure the assistance of the *Turks*; for which purpose he sent an ambassador to *Constantinople*, to remonstrate that both the glory and religion of the mussulmans were interested in opposing the *Russian* conquests; that as they had already subdued so considerable a part of *Persia*, it was not likely they would stand still in the midst of such success, but would certainly carry their arms into *Georgia*, where there were several Christian princes who would assist them in order to withdraw themselves from the dominion of the *Turks*; and lastly, that he had been credibly informed, that the *Russians* had entered *Persia* at the desire of *Hussein*, who had promised to yield to them whatever they should conquer on the borders of the *Caspian Sea*. The *Persian* ambassador acquitted himself extremely well of this commission; especially as he was loaded with magnificent presents for the *Turkish* ministers. The janissaries had for a long time breathed nothing but war; the mufti was a professed enemy to the *Russians*; and old *Dowlet Gerhai*, who was just seated on the throne of *Crim Tartary*, longed for an opportunity of shewing the hatred he bore to *Peter*: in short, none but the grand vizir were pacifically inclined, and he durst not express himself openly, for fear of irritating the opposite party.

A. D. 1723.

Myrr-Maghmud applies to the *Turks* for assistance.

c UPON the strength of these representations, all imaginable preparatives were made for declaring war against the *Russians*, and in the mean time an ambassador was sent to the czar, to be informed of his real designs, and whether he intended to extend his conquests any farther than the *Caspian Sea*; to which *Peter* answered, that the Porte had already approved of his having recourse to arms for the insults offered, and the injuries done to him and his subjects by the rebel *Myrr-Maghmud*, and his allies: that he had undertaken nothing against the dominions of the grand signior; but was sincerely disposed to a faithful observance of the last treaty of peace between them. Though this answer was pretty well received at first, yet to comply with the importunities of the prince of *Dageßan*, who had lately thrown himself under the protection of the Porte, the grand signior caused a manifesto to be published, threatening to declare war against the czar if he did not immediately restore that prince to the possession of his dominions; and in order to shew that this was his real intention, he endeavoured to sound the inclinations of the emperor of *Germany*, concerning a war with the *Russians*, and whether in that case he was under any engagement to take up arms in their favour. The emperor *Charles* did a very seasonable service to the *Russian* monarch on this occasion, by assuring the *Turk* that his interests were so strongly united with those of *Peter*, that if he was attacked he should be obliged to march with an army to his assistance; and the grand vizir, who, as we have observed before, was very averse to a war against the *Russians*, made good use of his declarations, by endeavouring to moderate the precipitancy of those who had already prepared for that event: but even this would not have been sufficient to counterpoise the scale in favour of the *Russians*, had not the *French* ambassador, *M. de Bonac*, interposed his good offices to prevent the impending rupture. This minister represented to the sultan, that he had no just ground of complaint against the emperor of *Russia*, since it was with his approbation that he had marched to the frontiers of *Persia*, to revenge such insults as no sovereign prince could suffer with impunity; that he had done nothing to infringe the treaty of peace subsisting between him and the sublime Porte; that the prince of *Dageßan* was a tributary of *Persia*, and a partizan of *Myrr-Maghmud*, and had not claimed the protection of the Porte till after he was driven out of his country for his infidelity; and lastly, that if the Porte took any umbrage at the emperor *Peter*'s conquests in that kingdom, he was sincerely disposed not to push them any farther, though he had already a considerable body of troops assembled on the frontiers, to succour *Schah Hussein*, his ally, who had implored his assistance against a faithless and rebellious subject.

They prepare for war.

But are pacified by the mediation of the French ambassador.

THESE assurances seemed to satisfy the divan, and they appeared inclinable no suspend a the commencement of hostilities, upon the immediate restitution of *Derbent*. But while the necessary negotiations were carrying on for that purpose, the people of *Ghilan*, a province of *Persia*, bordering on *Schirvan* and the *Caspian Sea*, had implored the protection of *Russia*, and of their own accord submitted to his imperial majesty. This news, which was transmitted to *Constantinople* by the astonished bashaws who commanded in the neighbouring provinces, had well nigh overturned all that *M. de Bonac* had been endeavouring to accomplish: but an ambassador arriving at the same time from the dethroned *Schah-Husseïn*, to implore the protection of the Porte, against the usurper *Myrr-Maghbmud*; and the *Russian* ambassador having confirmed the assurances given by the *French* minister, the Porte not only banished all thoughts of a war against *Russia*, but soon made use of the b preparations for that purpose against *Persia* itself, looking upon this as a favourable opportunity to recover what they had formerly possessed beyond the *Euphrates*.

The vice chancellor Schafiroff condemned to death.

PETER, upon his return to *Moscow*, after an absence of twelve months, found that many disorders had crept into the administration of public affairs; and that several of the principal members of the regency, which he had established, were guilty of the most atrocious crimes. The chief of those was one of his greatest favourites, the vice-chancellor *Schafiroff*, who being publicly tried, was convicted of having given his brother a character and appointments unknown to the emperor and the senate; of signing and issuing orders without the consent of the senate, or even causing them to be registered; of having, by his own authority as director of the posts, augmented the postage of letters, and reserved c the money to himself; of having concealed two hundred thousand ducats in specie, and jewels to the value of forty thousand more, belonging to prince *Gagarin*, though he himself had signed the emperor's order, commanding every one to discover what they knew of the effects of that criminal; and lastly, of having used opprobrious language to some of the senators in full senate, which was forbid on pain of death.

But afterwards banished.

FOR these offences baron *Schafiroff* was condemned to lose his head; but at the instant when this sentence was on the point of being executed, the emperor was pleased, on account of his former services, to change it into that of perpetual banishment into *Siberia*, and confiscation of all his effects.

Peter's care to improve his marine.

AFTER this and some other examples were made to prevent the like offences, for the d future, the emperor set out from *Moscow* for *Petersburg*, where he had no sooner arrived than he took care to inspect into the condition of his navy; and having found several ships that had been taken from the *Swedes* in the last war, he distributed them among the cities of *Petersburg*, *Riga*, *Revel*, and *Wyburg*, that they might be constantly employed in trade: and to accustom his people to navigation, he ordered that twelve men should be constantly kept in pay on board each ship, eight of whom were to be furnished by himself, and the other four by the magistrates, who were to maintain the whole number: but in case any of these ships should be lost, or become unfit for service, the magistrates were to provide a new ship in lieu thereof, of the same kind and burthen.

Affairs of Sweden.

THE states of *Sweden* having assembled about this time, to regulate several important e affairs of their government, his imperial majesty advised the duke of *Holstein* to send *M. Bassewitz* thither as his minister, to manage his interests in that kingdom, which the *Russian* ministers had likewise orders to support. He had indeed no longer any claim to the succession by hereditary right; that having been abolished on the death of *Charles XII.* and the crown declared elective in case the present queen should die without having issue of her own body; but he flattered himself that, in case the throne should become vacant, the *Swedes*, who had always cherished the blood of their kings, would give him the preference; as one good step towards it, he moved the states at this time to acknowledge him as next of kin to her majesty, and to allow him the title of *Royal Highness*. The secret f committee to whom this affair was referred, made a report, "That having considered the matter with all possible attention, and seriously weighed the reasons for and against it, they had found it to be grounded on so many motives, of too delicate a nature to be publicly declared, that they could not dissuade the estates and the king from granting that title to the duke: and that in case it were approved by the assembly, it might nevertheless be referred to the king and the senate, to be treated of as a foreign matter."

The duke of Holstein requests the title of Royal Highness.

THIS report occasioned great debates in the assembly: some of the most impetuous were for having the business determined directly; but most of the nobility opposing this motion, it was immediately agreed to postpone all farther consideration of it till the next day. In the mean while the king and queen wrote each of them a letter to the states, signifying their great surprize at these proceedings, and declaring that they could not, g for many weighty reasons, consent to the duke of *Holstein's* having the title of *Royal Highness*. The reading of these letters occasioned the debates to run still higher than before; and

The king and queen of Sweden oppose it.

and the assembly not being able to come to any final resolution, it was thought proper to invite the senate to a conference with the secret committee on this matter, and to give the assembly their joint opinion concerning it. The senate accordingly met on the day appointed, and after taking an oath of secrecy, began the conference, which lasted above twelve hours without intermission. A few days after, the states, being re-assembled, were made acquainted with the result of this conference, which was, "That the senate having maturely considered this affair, and the reasons of the secret committee, could not enough commend their indefatigable zeal, nor in conscience dispense from conforming to their opinion; declaring, that the title of *Royal Highness* might be given to the duke of *Holstein*, without prejudice to the honour or prerogative of their majesties; and that it would contribute both to the splendor and security of the kingdom." In consequence of this report, it was unanimously resolved to confer that title upon the duke, which was accordingly done. The duke of *Holstein's* success in this affair proved very agreeable to his imperial majesty, who intended to give one of his daughters to that prince; and as *Peter's* new title of emperor had by this time been recognized by all the powers of *Europe*, except *Denmark*, he thought it did not become him to dispense any longer with the refusal of that court, and therefore sent orders to his minister at *Copenhagen*, to renew his instances on that and some other articles.

But the states and senate grant it.

IN the beginning of *September*, an ambassador from *Schah Tabmas*, or *Tabanased*, son of the deposed *Schah Hussein*, arrived at *Petersburg*. This minister, sensible of his master's danger from the *Turks* and the rebel *Myrr Maghmud*, solicited *Peter* very warmly for a quick and powerful succour. He was a man of spirit, perfectly well acquainted with the interests of both empires, and justly concluded that he should never be able to obtain the alliance he demanded, and the succours which his master wanted, but upon very advantageous conditions; he therefore concluded a treaty with *Peter*, by which the towns of *Derbent*, and *Baku*, with the provinces of *Ghilan*, *Mazanderan*, and *Asterban*, were ceded to *Russia* for ever. The grand signior was not at all pleased with this treaty; but looked upon the emperor's thus uniting with *Schah Tabmas*, as an oblique declaration of war against the *Porte*: but the *French* and *Russian* ministers at *Constantinople* giving *Peter* immediate notice of the disposition that appeared in the divan to declare against him, he formally communicated to the *Porte* the treaty he had concluded with the young *Schah*, and invited the sultan to accede to it; declaring that he would religiously observe his treaties with the sublime *Porte*: and that he had no other view in what he had done than to assist an unfortunate prince, insulted and persecuted by a rebellious subject. This declaration had the desired effect; and the divan was at length brought to a convention between the two empires, in regard to the affairs of *Persia*, by which their several conquests were confirmed to them, and the *Turks* put in possession of the provinces of *Erivan*, *Tauris*, and *Cashin*.

Peter concludes an advantageous treaty with the Persians.

At which the Turks are offended.

PETER, having thus established peace on every side of his extensive empire, resolved to accomplish a design he had long formed, of rewarding the virtues and merit of his beloved *Catharine* with the imperial crown. To this end he published a declaration, wherein he drew many examples from ancient history, of the custom of crowning the consorts of princes, and laid down his reasons for bestowing that honour upon the empress, whose wife counsels had been of infinite service both to the state and to him. All the foreign ministers and chief nobility were then desired to follow him to *Moscow*, where this august ceremony was performed on the eighteenth of *May*, in a most magnificent manner. The next day she received the compliments of the whole court; and the emperor on this occasion made several considerable promotions, and conferred the order of *St. Andrew* on many persons of distinction.

A. D. 1724.
The empress Catharine crowned.

SOME short time before this ceremony, *Peter* was attacked with a severe fit of illness; and though he was now somewhat better, yet his health was far from being thoroughly established; nor indeed did he take the necessary precautions for that purpose, but delivered himself entirely up to the affairs of state. His activity seemed to increase as his strength decreased, and every day produced some new monument of his glory. The city of *Petersburg*, of which he was the founder, and in a great measure the architect, began to be, through his care, one of the handsomest and most considerable capitals of *Europe*; already containing upwards of fifty thousand houses, and several noble palaces. An observatory was building, by his order, on the model of that of *Paris*; numbers of useful books augmented daily a library of his forming; and he had several curious cabinets filled with the choicest productions of nature and art. *Russia* now possessed a sufficient number of men of genius and learning to compose an academy, the rules and institutes of which the emperor himself drew up: but he had not time to put the finishing hand to this fine establishment. His health decayed, and death, with hasty strides, approached this hero, who had

A. D. 1725.
The Czar taken ill.

Death of
Peter the
Great.

indeed lived long, if we measure his days by what he did, and what he intended to do. Yet even in this state of weakness he was willing to set his people an example of piety, by assisting, with all his household, at the ceremony of blessing the waters on the feast of the Epiphany. He then caught a violent cold, which, added to a severe fit of the gout, and an obstinate strangury, warned him that his end was near. Still great and undaunted, he uttered not a sigh or a complaint, to the last moment of his life. The chief persons of the nation assembled, by his order, in his chamber, where he enjoined them to acknowledge, as soon as he should be dead, the empress *Catharine* for their sovereign, and received their oaths accordingly. He then gave several directions for the administration of justice, by one of which, all law-suits were to be determined within eleven days; and signed these edicts, with orders to publish them immediately in all the tribunals of his empire: after which, desiring that the mourning for him might continue no longer than three months, he, with his last words, recommended to the empress, the interests of the duke of *Holstein*, and expired on the twenty-eighth of *January*, in the fifty-third year of his age.

He had several children by his first wife *Ottokeza Federowna Lapuchin*, whom he repudiated; but none of them lived to years of maturity, except the unhappy czarowitz *Alexis Petrowitz*, whose fate we have already mentioned, and who left behind him a son, afterwards emperor. The empress *Catharine* was mother of two princes, *Peter* and *Paul*, who died before their father; and of three princesses who survived him; namely, *Anne Petrowna*, born the fifth of *February*, 1708, who was afterwards married to the duke of *Holstein Gottorp*; *Elizabeth Petrowna*, born the tenth of *March*, 1713, who afterwards ascended the imperial throne; and *Natalia Petrowna*, born the twentieth of *August*, 1718, who died while the funeral solemnities were preparing for the emperor her father, and was interred at the same time with him.

Catharine
declared em-
press.

As soon as the emperor's death was made known, the senate and synod assembled, and in obedience to the last orders of their dying sovereign, unanimously declared *Catharine Alexowna* empress of all *Russia*. About eight o'clock in the morning they were introduced to the empress by prince *Menzikoff*, when they presented her with the act of their submission in writing, and took the usual oaths of fidelity: she receiving them very graciously, and assuring them that she would be a mother to her country, as the emperor had been its father. The general grief which appeared among all ranks and degrees of people on this occasion, is not to be expressed; even the soldiers were dissolved in tears, and would not be comforted till they were informed that the empress *Catharine* was proclaimed their sovereign, which they no sooner heard than they flocked in crowds to the palace to take the accustomed oaths, crying out as they went, "If our father is dead, our mother still lives!"

She bestows
great funeral
honours on the
emperor.

THE first care of her imperial majesty was to pay the last duties to her husband's ashes, with a pomp becoming the greatest monarch that *Russia*, or perhaps any other country, had ever known; and though there is no court of *Europe*, where splendor and magnificence is carried to a greater height on these occasions than in that of *Russia*, yet it may with great truth be said, that she even surpassed herself in the funeral honours paid to her great *Peter*. She purchased the most precious kinds of marble, and employed some of the ablest sculptors of *Italy* to erect a mausoleum to this hero, which might, if possible, transmit the remembrance of his great actions to the most distant ages (B). Not satisfied with this, she

(B) *Mottley* gives us the following, as the czar's epitaph:

Here lieth,
All that could die of a Man immortal,
PETER ALEXOWITZ:
It is almost superfluous to add,
GREAT EMPEROR OF RUSSIA:
A Title!
Which, instead of adding to his Glory,
Became glorious by his wearing it.
Let Antiquity be dumb,
Nor boast her ALEXANDER, or her CÆSAR.
How easy was Victory
To Leaders, who were followed by Heroes?
And whose Soldiers felt a noble Disdain
At being thought less vigilant than their Generals?
But He,
Who in this Place first knew Rest,
Found Subjects base and inactive,
Unwarlike, unlearned, untractable,
Neither covetous of Fame, nor fearless of Danger,
Creatures, with the Names of Men;
But with Qualities rather brutal than rational!
Yet, even these

He

a she caused a medal to be struck, worthy of the antients. On one side was represented the bust of the late emperor, with these words; PETER THE GREAT, EMPEROR AND SOVEREIGN OF ALL RUSSIA, BORN MAY XXX. MDCLXXII. On the reverse was the empress sitting, with the crown on her head, the globe and sceptre by her side on a table, and before her were a sphere, sea-charts, plans, mathematical instruments, arms, and a caduceus. At distances, in three different places, were represented an edifice on the sea-coast, with a platform before it, a ship and galley at sea, and the late emperor in the clouds, supported by Eternity, looking on the empress and shewing her with his right hand all the treasures he had left her, with these words, BEHOLD WHAT I HAVE LEFT YOU. In the exergue, DECEASED XXVIII JANUARY, MDCCXXV. Several of these medals she ordered to be struck in gold, to the weight of fifty ducats, and distributed among the foreign ministers, b and all the grandees of the empire, as a testimony of her respect and gratitude to the memory of her late husband, to whose generosity she took a pleasure in owning herself indebted for her present elevated station.

AFTER having satisfied all that her love and acknowledgment demanded, the empress turned her thoughts to the affairs of state. She entirely gained the affection of her army, by ordering immediate payment of what arrears were due to them; she likewise quieted the *Cosaks*, who having for many years been deprived of their privileges, on account of the perfidiousness of their former settman *Mazeppa*, complained very loudly; and threatened a revolt; but this prudent princess sent general *Wiesbach* to them, with such liberal promises of re-establishing them in their former prerogatives, and giving them chiefs and officers of their own nation, that they were easily brought to a just observance of their duty. c

Her prudent management.

On the first of June the duke of *Holstein* was married to the princess *Anne Petrowna*, eldest daughter of the late emperor by the present empress. The nuptials were celebrated with the greatest pomp and magnificence, the empress then first conferring the order of *St. Alexander Newski* upon lieutenant-general *Golowin*, and seventeen other officers.

Marriage of the duke of Holstein with the princess Anne Petrowna.

d THE feasts and entertainments on this occasion did not however in the least divert her attention from the affairs of her government, which indeed required a more than ordinary vigilance and activity, since it was of a very uncommon nature, and what very few of the *Russians* had expected: for these reasons there was great room to apprehend some attempts against it, especially in a nation so much inclined to revolt, and who still resented the force that had been used in obliging them to renounce their antient customs, and adopt those that had been introduced and established by the late emperor. Besides, it was a great novelty to the *Russians* to see a woman upon the throne, in which no one of that sex had sat since the princess *Olga*, mother to the third grand duke; and this novelty was the more disagreeable, as there yet remained a prince, the son of the czarowitz *Alexis*, to whom the crown seemed of right to belong. This was the state of affairs at home at the time of the accession of the empress *Catharine*; and those of a foreign nature did not seem to wear a much more pleasing aspect. All the neighbouring states seemed to be inspired with fresh courage at the death of a monarch, whose very name imprinted terror. e in particular, imagined that the time was come, when she should get rid of her continual apprehensions, and be able to make an advantage of her pretensions founded on the terms of her alliance with the late emperor; *Sweden* hoped to be able to recover her losses under favour of the first troubles that should happen; and *Denmark* flattered herself that she had nothing more to fear, for that the empress would scarce be in a condition to execute the designs which her late husband had formed in favour of the house of *Holstein*.

State of Russia at the accession of the empress Catharine.

f To prevent all enterprizes that could be formed against her government at home, *Catharine* took the most prudent measures imaginable; she made no change in the ministry or the army; the faithful and equitable *Golowin* was continued in the post of grand-chancellor, prince *Menzikoff* in that of prime minister, and count *Apraxin* at the head of the marine: the generals and counsellors of state, *Repnin*, *Galitzin*, and *Dolgorucki*, likewise remained in their respective employments; nor was any alteration made in the system or conduct of the court towards foreign powers. Affairs were also managed in such a

Her wise precautions.

He polish'd from their native Ruggedness;
And breaking out like a new Sun,
To illuminate the minds of a People,
Dispell'd their Night of hereditary Darknes;
And, by force of his invincible Influence,
Taught them to conquer
Even the Conquerors of Germany.
Other Princes have commanded victorious Armies;
This Commander created them.
Blush, O Art! at a Hero who owed thee nothing.
Exult, O Nature! for thine was this Prodigy.

manner,

manner, with respect to the neighbouring potentates, as might destroy any opinion they should entertain of the government's being weaker now than under the late emperor. For this reason great care was taken to augment the troops, and to dispose them so as to be ready to act on the first notice. The improvement of the marine was also attended to with the same diligence as in the last reign, a fleet being manned, equipped, and ordered to sail, as if for an expedition, as had been practised by *Peter*, in order to train up his seamen.

She gains great advantages in Persia,

DURING these domestic transactions, the *Russian* generals continued their conquests on the coasts of the *Caspian Sea*. The prince of *Teflis* not only submitted to the empress, but came to *Petersburg* with all his family, and embraced the *Greek* religion; and in the month of *June*, general *Matuffskin*, to whom the late emperor had left the command of his troops in *Georgia*, obtained two victories over the united forces of the neighbouring princes, one on the plain of *Koschomodan*, and the other in that of *Temnin*, where he made himself master of all their artillery and baggage. But his most considerable advantage was over the *Tartars* of *Dagestan*, against whom he led fifteen thousand regular troops, and gained a complete victory: the first fruits of which were, the taking the town of *Tarku*, with twenty dependent villages.

and executes several of the emperor's designs.

TOWARDS the latter end of the year 1725, the empress undertook two very important affairs; the first was, in imitation of the late emperor, to make a disposition for settling the succession to the crown, lest she should be taken off before she had regulated a matter of that great concern; and the other, to enquire into the ecclesiastical revenues, and prescribe proper bounds to the avarice of the clergy. The first of these designs occasioned great murmuring and discontent, and even produced several pasquinades and other seditious papers; but the other was a matter of much more danger and difficulty, there not being a people under the sun more slavishly submissive to the will and direction of their clergy than the *Russians*: nor is this to be wondered at, if we consider how much they are deprived of the advantages of education, and accustomed, from their infancy, to the most servile subjection in every respect. Their priests, who are naturally cunning, though in general very ignorant, exercise all their skill in taking advantage of the blind obedience and superstition of the people, and thereby amass such prodigious revenues, as even *Peter* himself, with all his penetration and sagacity, had never been able rightly to discover. However, to avoid the consequences of this inquiry, which they had great reason to dread, they gave the empress a very considerable free gift.

Two other great designs of the late emperor, the augmentation of the marine, and the discovery of a passage by the north of *Tartary*, to *Japan*, *China*, and the *Indies*, yet remained to be executed. With respect to the former, the empress succeeded therein as far as her circumstances would permit, by increasing her fleet to fifty ships of the line, forty frigates, and a great number of galleys, galliots, and flat-bottomed boats: the repeated, but ineffectual attempts for the latter have been already noticed.

A. D. 1726.
Situation of affairs in Europe.

The treaty of Vienna.

The treaty of Hanover.

Consequences of these treaties.

To give the reader a proper idea of the subsequent transactions of this reign, it will be necessary to take a short view of the situation of affairs in other parts of *Europe* at this period, which seemed to threaten an approaching war. The breaking up of a fruitless congress at *Cambray*, had been closely followed by three treaties between the courts of *Spain* and *Vienna*; one of peace, another of alliance, and a third of commerce. Some of the *European* powers, especially those whose trading interests were most extensive, thought themselves injured by the last of these treaties; because *Spain* thereby not only guaranteed the establishment of an *East India* company, made about two years before in the *Austrian Netherlands*, but even granted several advantages to the subjects of the emperor sailing to the *Indies*, which had already been exclusively granted to several nations. The discontent of these commercial states naturally united their interests, and occasioned a treaty of alliance to be concluded at *Hanover* on the third of *September*, 1725, between the kings of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Prussia*, wherein it was expressly stipulated, that the republic of the *United Provinces* should be invited to accede to it. The sole end of this treaty was to maintain these powers in the possession of their rights, upon which the treaty of *Vienna* seemed to encroach, though at the same time no particular right was therein specified.

THE treaties of *Hanover* and *Vienna* seemed likely to divide all *Europe* into two parties, through the endeavours used by the powers engaged in these alliances, to draw into their opposite interests all the potentates that were not originally concerned therein. In the first place, the allies of *Hanover* invited the states general of the *United Provinces* to accede to their alliance, as a party greatly interested in the preservation of the commercial rights, which, it was pretended, were very much injured by the grant made to the *Ostend* company, and by several articles of the treaty of *Vienna*. The kings of *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and *Sardinia*, were afterwards invited to accede to it, as being the particular allies of *Great Britain* and *France*: so that the parties concerned in the treaty of *Vienna* had only *Poland*, *Russia*,

a *Russia*, and some princes of the empire and *Italy*, left to engage in their alliance. They therefore had recourse to two methods, inviting some to accede to it, and using all their endeavours to dissuade others from listening to the instances that were made on the part of *Great Britain* and *France*.

SWEDEN, who had made her peace with *Russia* at *Nystadt* on the thirtieth of *August*, 1721, had confirmed that peace by another treaty of alliance concluded at *Stockholm* on the fourth of *March*, 1724, to which all such powers as should approve of it were to be invited to accede; and the emperor *Charles VI.* had accordingly been actually invited on both sides. This last treaty contained certain stipulations in favour of the duke of *Holstein's* pretensions to the restitution of the duchy of *Sleswick*, which had been guarantied to the king of *Denmark* by the king of *Great Britain*, upon his acquisition of *Bremen* and *Verden*, and whilst the congress of *Cambray* yet subsisted. But the emperor, having a real interest to manage with the king of *Great Britain*, did not think proper at that time to accept of the invitation of *Russia* and *Sweden*; though, after the conclusion of the treaty of *Hanover*, the imperial ministers caused that invitation to be revived, and made use of it in order to draw those two courts indirectly into the treaty of *Vienna*. This negotiation was entered into by *M. Lanschinski*, on the part of the empress *Catbarine*, and count *Tessin*, the *Swedish* minister; while the other powers, who had forgot the invitation of 1724, to which the imperial court then gave no attention, were greatly alarmed at the diligence used to bring about an affair of which they were not apprized. However, it was not long a secret; for the emperor's offer made to *Sweden* to accede to the treaty of 1724, at a time when the ministers of *England*, *France*, and *Prussia*, were inviting that crown to accede to the treaty of *Hanover*, unriddled the whole. The court of *Sweden* could not well reject this accession, after having demanded it, tho' the situation of affairs was now altered. For this reason count *Tessin* negotiated, in consequence of the former instructions given to his predecessor; and a convention was accordingly entered into between these three powers, in which was contained a secret article, relative to the duke of *Holstein*. This article was certainly the principal motive that induced the empress *Catbarine* to enter into the designs of the court of *Vienna*, which, by this treaty, was obliged to support any steps that should be taken to obtain the restitution of the duchy of *Sleswick*.

The emperor accedes to the treaty between Sweden and Russia;

d THE court of *Sweden*, which had not the same views as that of *Russia*, did not so readily ratify this act of the emperor's accession, nor, even at last, without certain modifications and restrictions. But if the empress, persuaded by the duke of *Holstein*, took this step so easily, the *Russian* ministry afterwards checked her zeal by opposing the interests of *Russia* to those of *Holstein*. We have already observed, that the emperor's accession to the treaty of *Stockholm* could only be considered as a step to induce the courts of *Russia* and *Sweden* to engage in other measures: and therefore the empress *Catbarine* had no sooner ratified this accession, than the imperial ministers, in their turn, proposed to her to accede to the treaty of *Vienna*. This affair, however, was of too great importance to be proceeded in so hastily as the emperor's ministers required, as *Catbarine* might thereby engage herself in a war, not only with *Great Britain* and *France*, but perhaps with *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and the *United Provinces*, without reaping the least advantage from it; but, on the contrary, running the risk of having her ports blocked up, and her commerce destroyed. These considerations protracted the negotiations to a great length, and obliged the court of *Vienna* to recall count *Rabutis* from *Prussia*, and send him to *Petersburg* to obviate the difficulties which had arisen. This minister was at first received very coolly, but knowing how to insinuate himself, and being powerfully seconded by the duke of *Holstein* and his ministers, the empress at length consented not only to accede to the treaty of *Vienna*, but to conclude an alliance with the emperor, which was mutually signed and exchanged on the sixth of *August*, 1726.

and invites them to accede to the treaty of Vienna.

e Soon after, the empress assembled a great naval force, in order to favour the designs of the duke of *Holstein* upon the duchy of *Sleswick*; but though the foundation of this enterprise was just, yet it was necessary to render it plausible. To this purpose the *Russian* ministry gave out, that the king of *Denmark* had actually proposed terms of accommodation to the duke. The intent of this report was not only to persuade the allies of that monarch that *Denmark* had entered into treaties without their knowledge, and by that means to create jealousies and suspicions between them; but also to provoke the *Danish* court to make complaints, of which they might take advantage. In this last point they succeeded; several warm letters passing on this occasion between *Von Hagen* the *Danish* secretary of state, and *Bassowitz*, the duke of *Holstein's* prime minister; wherein the designs and motives of the courts of *Russia* and *Denmark* were treated in a stile very uncommon among princes.

which the empress Catharine agrees to.

g WHILE the minds of men were thus disposed for a rupture by these writings, every thing was preparing in *Russia* for actual execution; the ships were assembled and equipped, and the troops designed for this expedition received orders to march into *Livonia*: tho' not without doubt of their success, by reason of a fleet then fitting out by the *English*, and

She assembles a great armament.

justly suspected to be intended to awe the *Baltic*. *Denmark* was not the only power that apprehended the consequences of those warlike preparations in *Russia*: *Sweden* was also alarmed at them; and as the partizans of the duke of *Holstein* were very desirous of having deputies in the approaching assembly of the states, it was not doubted, but that though the *Russian* fleet seemed chiefly designed against *Denmark*, it would not really fail but with views of supporting the *Swedish* partizans in the interest of that prince. This suspicion received a farther confirmation, from some ill-timed menaces that were dropt by the *Russian* ministers; upon which baron *Spaar*, the *Swedish* minister in *Great Britain*, pressed this court to take the necessary measures for preserving the tranquility of the north. The court of *Denmark* was not less solicitous to the same purpose; and perhaps the king of *Great Britain* was the more easily prevailed upon to come into the measures, by his having received information of several steps taken by the court of *Berlin*, which rendered it extremely doubtful whether that power would continue firm in the alliance of *Hanover*.

Treaty of alliance between the emperor and the king of Prussia.

COUNT *Seckendorf*, a *Saxon* nobleman in the emperor's service, and one whom the king of *Prussia* had long esteemed, being accidentally at *Potzdam*, imagined that he had discovered a dissatisfaction in that monarch with his allies. He immediately informed the emperor of what he had perceived, and at the same time hinted to his *Prussian* majesty, the benefit that would probably arise from a defensive alliance between him and the imperial court. What passed upon this subject, though only by way of conversation, met with more attention and regard than the count could have expected; and these casual overtures insensibly led him into farther explanations with the king, who, in his turn, opened himself on the subject of his pretensions to the succession of *Juliers* and *Bergue*; which, he alledged, was to return to his family after the death of the elector palatine. It was certainly a great master-stroke in politics, for the emperor to draw this prince from the *Hanoverian* alliance: or at least to raise some probable suspicions of such a change, which could not fail of greatly perplexing the allies of *Hanover*, and of hindering, or retarding, the accession of some powers who had been invited to enter into that alliance. The emperor, therefore, granted every thing that the king of *Prussia* demanded, and even some things that were not in his power to grant; and a treaty was concluded between them, by which it was agreed, that his *Prussian* majesty should guaranty the succession of the house of *Austria*, as it had been regulated by the last pragmatic sanction; that the two contracting powers should mutually assist each other with a certain number of troops; that the emperor should pay a certain subsidy to the king of *Prussia*; and that his imperial majesty should use his utmost endeavours to secure to his *Prussian* majesty the eventual succession of *Juliers* and *Bergue*.

Another treaty between the empress Catharine and the king of Prussia.

THIS alliance proved extremely agreeable to the court of *Russia*, between which and that of *Prussia* it immediately gave rise to another negotiation. The differences between *Poland* and the court of *Berlin* seemed greatly to increase; and on the other hand, the *Poles* paid very little regard to the demands of the empress *Catharine*; but equally threatened both these powers, especially with respect to *Courland*. If the *Russians* were not immediately concerned in the *Poles* entering *Prussia*, yet they had a real interest in the preservation of *Courland*, which served as a rampart on that side to *Livonia*; and the king of *Prussia*, on the other hand, seemed to have every thing to fear from the impetuosity of a nation who were determined to treat him as a vassal. These mutual interests naturally produced a defensive alliance between the courts of *Petersburg* and *Berlin*, by which they reciprocally guarantied their respective possessions, and stipulated the certain number of succours with which they were mutually to assist each other.

An English fleet arrives in the Baltic.

THESE alliances, joined to the great preparations that were making both by land and sea, alarmed the *Danes* to such a degree, that they renewed their solicitations to the court of *Great Britain* for succours more strongly than ever; and conceived greater hopes of succeeding therein, as they were pressed both by that court and *France* to accede to the treaty of *Hanover*. The king of *Denmark* was very desirous of being a contracting party in this alliance; but the article of the guaranty of rights and possessions was an obstacle, which, from his connections with other states, he could not surmount; on the other hand, his particular rights and pretensions could not be guarantied by the other parties, without exposing themselves to difficult discussions with some other powers. The courts of *France* and *Great Britain*, therefore, to avoid all these inconveniences, entered into a particular treaty with the king of *Denmark*; in consequence of which an *English* squadron consisting of twenty-three sail, commanded by sir *Charles Wager*, soon after appeared in the *Baltic*, under pretence of maintaining the peace of the north, and covering the coasts of *Sweden* from any enterprises on the part of the *Russians*.

THIS in a great measure confirms what we observed before, that the *Russian* fleet was not so much intended against *Denmark*, as to support the duke of *Holstein's* partizans in the assembly of the states of *Sweden*; and the *English* admiral, in pursuance of his instructions, posted himself so advantageously as to prevent the *Russian* ships from going out of their

a their ports. On this occasion several councils were held, to resolve in what manner to behave to the *English*: some were for taking the opportunity of the first fair wind to attack them; others were for setting them on fire; but the more prudent were of opinion, that as her imperial majesty had declared that she had no enterprise in view, but had equipped her fleet only to maintain the peace of the north, and to exercise her marine, they ought not by their conduct to falsify this declaration: but should convince all the *European* powers of their sincerity, and that those who had represented their designs in any other light, were grossly deceived themselves, and endeavoured to impose upon others. The empress therefore sent orders to the governors of *Reval*, and other places on the coast, to give the *English* admiral a good reception, and to furnish him with such provisions and refreshments b as he should have occasion for: thus, by making a virtue of necessity, those forces, which were destined for great attempts, were obliged to remain quite inactive.

COUNT *Rabutin*, the emperor's minister at *Petersburg*, used his utmost vigilance to thwart any negotiation that might be set on foot with the *British* admiral; and at the same time the *Danish* minister presented a memorial, demanding a categorical reason for the preparations which the *Russians* had made. This demand seemed of a very extraordinary nature, and was objected to by the *Russians* as quite unseasonable, since no step had been taken, nor any declaration made, from whence there could be the least room to suspect c them of intending to disturb the public tranquillity. They therefore answered this piece by another, wherein they formally asked the king of *Denmark*'s reason for having sent twelve of his ships of war to join the *English* squadron; and whether so extraordinary a step ought not to be looked upon as an open rupture.

DURING these transactions at *Petersburg*, the negotiations in *Sweden* were carried on with great vigour; the counts *Golowin*, and *Freytag* omitting nothing that might prevent the states from acceding to the treaty of *Hanover*, which the ministers of *Great Britain* and *France* strongly solicited. The empress *Catharine* had this affair so much at heart, that she recalled prince *Dolgorucki*, one of her ablest politicians, from *Warsaw*, to send him to *Stockholm*; and would also have sent count *Bassewitz* thither, to support the interests of the duke of *Holstein*: but the court of *Sweden* being well acquainted with the conduct and intrigues of this minister, intimated, that he would not be well received there. Two other ministers were d sent by the duke, for form sake, to *Stockholm*, where they did neither good nor harm.

PRINCE *Dolgorucki*'s instructions were very full, and he had orders not to spare any thing that could prevent *Sweden*'s acceding to the treaty of *Hanover*. However, the *British* minister pushed this affair with so much warmth, that the king of *Sweden*, though *Dolgorucki* offered him a subsidy of six hundred thousand rubels, declared himself in favour of the accession, and then left the farther decision of the affair to the assembly of the states, who soon after followed his example. Sweden accedes to the treaty of Hanover.

PRINCE *Dolgorucki*, finding he had miscarried in his negotiation, declared to count *Horn*, the *Swedish* minister, "That her imperial majesty, his sovereign, seeing with regret, e "that all the advantageous proposals she had made to the crown of *Sweden* had been "sighted and rejected, was obliged to change the good inclinations she had hitherto "entertained towards that kingdom, and to pursue the designs of her late consort in so "effectual a manner, that *Sweden* might have reason to repent of this step when it would "be too late."

WHILE these negotiations were carrying on at foreign courts, the empress was particularly attentive to preserve her influence among her neighbours; to which end new levies were raised on all sides, and she still continued to augment her marine, though the *English* had in a manner blocked up her ports. Ever studious to promote the welfare of her subjects, she had adhered strictly to *Peter*'s noble plan of civilizing his people, and reforming the government. The genius of that great prince still directed the administration of affairs, and watched over the glory of the empire. *Catharine* took uncommon care f of the late czarowitz's son, *Peter Alexowitz*, the only prince that remained of the blood of the czars. She declared him great duke of *Russia*, as a step previous to his being appointed her successor. Catharine appoints her successor.

ABOUT the same time some *Muscovite* lords were accused of secretly fomenting a conspiracy in order to raise the infant duke to the throne, to revenge his father, and restore the antient form of government. This alarm was given by prince *Menzikoff*, who made use of his unbounded power at court, to ruin those he suspected or disliked. Several of these pretended accomplices were arrested by his sole command, and banished to *Siberia*: but it was soon found that this conspiracy was but a phantom, to which the imprudent g zeal or rather the jealousy and avarice of the minister, had given a shadow of reality. Pretended conspiracy.

KING *Augustus* of *Poland*, who had powerful reasons to keep the court of *Russia* in the interests of *Saxony*, shewed at this time a piece of gallantry towards her imperial majesty, quite agreeable to his polite disposition. He had lately instituted the order of the *White Eagle*, which had never been conferred upon any but officers of distinguished merit, who Catharine receives the order of the White Eagle. had

had done him some signal service : but to give the empress *Catharine* an extraordinary proof of his esteem, by offering her the greatest compliment in his power, he sent the ensigns of that order to his minister at *Petersburg*, to present to her majesty, who received them with pleasure, and was, a few days after, invested with them in a most pompous and magnificent manner.

Presides at the opening of the academy of sciences.

SHORTLY after this she presided at the first meeting of the academy of sciences at *Petersburg*, which was opened on the feast of *St. Catharine*. The arts and sciences had now a palace in *Russia*, founded by the immortal *Peter*, in a great city, in the midst of a people curious and desirous to be instructed, and on a spot where, fifteen years before, nothing was to be seen but inaccessible bogs and marshes. Such is the power of good and generous sovereigns, to benefit their subjects, and establish the glory of their empire !

Is taken ill.

A GLASS of spirituous liquor given to the empress at an entertainment at this time is generally supposed to have shortened her days. What gives credit to this suspicion, is, that her chief physician declared her complaint, which settled upon her lungs, came from the hand of some secret enemy, and that no remedy could possibly remove it. She, however, continued to apply herself with great assiduity to public affairs, and particularly to the election of a successor to the duke of *Courland*, in which *Russia* was deeply interested.

A. D. 1727. Affairs of Courland.

FERDINAND, the then reigning duke of that country, was a Roman catholic, and had no children. This occasioned great uneasiness among his subjects ; and the states of *Courland*, fearing the consequences of a re-union of that duchy to the kingdom of *Poland*, which had been talked of in the diets of *Warsaw* and *Grodno*, were determined to prevent any resolution that might be taken to the prejudice of their religion and liberty. They therefore, by virtue of the right which they claimed of electing their own dukes, proceeded to an eventual election, and their choice fell upon count *Maurice* of *Saxe*, natural son of king *Augustus*, in whose favour they were determined, as much on the account of his merit, as to convince the republic of *Poland*, that they did not want to withdraw themselves from her protection, since it was not at all likely that the son of their king would act against the interests of his father. But the design of the *Poles* being to divide this duchy into palatinates, this election was not agreeable to them, and they treated the *Courlanders* with as much severity as if they had elected a foreign prince. Count *Maurice* was not only laid under the bann of the empire, but new measures were actually concerted for rejoining *Courland* to the kingdom of *Poland*.

The empress prepares against an alliance of the English, French, Danes, and Swedes.

It was likewise insinuated to the court of *Russia*, that the king of *Great Britain* intended to send another great fleet into the *Baltic* ; that the court of *Denmark* had concluded a treaty of alliance with *France* and *England*, by which she engaged to raise a great body of troops, in consideration of a considerable subsidy ; and that the states of *Sweden* had desired their king to equip a powerful squadron, and bend all his cares towards the re-establishment of his marine. All these dispositions seemed to forbode a war : for which reason the empress *Catharine* gave orders for assembling thirty thousand men, who were to march on the first notice from the emperor. Part of these troops were sent to *Smolenskow*, and the rest to *Riga* : but it was to be feared that they would not get into the empire, as the kings of *Poland* and *Prussia* did not seem inclinable to grant them a free passage. However, there happened not to be occasion for them ; the preliminaries of a peace being soon after signed, in which it was agreed that the northern powers should be invited to the congress.

Her illness increases.

CATHARINE's disorder began now visibly to increase, and the first physician to the king of *Prussia*, whom she had sent for, declared that he had no favourable opinion of the consequences of her illness. Towards the middle of *April*, she grew so bad as to be obliged to keep her bed, and it was found that an abscess was actually formed in her lungs. The proper remedies were accordingly administered ; and with such success at first, that, about the 12th of *May*, she was thought to be so much out of danger, that preparations were made for celebrating the anniversary of her coronation on the 18th of that month ; but this expected joy was soon turned into mourning : for on the 16th, her majesty relapsed, and the next day, at about nine o'clock in the evening, she expired, after a reign of two years, three months, and seven days, at the age of thirty-eight years, three months, and twenty days.

Death of the empress Catherine.

Her character.

THE *Russians* justly lamented in the death of this empress, than whom few greater or better sovereigns have ever lived, the loss of a tender, careful, and compassionate mother, who reigned over her children. Her merit alone had raised her to the bed of one of the greatest monarchs in the world ; and her sublime genius, her heroic qualities, her patriotic virtues, secured her, even in her life-time, a distinguished rank among the most illustrious of mankind.

Peter II. czar.

CATHARINE, upon her death-bed, declared *Peter Alexowitz II.* her successor, and settled the regency that was to govern during his minority. Thinking she should never sufficiently

- a ciently shew her gratitude to prince *Menzikoff*, the principal author of her fortune and elevation, she had appointed that favourite of *Peter the Great* generalissimo of all the forces of the empire, by land and by sea, and had raised him to such height of power, that he wanted only the title of sovereign, of which he had in fact the authority. To complete her favours to him, she prevailed on the regency to agree to a marriage between one of *Menzikoff's* daughters, and the young prince *Peter Alexowitz*. But this emperor, though but twelve years old at the time of his accession, was resolved to punish him for the injuries he had done his father: a design in which he was heartily seconded by the lords of his court, who ardently wished the ruin of a rival, before whom they had been obliged to truckle, under the preceding reigns. *Menzikoff* himself unwarily lent them arms against him.
- b Intoxicated with his grandeur, he no longer kept measures with any one, but carried his rapines and extortions, hitherto unpunished, to greater lengths than he had ever done before, and at last presumed to behave insolently even to the czar, who thereupon disgraced and banished him, and confiscated his immense estate.

Menzikoff
disgraced and
banished.

PETER II. then raised the princes *Dolgorucki* to the highest employments in the empire, and actually espoused the princess *Catharine*, daughter to prince *Alexis*, who had been his governor, and sister to the princes *Sergius* and *John*: but before the marriage was consummated, he was seized with the small-pox, of which he died on the 19th of January 1730.

A. D. 1730.
Death of
Peter II.

- c UPON the death of the emperor *Peter II.* the regular succession to the crown of *Russia* was at a stand. According to the will of the empress *Catharine*, her eldest daughter *Anne Petrowna*, duchess of *Holstein*, ought to have been called to the throne: but she died the year after her mother, and left behind her a son, who was then about ten years old. The prospect of so long a minority as must have ensued upon the accession of this prince, determined the senate and nobility to set aside *Catharine's* will, under pretence of its being vacated by a declaration of the late emperor, who, said they, had appointed, upon his death-bed, another successor; though, at first, they could not agree among themselves who they should declare this successor to be: by which it was very manifest, that, notwithstanding their assertions, the young emperor in reality made no such declaration.

The regular
succession broke
through;

- d It has been said, that some of the principal nobility had thoughts of changing the government into a republic; but that finding this would be impracticable, they framed a new scheme of rule, which was, to govern the empire themselves, allowing only the name and ensigns of sovereign authority to one of the imperial family. The next consideration was, who this person should be; and after some debate, they cast their eyes upon *Anne Iwanowna*, duchess of *Courland*; of the imperial line indeed, but out of all the rules of succession. She was the second daughter of the emperor *John*, elder brother to *Peter the Great*; but she had an elder sister, *Catharine Iwanowna*, who was married to the duke of *Mecklenburg*, to whom, if the succession was to devolve first on the daughters of the elder brother, the imperial crown should have come: but her husband was engaged in a kind of civil war with his nobility; and therefore it was given out, that for securing the peace and tranquillity of his subjects, the young emperor *Peter II.* passing her by, had called her younger sister to the succession, which, soon after her death, she was invited to accept. Such steps, by rendering successions arbitrary, open a door to revolutions, and make the throne totter. There must be a certain order of birth, as *M. de Montesquieu* observes, to strike the people, to stop cabals, and to stifle ambition.

and Anne
Iwanowna
declared em-
press.

- e THE princes *Dolgorucki* and their faction, who took upon them the management of this affair, assigned the new empress a council, framed a new constitution for the empire, and limited her authority as they thought proper; to which regulations she readily consented. But as soon as she was fixed upon the throne, she cancelled all these limitations, and banished the authors of them. She then made choice of grave and wise ministers, and gave the command of her armies to very able and experienced generals, which enabled her to govern with great reputation, and to maintain the credit of her empire, with regard to the rest of *Europe*, in as high a degree as any of her predecessors. She afforded the emperor of *Germany*, *Charles VI.* powerful succours against the house of *Bourbon*: she seated *Augustus III.* king of *Poland*, upon the throne of his father, notwithstanding all the arts, and in spite of the arms of *France*: she made successful war against the *Turks*, who wanted to recover *Asoph*, and in the course of that war totally ruined the *Crim Tartars*. In a word, she made her government as much revered as from the power of her extended dominions it ought to be; and concluded such alliances with foreign states, as were most proper for maintaining the system of government, which she laboured to establish.

Sketch of her
reign.

- f SHE brought to her court her niece, the princess *Anne* of *Mecklenburg*, daughter of her eldest sister, and married her to *Antony Ulric* of *Brunswick Bevern*; resolving to call the issue of this marriage to the succession. The only error in her government was, her confiding almost wholly in strangers, and particularly *Germans*, with whom she filled her councils and armies, which raised a strong spirit of resentment in the *Russian* nobility, who could not brook being in a state of subjection to foreigners. This disposition began

to shew itself with great vehemence towards the latter end of the life of the empress, who, in order to extinguish it, had recourse to extraordinary acts of severity, which were so far from having the desired effect, that they served only to increase the animosity, insomuch that the czarina became very apprehensive of the consequences, for defeating which she made the best provision in her power.

A. D. 1740.
The princess of
Mecklenburg
delivered of a
son; whom
the czarina
names her suc-
cessor.

ON the 12th of *August* 1740, the princess of *Mecklenburg* was delivered of a son, whom the czarina, according to the *Russian* constitution established by *Peter the Great*, named her successor, and put under the guardianship of the prince his father and the grand duchess his mother; at the same time appointing a council for the young emperor, composed of such persons as she thought most capable of sustaining the weight of affairs, and of preserving things in the condition in which she intended to leave them. At the head of this council, with the title of regent, was her great favourite, *John Ernestus Biron*, a native of *Courland*, of mean extraction, whom she had caused to be elected duke of *Courland* after the death of *Ferdinand*, the last prince of the house of *Kettler*, and who had the principal direction of affairs in her reign. Baron *Osterman*, high chancellor of *Russia*, a man of great experience, and through whose hands whatever related to foreign affairs had passed many years, had the rank of prime minister. Count *Munich*, who had served against the *Turks* with very distinguished reputation, was at the head of the army, with the title of field-marshal: so that there seemed to be no reason to doubt but that the government might be carried on as well as in the former minority. Such were the hopes of the empress *Anne Iwanowna* when she died, in *October* 1740.

John III. an
infant, ac-
knowledged
czar.

THE emperor was immediately acknowledged by the senate and people, in his cradle, he being little more than two months old; and the marquis *de la Chetardie*, the *French* minister, made his imperial majesty a long speech upon the occasion, in which he assured him of the sincere friendship of *Lewis XV.* to *John III.* sovereign of all the *Russias*. But it soon appeared, that this government could not subsist in the form in which it stood in the late empress's will. The principal lords and prelates of *Russia* murmured at being under a foreign yoke, as they called it, which, had it been ever so light, would have seemed to them shameful and insufferable. They assembled in the night preceding the 17th of *November*, in the palace of the grand duchess, the emperor's mother, and unanimously named her regent of the empire. The duke of *Biron* was arrested as an usurper and a tyrant, tried in form by the judges of the state, and condemned to die: but the new regent mitigated this sentence, and banished him and his family into *Siberia*.

The duke of
Biron banish-
ed.

A. D. 1741.
The Swedes
arm against
the Russians;
but are de-
feated.

THE *Swedes*, taking advantage of these troubles, armed against *Russia*. *Finland* was the theatre of the war: but the time of their victories and conquests was no more. General *Lascy*, at the head of the *Muscovite* troops, defeated the enemy near *Wilmanstra*, and made himself master of that place. Several officers, and a great number of soldiers, were taken prisoners, and treated with extraordinary humanity by the *Russians*, who shewed by this how much they had profited by the lessons of the *Great Peter*. The conquerors gained several other advantages over the *Swedes*; and the princess of *Brunswic* caused the states of *Courland* to proceed to the election of a new duke. Their choice fell upon her husband, *Ernestus Ferdinand* of *Brunswic*: but she did not remain long enough at the head of the government of *Russia* to make *Poland* ratify this nomination.

Revolution in
favour of the
princess *Eliza-
beth*.

THE testamentary dispositions of *Peter the Great* with respect to the succession to the throne of *Russia*, were no secret to the lords or people of *Moscow*, among whom one of the daughters of that illustrious emperor, *Elizabeth Petrowna*, a lady of distinguished merit, and now about thirty-eight years of age, had lived, during the last reign, in a manner, and under circumstances little suited to her birth, being a kind of prisoner in the palace. The prudence of her behaviour, joined to the magnanimity with which she had supported her misfortunes, made such an impression on all who had beheld her, that she had long reigned in the hearts of her people, while others reigned upon the throne. At length, her right to the crown, her heroic qualities, her nobleness of soul, her transcendent virtues, and her title of daughter of *Peter the Great* and of the empress *Catharine*, names ever dear to *Russia*, made the whole nation, princes, nobility, senators, soldiers, and even the populace, wish her to be their sovereign, and testify such affection for her, that some who had served her father with fidelity, and now enjoyed the reward of their services, resolved to run any hazard in order to place her on the throne. The princess of *Brunswic* had received some informations that a plot was carrying on, but had not been able to learn any thing certain; so that her suspicions led her only to have an interview on this occasion with the princess *Elizabeth*, a few hours before the revolution. The illustrious daughter of *Peter the Great*, perfectly mistress of herself, received the regent with such undisturbed tranquility, as soon dispelled all her fears.

IN the night between the 5th and 6th of *December*, a number of guards went to the apartment of the princess *Elizabeth Petrowna*, and offered to declare her empress. She immediately put herself at their head, marched to the barracks, and was instantly joined by

- a by the rest of the troops. Giving her orders then with that voice of authority which admits of no resistance, she commanded several regiments to disperse in different parts of the city, and seize the foreigners that were employed in the government. Then, returning to the palace with another regiment, animated by her presence, she secured the persons of the emperor and the regent. *Elizabeth* herself acquainted them with their fall, and at the same time treated them as became their birth. The people received with loud acclamations of joy this illustrious offspring of their beloved *Peter* and *Catharine*, of whose features, as well as virtues, *Elizabeth* was a living image. She was proclaimed in the morning of the 6th of *December*, at the head of the regiment of guards, and of the other troops of the garrison, empress and sovereign of all *Russia*. On the 12th of the same month, b the regent and the prince her son retired into *Germany*, in their way to which they were conducted as far as the frontiers of *Prussia*.

John III. deposed.

- THE new empress appointed a commission to enquire into the conduct of those who had been concerned in the management of affairs under the late reign, and who had been instrumental in keeping her from the throne. The guilty were sentenced to die: but she immediately pardoned them; and at the same time nobly declared, that no person should be put to death during her reign, for any crime whatever; but that some other punishment should be inflicted, according to the nature of the offence, without the shedding of blood: a promise which she always religiously observed. She then rectified several abuses in the management of the affairs of the empire, and restored to their just ranks the great families of *Russia*, whom she entrusted with the principal employments in the state.

- c *ELIZABETH PETROWNA* was crowned at *Moscow*, with the same ceremonies as the empress *Catharine* her mother.

Elizabeth crowned empress of Russia.

SHORTLY after, the duchess, mother of *John III.* who had been dethroned, attempting to bring about another revolution, was arrested at *Riga* in *Livonia*, where she has been confined ever since, with her husband and son.

- THE empress then sent for her nephew *Charles Peter Ulric*, duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, son of her sister *Anne Petrowna* duchess of *Holstein*, and grand-son of queen *Ulrica*, the eldest sister of *Charles XII.* The throne of *Sweden* became vacant at that time, and the states made choice of this prince, the delight of two rival nations, in hopes that their electing d him would put an end to a war by which the *Swedes* were great sufferers. But her imperial majesty had already declared him her successor in the throne of *Russia*, to which he was the presumptive heir under the original establishment of the emperor *Peter the Great*. He accordingly embraced the *Greek* religion, and, agreeable to the will of the empress, and the custom of the nation, received the surname of *Peter Petrowitz*, with the title of *Imperial Highness* and *Grand Duke* (A).

A. D. 1742. The states of Sweden chose her nephew for their king. But she appoints him her successor in the throne of Russia.

- SWEDEN* was then in a most deplorable situation; distracted at home by intestine feuds, distressed abroad by a formidable and victorious enemy, destitute of a king, and preyed upon by all the evils of anarchy. Under these unhappy circumstances, when *Sweden* had every thing to fear from *Russia*, the empress, with uncommon generosity and moderation, offered peace to her defenceless enemies. The preliminaries were signed at Abo, on the 27th of *June*, by the plenipotentiaries of the two crowns. The principal conditions were, that the duke of *Holstein-Eutin*, bishop of *Lubeck*, and administrator of *Holstein-Gottorp*, should be chosen king of *Sweden*; that the *Swedes* should cede to *Russia* the province of *Keymengard*, with all the branches and the mouth of the *Keymen*, and the fortress of *Nyslöt*, besides a slip of land on the east and north, about two *Swedish* leagues in breadth. On the other hand *Russia* engaged to restore what she possessed in *Finland*, *East Botnia*, *Biorneberg*, *Abo*, the isles of *Oeland*, *Thavastus*, and *Nyland*, with their dependences, and also that part of *Carelia* which had been allotted to *Sweden* by the treaty of *Ny-*

A. D. 1743. The empress offers peace to the distressed Swedes.

Peace concluded between the Russians and Swedes at Abo.

(A) This is the present emperor, *Peter III.* who ascended the throne upon the demise of the late empress, on the 5th of *January*, 1762. Tho' we do not bring our work so low down, it cannot be improper to mention here some of the many acts of clemency and magnanimity, which have already distinguished so very short a period of the history of this country. His present imperial majesty, immediately after his accession, signified to Mr. *Keith*, the *British* envoy, his firm intention of making his present power subservient to the salutary purposes of a general peace: and, in consequence thereof, ordered three declarations to be delivered, to the *Imperial*, *French*, and *Swedish* ministers, then resident at his court, importing, that his imperial majesty, out of compassion to mankind in general, and to his own people in particular, had resolved to procure peace to his empire, and to use his utmost endeavours to re-establish it all over *Europe*; to which end he generously proposed to sacrifice all the conquests made by the *Russian* arms during the war. These declarations were dated *February* 23, N. S.

With respect to his own people in particular, he very early ordered every state-prisoner, count *Besucheff* only excepted, to be recalled from a long and painful exile in *Siberia*. He next abolished the secret chancery, or inquisition of state; a most abominable and oppressive court.—On the 28th of *January*, N. S. he went for the first time to the senate, and there declared the *Russian* nobility and gentry free, and upon the footing of those of their rank in the other kingdoms of *Europe*. After this, his imperial majesty made an irrevocable pragmatic sanction, by which the price of salt was lowered, and fixed for ever: a regulation by which his revenue will of course be considerably diminished; but nothing could more effectually contribute to the ease and relief of the poorer people.

This prince was born on the 10th of *February* 1728. In 1745, he married the princess *Catharine* of *Anhalt Zerbst*, by whom he has one son, *Paul Petrowitz*, born in 1754, now heir apparent to the *Russian* empire.

Stadt,

stadt, together with the province of *Savolexia*. The treaty of peace was ratified on the 7th^a of *August*, and mutually executed by the two powers.

As neither the limits of this history, nor any materials, really authentic, that we can be masters of, though such may come to the knowledge of future historians, permit us even to attempt a detail of the occurrences of this reign, or indeed of any of the preceding since the death of the empress *Catharine*; we shall conclude this history with a short view of the general political interests of *Russia* with respect to foreign nations.

Summary
view of the
political in-
terests of
Russia.

“THESE, says the judicious author of *The present State of Europe*, are neither so many, nor so complicated, as might be expected, considering the extent and situation of the empire, which gives its monarchs a right to be considered as *Asiatic*, as well as *European* powers. The northern parts of the empire, from the frontiers of the *Swedish* dominions, to those of *China* and *Japan*, are guarded in such a manner, as to be secure not only from danger, but from apprehension; having on that side a sea, hitherto impenetrable, and through which a passage, if any could be found, must turn to the benefit, but can never prove of any disadvantage to the subjects of *Russia*; which is a point of great consequence, and a blessing scarce known to any other country. The frontiers of the empire towards *China* are also inaccessible, as consisting of deserts impenetrable by armies, but which yield a tolerable passage for caravans; so that the *Russians* may always depend on the friendship of the *Chinese*; and whenever they apply themselves seriously thereto, may make this friendship turn to their advantage. The *Tartars* inhabiting the countries between *Persia* and *Russia*, are no longer formidable to this last empire; on the contrary, they all respect it, and many of them have voluntarily submitted, and become its vassals. The *Caspian* sea, and the dominions which the *Russians* have on that side, give them a fair opening into *Persia*, which they have already improved so as to gain to themselves a very advantageous trade; and this by degrees, may perhaps be extended as far as the *East Indies*.

“It will always be the interest of *Russia* to cultivate a good understanding with the *Schah*; but in case of a rupture she would not have much to fear, since, the frontiers being open, she might soon make an end of the war, by letting loose upon them the *Tartars*, who are her tributaries. The *Turks*, and their associates the *Crim Tartars*, are more dangerous enemies: but at present at least, the circumstances of the *Porte* will scarce allow her to break with the *Russians*, who, if such a thing should happen, can never want the power of defending themselves against them, or even of making them sensible of the folly of wanting only seeking a quarrel. The two great christian principalities dependant upon the *Ottoman* empire, have always a bias in favour of the *Russians*; and therefore the *Turks* run a greater hazard by making war with this, than with any other nation.

“THE interests of *Russia* in *Europe* are not hard to assign. As to *Sweden*, it is of great consequence to her to live upon good terms with that crown; and, on the other hand, the superiority of *Russia*, when forced into a war, has been so apparent, that there is great reason to think the *Swedes* will continue quiet on that side for a long series of time. It is equally requisite for the court of *Petersburg* to be upon good terms with the *Poles*; to which end every proper measure seems to have been taken.

“THERE seems to be no great cause of intercourse between *Russia* and *Denmark*, farther than what results from attention to the ballance of power in the north, which will always incline a wise administration in this empire, to keep the scales as even as may be between this crown and that of *Sweden*.

“THE interests of *Russia* with respect to the house of *Austria*, are its most material concern; for while these imperial houses are united, not only by general alliances, but by a due and hearty regard for each others prosperity, neither has much to fear from the *Turks*: but if they are divided, and the *Ottomans* should recover their ancient power, these may be formidable to both. *Russia* has been too long harrassed by an unnatural alliance, against which she has bravely stood her ground, and of which she now, happily, sees the end approach. The maritime powers are the natural allies, and hitherto have been, and are like to be fast friends to *Russia*. As to the other potentates of *Europe*, their dominions are too remote for *Russia* to have any great intercourse with them; and with respect to the house of *Bourbon*, as the court of *Petersburg* has never had any cause to like, so, in spite of all its power, and a late strange jumble of circumstances, now on the point of terminating, there is no probability of her ever having reason to fear it.”

HISTORY of the TUSCAN STATES.

S E C T. I.

Containing a Description of Tuscany, including Florence, Pisa, Leghorn, Sienna, Stato de gli Presidii, Patrimony of the Church, Lucca, and the twelve ancient Tuscan Cities.

THE grand duchy of *Tuscany*, as it is now called, excepting a few detached pieces lying in the territories of *Modena*, *Genoa*, and *Lucca*, extends from North to South about one hundred and sixteen miles, and about eighty from East to West. It is bounded by the *Mediterranean*, or *Tuscan Sea*; by the ecclesiastical state; by the duchy of *Modena*, and the country which anciently formed the exarchate of *Ravenna*; and it naturally abounds with grain, lemons, oranges, all other fruits, oil, and wine of an excellent kind. The face of the country is beautifully variegated by hills and dales, and the soil so rich and fertile, that it requires but little culture. It must however be admitted, that many places in *Tuscany* are altered for the worse, since the decadence of the *Roman* empire. Its populousness made it then the natural glory of *Italy*; but being depopulated by the irruptions of the barbarians, the want of cultivation has rendered some of the low-lying places, particularly about *Pisa*, *Volterra*, *Cbiusi*, and *Massa*, unhealthy.

Description of Tuscany.

TUSCANY abounds in the mines and minerals; but skill is wanting to work them in some places, particularly at *Volterra*. Its salt-works, however, are in good order; and alabaster, sulphur, and calcedony are found in many places*. *Massa* produces *lapis lazuli* and borax: amethysts are found at *Piombino*: jaspers at *Barga*: black slate, iron ore, excellent marble, and cornelians, at *Stazzena* and *Seravezza*. Quick-silver is found in the neighbourhood of *Sevegliani*; and even mines of silver have been discovered near *Galena*. Other places of this delightful country produce allum, manna, and honey, all excellent in their kinds. The hot springs of *Tuscany* were choaked up by the barbarians. The famous countess *Matilda* in 1113, repaired and made use of them; but the succeeding ages of barbarism again choaked them, till about twenty years ago they were discovered at the foot of mount *St. Giuliano*, not far from *Pisa*, and being again rebuilt, they are at this time vastly frequented for their medicinal virtues. Other places of *Tuscany* are famous on the same account; but each spring differs from another in its quality, appearance, and degrees of heat or cold. The same may be said of the baths, many of which in *Tuscany* are esteemed of singular efficacy in the cure of diseases.

THE *Arno* is the principal river in this country. It receives into it the *Sieva*, the *Pesa*, and the *Elfa*, and falls into the sea a little below *Pisa*. The source and course of the *Ombro* is through the *Siennese*.

THOUGH the modern *Tuscany* does not comprehend the whole of the ancient *Etruria*, yet its great duke is a sovereign prince and a powerful one too, especially in *Italy*. He is grand-master of the order of *St. Stephen*, the privileges of which somewhat resemble those of *Malta*: his ordinary income amounts to about three millions of piasters a year. His militia is regimented; his standing army consists of two regiments of dragoons, and three regiments of foot; but, upon occasions, it is said that he can bring into the field thirty thousand men, and fit out twenty ships of war, besides gallies and galleasses. The whole duchy is now governed by a regency, at the head of which is a governor, who resides at *Florence*, and lives with great magnificence. It is certain, that during the present war in *Germany* the great duke has drawn considerable supplies of men from his *Tuscan* dominions, and they are reckoned inferior to few of the *German* troops.

Power and revenue of the great duke.

A. D. 1762.

Florence.

THE chief district of *Tuscany* is that of *Florence*, where the excellent genius of the inhabitants for agriculture, notwithstanding the disadvantages they lie under in point of government and liberty, has rendered their country almost a garden. *Florence* itself, the capital of *Tuscany*, is delightfully situated in the midst of fertile and well-cultivated hills and vallies,

* *English Translation of BUSCHING'S Geography, vol. iii. pag. 118.*

and divided by the *Arno*, which has there over it four stone bridges, into two unequal parts. The streets are paved with very broad stones, that look like fragments of polished rocks, so that they are generally clean: many of them, however, are crooked, and so narrow as not to afford room for a carriage to pass. The cities of *Rome*, *Genoa*, and *Turin*, excel *Florence* in the number and splendid appearance of their palaces, the beauty of those of *Florence* being greatly diminished by the paper-windows, which are everywhere in use. *Florence* is said to contain seventeen market-places, seven fountains, six columns, two pyramids, one hundred and sixty public statues, forty-four parish churches, thirty-seven hospitals and charitable foundations, twelve priories, fifty-four convents, and twenty-four ecclesiastical fraternities. The number of the houses is computed to be nine thousand, and that of the inhabitants seventy thousand. The present trade of *Florence*, besides the produce of the ground, lies in its manufactures of woollen and silk stuffs, which are carried on by the principal citizens, even the nobility here not disdaining to be traders, and sometimes shopkeepers. The *Florentines* boast greatly of their *Accademia della Crusca*; a society of learned men, instituted for purifying their language, as metals are purified by the crucible. In the year 1753, an academy of agriculture, consisting of one hundred persons, was instituted at *Florence*, and owed its original to the abbot *Ubaldo Montelatici*.

THE city of *Florence* itself, next to *Rome*, is, with regard to antiquities and curiosities, the best worthy of a stranger's visiting of any in *Italy*. Its archiepiscopal cathedral is said to be half as large again as *St. Paul's* in *London*; and some of its palaces yield to none in *Italy*. Several of its churches and public buildings are likewise extremely magnificent. The chapel of *San Lorenzo*, though it makes no great appearance on the outside, will, if ever it is finished in the manner it has been begun, be by far the finest in the world. Its works were carried on without interruption from 1604 to the death of the last great duke of the house of *Medici* in 1737. But it is not to our purpose to dwell on the particulars of this and the other celebrated structures in *Florence*. It would however be unpardonable to omit mentioning the old ducal palace, which contains the greatest and finest collection made by one family, and within one roof, in the world, of ancient and modern sculpture, painting, and curiosities of every kind, both natural and artificial. In an octagonal room of this palace stands the celebrated statue of *Venus*, called by way of excellency, the *Venus of Medici*, of ancient *Greek* sculpture, with many others of equal merit. This palace contains likewise in it an immense quantity of plate and jewels, ancient and modern; and *Florence* is celebrated for several excellent libraries.

Pisa.

THE territory of *Pisa*, the next *Tuscan* state, affords all the comforts of life. Its cattle and vegetables are very fine, and it produces plenty of corn and wine. The city of *Pisa*, like *Florence*, is divided by the *Arno* into two parts; but though very spacious and extensive, it does not contain at present above sixteen or seventeen thousand inhabitants, though formerly they were computed at one hundred and fifty thousand. The *Pisans*, when free, were a commercial people, and extremely tenacious of their liberties. The form of their government was republican; and the wars between them and the *Florentines*, who at last subdued them, were long and bloody. The conveniency of their situation and harbour for the several powers who had claims or territories in *Italy*, was the reason why, after they had lost their independency as a people, they never could recover it; and with their independency their importance dwindled. Their neighbourhood to *Leghorn*, which is now the chief port in the *Mediterranean*, tho' formerly of little or no note for trade, has likewise contributed greatly to the decay of *Pisa*, which is now remarkable for little more than the shells of its ancient and magnificent buildings, it being the place where the galleys are built, and the residence of the knights of *St. Stephen*. Between *Pisa* and *Leghorn* is a canal sixteen *Italian* miles in length.

Leghorn.

LEGHORN, or *Livorno*, lies within the ancient district of *Pisa*. It stands in a marshy country, which, with the assistance of canals cut at a vast expence, is now cultivated; though the air is unwholesome, and water scarce. The city is well fortified, and contains forty thousand inhabitants, half of whom are Jews, who, notwithstanding the heavy taxes they pay, are rich, and carry on a vast trade. *Leghorn* is a free port, and to this freedom, the greatness of its commerce is owing. It has two harbours, the outward and the inward: the latter contains the duke's galleys, and the other trading ships; but ships of great burthen must lie out of the mole which forms the harbour, moored to pillars and large iron rings. The light-house of *Leghorn* contains thirty lamps burning in one lantern, and standing on a single rock in the sea; it is equally curious as useful. *Aqua* and *Vada* likewise lie within the district of *Pisa*; but their soil and air is so unwholesome, that they are very thinly inhabited.

a THE district of *Sienna* is the third in *Tuscany*. The *Siennese*, like the other *Tuscan* states, Sienna: were once free, and struggled hard for their liberties, but are now subject to the grand duke. The city of *Sienna* is pleasantly situated in a wholesome air, and of large circumference, though its inhabitants are not in number above seventeen thousand. They are however noted for their politeness and elegance, many of the *Tuscan* nobility chusing *Sienna* for their residence; and it is thought that the *Italian* tongue is spoke here in its greatest purity. It is an archiepiscopal see, and its *Gothic* cathedral is crufted within and without with marble. Its pavement is extremely curious, and well preserved; but the university, which was founded here by *Charles V.* is on the decay, though the *Jesuits* college contains a good number of students. The great dukes of *Tuscany* have indulged the
b inhabitants in retaining some forms of their republican constitution, though the spirit of it is abolished.

THE district of *Sienna* is large, and great part of it, especially that which is called the *Maremma di Sienna*, and which runs seventeen *Italian* miles along the sea-coast, is unhealthy and thinly inhabited. It contains however several bishoprics, and a considerable number of castles, forts, towns, and villages. *Monte Pulciano*, and *Monte Alcinò*, though both bishoprics, are small places, but famous for their wines.

THE *Stato de gli Presidii*, lying on or near the sea-coast, consists of a chain of forts, and Stato de gli Presidii. formerly belonged to the *Siennese*; but it is now subject to the king of the *Two Sicilies*. The most considerable place it contains is *Orbitello*, which is strongly fortified, and has a good harbour. *Piombino*, which makes a figure in the following history, stands on a rock in the sea; but, though it has a citadel and a palace, it is now an inconsiderable place. *Porto Longone* is a small fortified port; and *Porto Ferrajo*, a fortification likewise, belongs to the great duke of *Tuscany*. The other fortified places in this district are *Telamone*, *Monte Argentaro*, *Porto Ercole*, *Monte Filippo*, and *Porto St. Stefano*. All which are mentioned in history, both ancient and modern.

THE church's patrimony, part if not all of which lies within the antient *Etruria*, or *Tuscany*, is bounded on the North by the *Venetian* territory; on the East by the *Adriatic*; on the South-east by the kingdom of *Naples*; on the South by the *Mediterranean*; and on the West by the grand duchy of *Tuscany* and the *Modenese*. Its extent from North to
d South is about two hundred and forty miles. Its greatest from South west to North-east is one hundred and twenty *English* miles, and its smallest about twenty.

A DESCRIPTION of the papal dominions, a small part of which is considered as belong- St. Peter's pa- trimony. ing to the modern *Tuscany*, does not come within our present design. It is sufficient to say, that the state of the church is naturally one of the richest and most powerful in *Italy*, and the revenues would be immense, were it not for the oppressions of its government, which appropriates the labour of the poor inhabitants to itself, so that nothing but idleness and wretchedness, excepting among the *Bolognese*, who still retain some of their ancient privileges, is to be seen through the whole. The cause of this misery is, that the popes, who at the time of their election are advanced in years, generally give their domi-
e nions up to be preyed on by their rapacious needy relations, who, considering the short remainder of their kinsman's life, make the most of them.

LUCCA is the only state in *Tuscany* that can be said to have preserved, or rather re- Lucca. covered, its liberties; and the blessings of freedom are discernable all over the republic. Though no more than thirty *Italian* miles in circumference, it contains, besides the city of *Lucca*, one hundred and fifty villages. The number of inhabitants are computed at one hundred and twenty thousand, and the soil is improved to the utmost. This little territory is bounded towards the South-west by the *Tuscan Sea*; and on the land-side it is in a manner inclosed, all but a small tongue that stretches to *Modena*, by the grand duchy of *Tuscany*.

f THE government of the republic is lodged in a gonfalonier, whose power is much the same with that of the doges of *Venice* and *Genoa*. He is assisted by nine counsellors; but the power of all the ten continues but for two months, during which time they live in the state palace, and at the public expence. They are chosen out of the great council, which consists of two hundred and forty nobles; but even this council is changed by a new election every two years. The revenues of the republic are about four hundred thousand scudi, or crowns, out of which they maintain five hundred men by way of regular force, and seventy *Swiss*, as a guard to their acting magistrates.

THE situation of the city of *Lucca* is in a plain, terminating in most delightful emi-
nences, adorned with villas, summer-houses, cornfields, and plantations of every kind; so that nothing either for use or pleasure is here wanting. The city, which is three *Italian* miles in circumference, has regular well-lined fortifications; and its streets, though irregular, are wide, well paved, and full of handsome houses. The number of its inhabitants are

are computed to be above forty thousand; and they carry on large manufactures, chiefly of silk stuffs. *Lucca* has a bishop, who enjoys several extraordinary privileges; and its cathedral is *Gothic*.

The twelve cities of ancient Tuscany.

TUSCANY was formerly famous for its twelve cities; the ancient names of which were, *Veii, Volsinii, Clusium, Perusia, Crotona, Aretium, Falereii, Volaterræ, Vetulonii, Russellæ Tarquinii*, and *Cære*. The modern names are *Bolsena, Chiusi, Perugia, Cortona, Arezzo Civita Castellana, Volterra, Cerveteri*. The ancient *Veii* is thought to be the modern *Scrofano*, lying within twelve miles of *Rome*. *Vetulo* lay near *Piombino*, and the place on which it stood is now called *Bagni di Roselle*; and the *Tarquini* is supposed to be the modern *Cornetto*; but of the three last places no vestiges remain.

SEVERAL of those towns maintained their liberties and independency for a long time after the reign of *Charles the Great*, and still make a figure in history. The territory of *Perugia* contains the lake of *Tbrasymene* (now called the lake of *Perugia*) famous in ancient history for the defeat of the *Romans* by *Hannibal* near its borders. *Perugia* at present contains three churches, which are worth seeing, three colleges, an university founded almost five hundred years ago, and two academies for the fine arts. Several people of quality reside in *Perugia*; and its antient territory, before it fell under the dominion of the church, was not inconsiderable.

CORTONA, or as some call it *Crotona*, lies in the territory of *Florence*; and, though formerly of great importance to that people, who deprived it of its independency, though not of all its privileges, is now remarkable for little else than being the seat of a bishop immediately subject to the pope, and for the literary meetings of its inhabitants, which are called *noctes Corytanæ*, or *Cortonean* entertainments.

ARREZZO now belongs to *Florence*, and is frequently mentioned in the following history for the noble struggle its inhabitants made in defence of their liberties, and for their generous attachment to the *Florentines*, as long as the terms on which they submitted to that state were observed. It is likewise a bishop's see, and is situated on a declivity, surrounded by a lovely fertile valley; but both its churches and houses are now gone to decay, though, it still preserves some remains of ancient grandeur.

CIVITA CASTELLANA, the capital of the antient *Falisci*, is now a small mean looking town, in *St. Peter's* patrimony, situated on a high steep rock near the confluence of the rivers *Trighia* and *Tevere*. It contains many marks of antiquity. Its bishopric is joined to that of *Orta*, and a stupendous bridge is built from the city to an opposite mountain.

VOLTERRA lies in the territory of *Pisa*, and though standing on a mountain its air is unwholesome. It is said to contain twenty-five churches, chapels, and oratories, and about twenty convents and religious fraternities, and yet upon the whole it is a poor desert looking place. It is likewise a bishopric, and contains copper mines, which are not worked.

CERVETERI likewise lies in *St. Peter's* patrimony, and is a place now so inconsiderable, that it is scarcely mentioned in the maps. Some authors are of opinion that *Orta* was one of the ancient *Tuscan* cities, and that it ought to stand in the room of *Veii*.

Cluver. Introd. ad Geograph. pag. 137.

The HISTORY of FLORENCE.

S E C T II.

Containing the History of Florence at the time of the Decadence of the Roman Empire; the Character of the Florentines, and the other Tuscan States; and the Revolutions of the Florentine Government to the Year 1277.

THE *Etrurians*, or *Tuscans*, of whose country *Florence* is now the capital, were the parents of the *Roman* religion, learning, and policy; and that city, with its territory, ever since the revival of literature in *Europe*, has been so distinguished in arts, in sciences, and at certain periods in arms, that old *Rome* cannot be said to have owed more to the *Etrurians*, than modern *Europe* does to the *Florentines*. Observation.

THE ancient history of *Florence* is blended with that of *Rome*, nor know we of any author who has treated of it separately. We shall therefore commence this history from the year 408, when the *Florentines* instituted a festival-day in commemoration of the great overthrow given by *Stilicho*, the general of the emperor *Honorius*, to the *Goths* in the *Fesulane* mountains near *Florence*, and which delivered that city from those barbarians. The barbarians, however, again gathering head, about the year 414, *Florence* and its territory were again depopulated, and for some years after the *Florentines* bore their share in that general devastation which overspread all *Italy*; nor is the reader, in such indiscriminate scenes of ruin, to expect any particular history of this country. All we know is, that *Alaric*, the Gothic king or general, led a fresh body of those barbarians into *Italy*, and the emperor *Honorius* gave his consent that they should pass in a friendly manner to the confines of *Gaul*. The barbarians appear to have been Christians; for the imperial generals treacherously took advantage of their high veneration for *Easter-Sunday* to attack them on that day, which the *Goths* thought ought to be sacred from blood, and suffered themselves at first to be cut in pieces, rather than fight. At last, roused by the impiety of the imperialists, they fell upon them with such fury, that they gained a complete victory; and, instead of continuing their march towards *Gaul*, they took possession of *Tuscany*. *Stilicho* was sent against them; but, having himself an eye to the empire, he protracted the war, without driving the barbarians from their new habitations. That great general being taken off, through the jealousy of *Honorius*, the *Goths* spread themselves all over *Italy*, and plundered *Rome* itself. Upon the death of *Alaric*, they chose *Ataulphus* his kinsman, for their leader; and having again plundered *Rome*, and ravaged *Tuscany*, they broke into *Gaul*. *Ataulphus* then married *Placidia*, the daughter of the emperor *Theodosius*, and sister of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, whom the *Goths* in their first irruption into *Rome* had led away captive. On the death of *Ataulphus*, she was married to *Constantius*, by whom she had *Valentinian*, who succeeded to the *Roman* empire after the death of the emperor *Honorius*. Festival instituted at Florence.

THE next irruption of the barbarians into *Italy* was more dreadful than all the preceding ones. They were commanded by the two brothers *Attila* and *Bleda*; but the former having slain the latter, he became a great and powerful monarch. That species of barbarians he headed were called *Huns*. Their original habitations were near the *Palus Moecotis*; and their devastations were so inhuman and rapid, that *Theodoric*, king of the *Goths* in *Italy*, joined his forces with *Ætius*, the emperor *Valentinian's* general. A battle succeeded, in which one hundred and sixty thousand men on both sides are said to have been killed; amongst whom was *Theodoric*, whose death so greatly dispirited his subjects, that though *Attila* lost the victory, he still maintained his footing in *Italy*. Having recruited his army from *Pannonia*, he laid siege to *Aquileia*, and, after besieging it for three years, he took and levelled it to the ground. He then made himself master of *Vicenza*, *Verona*, *Milan*, and a great number of other cities; but was diverted by *Leo*, bishop of *Rome*, from attacking that capital. Upon the death of *Attila*, the *Vandals* broke into *Italy*, and renewed all the ravages of the *Goths* and the *Huns*, under their leader *Genferic*. *Odoacer* was the fourth barbarian prince who made himself master of *Italy* and of *Rome*, and is said to have been king of the *Turilingi* and the *Heruli*. The seat of the *Roman* empire was now at *Constantinople*; and the emperor *Zeno* engaged *Theodoric*, king of the *Goths* in *Italy*, to march against *Odoacer*, whom he defeated and killed at *Ravenna*, and thereby *Theodoric* became king of *Italy*, which now suffered more than ever by the fury of Irruption of the Huns under Attila; A. D. 447.

who, after being defeated, besieges Aquileia, and destroys it: His progress. Irruption of the Vandals, and of the Heruli.

of the barbarians^a. The chief scenes of their ravages were about *Florence* and in *Tuscany*, whose particular history is swallowed up in that of their barbarism; so that we know little of it till the time of the *Longobards* under their king *Alboine*. This prince made himself master of *Tuscany*, and almost all *Italy*. Having killed *Cunimund*, king of the *Gepidae*, another of those barbarous nations that then ravaged all the continent of *Europe*, in single combat, he married *Rosemund*, *Cunimund*'s beautiful daughter, and made a drinking-cup of her father's scull, out of which he forced his queen to drink. The queen dissembled her indignation; but applied for revenge to two officers. One of them had been affronted by the king, and she knew the other to be deeply in love with herself; and admitting them into the royal bed-chamber, they murdered *Alboine*, and she made her escape to *Ravenna*.

Death of
Alboine.

A KIND of an anarchy succeeded amongst the barbarians in *Italy* for about ten years. Each head of a clan, or family, seized the city or principality that was most convenient for him; nor does it appear, in history, to what particular barbarian the government of *Tuscany* fell during that time. It is however certain, that the *Longobards*, or *Lombards* were masters of *Italy*, *Rome* and its territory excepted, for two hundred and four years, till they were displaced by *Charles* the Great, who is said to have restored *Florence*, and *Tuscany* in general, to a respectable condition, after they had suffered more than any country in *Italy* from the fury of the barbarians. Some writers have been of opinion, that, during the reign of barbarism in *Italy*, *Florence* was intirely levelled to the ground, and deserted by its inhabitants.

The barba-
rians conquer-
ed by Charles
the Great.

General re-
mark.

WE are not, however, to take for granted all the invectives published against those northern masters of *Italy*, who perhaps, in fact, were less barbarous than the *Italians* themselves; at least, they were much less so than *Charles* the Great, who conquered them. The remains of antiquity, still extant at *Florence*, prove that it never was utterly demolished; nor is there any likelihood of its being new-peopled. The legislation of the barbarians, as they are called, (the *Longobards* in particular) was the wisest and the most civilized of any other people, and tended rather to population than devastation. The ravages they were obliged to commit, proceeded not so much from their own dispositions as from the treachery, the folly, and ingratitude of the imperial court and officers. Though brave and warlike in the field, they knew little of the art of besieging; and the nobility and chief landholders of *Tuscany* soon learned to immure themselves, their families, and attendants in castles and fortifications, by which they were commonly safe during the ravages of war. The natural fertility of the country sufficed for their subsistence, while the barbarians were generally at war amongst themselves. No sooner, however, did those ravages cease than the ancient inhabitants resumed their former habitations; and it is more than probable, that all that *Charles* did for *Florence* and *Tuscany*, was his giving their former inhabitants a farther security, by repairing the fortifications of their cities.

Institutions of
Charles the
Great in
Italy.

ABOUT the year 773, *Charles*, or, as he is called, *Charlemagne*, having been crowned and confirmed king of *Italy* by the pope, the governments of the several states there began to recover some degree of consistency. The original families of *Italy*, and the descendants of the various clans of barbarians who had inhabited it, were now blended into one common mass; and the foedal laws, which were of *Gothic* original, and then prevailed all over *Italy*, gave the leading men or magistrates of each state a degree of authority very little subordinate to that of supreme. All that *Charles* required were certain tributes, or what we call *reddendos*, as marks of his sovereignty; and he left them, in other respects, to make the best of their situation and natural powers. Of those states, the most eminent were *Pisa*, *Florence*, *Perugia*, and *Sienna*, and each had a separate manner of cultivating its interest. The *Pisans* applied themselves to maritime affairs, being the only maritime city in *Tuscany* that was left standing. The *Perugians* turned themselves to agriculture, to which they were encouraged by the fertility of their soil. The *Siennese* had a rich nobility, which maintained them in affluence: but the *Florentines* were distinguished over all the other inhabitants of *Tuscany* by industry, their knowledge of the civil arts, and their uncommon strength of genius. For some time those states lived in great harmony with each other; but that was soon interrupted by the disputes between the popes of *Rome* and the emperors of *Germany*. The empire, which was originally founded in *Germany* by *Charles* the Great, for the protection of the *Roman* pontificate, had almost proved its ruin; and ignorance and superstition, which daily gained ground after the establishment of that empire, both in *Italy* and elsewhere, did not leave an option for any state to be neutral, farther than as its intestine divisions prevented its being of much service to either party. Such was the condition of *Tuscany*, which, in this quarrel, suffered perhaps more than she had done from the barbarians. The emperor, *Frederick* II. of *Germany*, put to death, by various tortures, many of the *Tuscan* nobility, who had taken part with the see of *Rome*: and they, in return, had their revenge upon his party.

Character of
the Floren-
tines and the
other Tuscan
states.

Tyranny of the
emperor Fre-
derick II.

^a LEONARD ARETINI Hist. Flor. p. 15.

- a. *FREDERIC* however prevailed, and at last brought the *Florentines* into a state of subjection, by banishing that part of the nobility which opposed him. It is from his death that, properly speaking, the history of *Florence* ought to commence. The remembrance of his tyranny inspired the *Florentines* with such an aversion to monarchical government, that from thenceforth *Florence* became a republic. The people took the direction of affairs upon themselves; and the wisdom, spirit, and steadiness with which they proceeded upon their new model are almost incredible^b. They first recalled, and reinstated in their former conditions, the nobility that *Frederic* had banished, and thereby more than balanced the interest of their antagonists. They next made choice of twelve magistrates, who, on account of their pre-eminence, were called *Antiani*. They divided their city into six wards, from which
- b were to be elected their magistrates, and all their public officers. They instituted a militia out of those wards, properly regimented, which militia was to oppose any factious attempts of their nobles at home, and to repel all attacks from abroad. *Florence* now rose to be an independent government, and every one of its magistrates was a patriot. Their first war was with the *Pistoians*; who though they had been reduced, like the *Florentines*, to a state of slavery by *Frederic* II. yet still continued their attachment to the *German* emperors. This raised the jealousy of the *Florentines*, who looked upon the *Pistoians* as the enemies of their liberty, so high, that, notwithstanding all the opposition the imperial faction made, they invaded the territory of the *Pistoians* and defeating their army, drove it within the walls of their city. The *Florentines*, returning victorious to their capital, chased from thence all the remains of the imperial faction who had refused to serve in the *Pistoian* war. Those exiles fled to *Sienna* and *Pisa*, and excited the magistrates of those cities to a war with the *Florentines*, who soon after restored the party who had been exiled from *Arezzo*, another city of *Tuscany*, for their opposition to *Frederick*. After this they entered into an alliance with four other states, some of whose names are little known at this time, *Lucca*, *Miatenentia*, *Urbino*, and *Asium*, now *Palo*. The consequences of this confederacy were, that the *Florentines*, in the same year, brought two armies into the field; the first against the *Mugelli*, whom they defeated; and the other against *Mantaria*, which last city they took in a winter campaign, and levelled to the ground. That same year they entered into an alliance with the *Genoese* against the *Pisans*.
- d NEXT year they wasted the lands of their enemies about *Pavia*, and took the place by the help of warlike engines. While the *Florentines* were besieging *Pavia*, their allies of *Lucca* were defeated by the *Pisans*, who were returning home with a vast number of captives. When the *Florentines* heard of the defeat of the *Lucquese*, they instantly resolved to rescue their confederates^c; and a strong detachment from their army was sent for that purpose, which overtook the *Pisans* near the river *Hera*. A bloody battle ensued, in which the *Florentines* were victorious, and filled with *Pisans* the fetters in which the *Lucquese* had been dragged before. After this, the *Florentine* noblemen, who had been exiled, chose *Guido Novello* for their head, marched against *Florence* as far as *Figbini*. Being opposed by the *Florentines*, the nobles made themselves masters of *Figbini*, which the *Florentines* besieged.
- e A treaty was then proposed and concluded, by which the nobles were re-admitted to the city; but *Figbini* was demolished, and its inhabitants were incorporated with the citizens of *Florence*.
- f THIS expedition being thus gloriously finished by the *Florentines*, before they returned they marched to the deliverance of their confederates the *Palonese*, who were then reduced to great distress by the *Siennese*, who were defeated in a bloody battle by the *Florentines*. So many great successes in one campaign, gave vast spirit to the citizens of *Florence*; and next year they obliged the *Pistoians* to sue for peace, and to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance against all the enemies of *Florence*, and likewise to recal to their city all who had been exiled from it on account of their aversion to the *German* emperor. Next year the *Florentines* undertook an important expedition against the *Siennese*, who were obliged to sue for peace, which was granted them on condition of their never again entering into a war with *Asium*, and of their never sheltering or favouring the enemies of *Florence*. The *Florentines*, after that, marched against *Bonetium*, which they instantly reduced. They then marched against *Volterra*. Their quarrel with the *Volterrans* was on account of their taking part with the *Pisans*, and the other enemies of *Florence*. The art of war was then very imperfect in *Italy*; and the *Florentines*, in a kind of bravado, advanced their standards to the foot of the lofty eminence on which *Volterra* is situated; upon which the *Volterrans* made a tumultuous sally, without any head to conduct them. At first they were victorious; but the *Florentines* recovering from their consternation, drove their enemies back into their city, which they entered along with the fugitives. All fighting was then at an end: the women and clergy threw themselves at the feet of the conquerors, who generously stopt all

who subjects the Florentines.

They erect themselves into an independent state.

Their war with the Pistoians, whom they subdue.

Their farther successes.

They defeat the Siennese,

and take Volterra.

^b LEONARDI ARETINI, Hist. Flor. p. 19.

^c Id. ibid. p. 20,

hostilities, and contented themselves with obliging some of the factious noblemen to leave the city, whose government from thence became republican. This expedition was begun and finished in a few days. The *Florentine* army then marched against the *Pisans*, who were so terrified by its successes, that they shut themselves up in their capital, and sent ambassadors to negotiate a peace, which they obtained, but upon hard terms, and they were obliged to give hostages for the performance. The *Florentines* then returned triumphantly home; and the same year, which they called the year of victories, they erected in their city a magnificent town-house, and other noble edifices, for the administration of public justice, which till then had been confined to the houses of their several magistrates.

Good faith of
the Floren-
tines in their
wars.

Truce with
Arezzo.

League with
Sienna.

History of
Conrade and
Manfred.

Death of
Conrade.

The Pisans
break their
league with
the Floren-
tines.

Manfred
gains ground.

NEXT year, at the request of the people of *Urbino*, the *Florentines* sent a body of five hundred horse to their assistance. These, in their march, halted at *Arezzo*, where the *Gibelines*, or imperial faction, possessed the government; but no sooner did the *Florentine* horse arrive there than the *Guelphs*, or the papal faction, which the *Florentines* favoured, ran to arms, and drove the *Gibelines* out of the city. The news of this coming to *Florence*, the government there thought that their general *Guido*, surnamed *Guerra*, or the Warlike, had exceeded his commission, by committing hostilities in a city with which they were at peace; and they immediately sent an army, which obliged the *Guelph* faction at *Arezzo* to re-admit the expelled *Gibelines*. This delicacy of the *Florentines* in observing good faith, effected a reconciliation between them and the *Arezzians*, who put themselves under the protection of *Florence*; and a truce was concluded between the two people for five years, during three of which the *Arezzians*, obliged themselves to chuse a *Florentine* for their chief magistrate, who always was a foreigner. The same year the *Florentines* made a league with the *Siennese*, by which it was agreed, that neither people should harbour the rebels of the other; but be obliged to expel them, upon requisition: and thus the affairs of the *Florentines* seemed to be in a tranquil situation^d.

THEY did not, however, long continue so. The emperor *Frederic* left two sons, *Conrade* and *Manfred*; the first legitimate, the latter illegitimate. But *Manfred*, notwithstanding the disadvantage of his birth, possessed so many natural endowments, that his father at his death left him the principality of *Taranto*, about the year 1253; while his legitimate brother *Conrade*, having been crowned king of the *Romans*, assumed the imperial dignity, and marched from *Germany* to take possession of his *Italian* dominions. By the papal intrigues and power, *Innocent IV.* then being pope, he was kept out of the possession of *Naples* and *Capua*; and while he was endeavouring to reduce them to his obedience, he died, as is said, by poison administered to him by *Manfred*, on the twenty-second of *May*, 1254, leaving only one son, called *Conradin*, who was then in *Germany*, under the tuition of his mother *Elizabeth* of *Bavaria*. While *Conrade* was on his death-bed, he had committed the care of his son and his concerns into the hands of his wife and her relations. *Manfred*, who was a very ambitious prince, resenting this, struck in with the Holy See; and, stripping young *Conradin's* guardians of all their authority in *Italy*, he usurped the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*; but pretended he held them only till young *Conradin* should be of age. Soon after this, *Manfred*, having gained his ends, broke with pope *Innocent*, who died not long after, and was succeeded by *Alexander IV.* in the year 1255. Both parties prepared for war, and both were powerfully supported; but cardinal *Ostavian*, the papal general, being of the house of *Ubaldo*, was thought to have favoured *Manfred* so much, that the pope intirely lost the kingdom of *Naples*.

THIS success of the *Gibelines* so greatly elevated the *Pisans*, that they broke their lately contracted league with the *Florentines*, and, invading their territories, they committed vast devastations. Upon this the *Florentines* and the *Lucquese* joined their forces, and gave the *Pisans* a total defeat upon the banks of the *Arno*; no fewer than three thousand *Pisans* being made prisoners. The consequence of the victory was, that the victors marched to the very gates of *Pisa*, and forcing the *Pisans* into a shameful peace, obliged them to deliver up the town of *Matrona*, with a large compass of the sea-coast; to give the *Florentines* the freedom of their city: and to make use of *Florentine* weights and measures. Notwithstanding those successes, *Manfred* daily gained such ground, that the *Florentines* thought proper, all of a sudden, to make themselves masters of *Boneti*, and partly to dismantle it; while the people of *Arezzo* did the same by *Cortona*.

IN the mean while, the nobility of the *Gibelin* faction, within *Florence*, took advantage of the absence of their army, and began to enter into cabals for restoring themselves to all their former power. The *Florentine* magistrates in vain admonished them both of their duty and their danger; for the malcontents disclaimed their authority, and kept themselves shut up in their houses. The family of the *Uberti* were, at this time, at the head of the *Florentine Gibelines*; and the people, or rather the republican party, resented their contumacy so much, that they ran to arms, broke into the palace of the *Uberti*, and, after kil-

^d LEONARD ARETINI Hist. Flor. p. 23.

a ling some, forced all the *Gibelins* to take refuge in *Sienna*, where they found shelter. This was a direct violation of the league between the *Florentines* and the *Siennese*, which had been concluded three years before; and the *Florentines* sent two eminent lawyers, *Albicio Trincivello* and *Giacomo Gerardi*, to complain of their breach of faith. The *Florentine Gibelins*, however, had made so strong a party in *Sienna*, and the dread of *Manfred's* power was there so great, that the ambassadors could obtain no satisfaction. Upon which the *Florentines* declared war against them.

b THE *Florentine* exiles, dreading the consequence of this declaration, sent a nobleman of the *Uberti* family, one *Farinata*, and several other persons of consideration, to implore *Manfred's* protection and assistance. Those ambassadors, being admitted into that prince's presence, made him a most pathetic speech, which *Manfred* seemed to attend to; but all they could obtain was a single squadron of *German* horse, whom they were to carry with them to *Sienna*. His coldness, at a juncture so promising to his interest, is imputed to his apprehension that the *Siennese* and the *Florentine* exiles were less in his interest than in that of his nephew *Conradin*. The assistance he proposed was so little proportioned to the exigency, that the deputies at first were for declining it; but *Farinata* was of a contrary opinion; "Let *Manfred*, said he, give us the squadrons and we shall soon manage matters so, that, if he has within him one spark of royalty, he will send greater reinforcements." This magnanimity brought the deputies over to *Farinata's* sentiments. They waited upon *Manfred*, and, with great expressions of joy in their countenances, they gave him thanks, and accepted of the proffered aid.

c WHILE this deputation was in dependence, the *Florentines* had actually entered the territories of *Sienna*, and over-ran the whole country to the very gates of that capital, which they blocked up. The deputies, returning with their *German* squadron, resolved at once to attack the *Florentine* army; but the attempt carried with it so desperate an appearance, that they thought proper to prepare the *Germans* by plying them with liquor for the whole night before the intended attack, which was made with so much fury next morning, that the *Florentines* were thrown into disorder; and a total rout must have ensued, had not their commanders rallied them, and shewn them, that the small handful of *Germans* were unsupported by other troops. Upon this the *Florentines* took courage, drove the *Siennese*, who had made a sally, back to their city, and, cutting in pieces every one of the *Germans*, they treated *Manfred's* standard, which they took, with particular ignominy. It appears, however, that they made no farther attempt upon *Sienna*; but returned home in a few days, though the summer was but half gone.

d AS *Farinata* had foreseen, the above loss and disgrace enraged *Manfred* so much, that, upon a fresh application made to him by the *Florentine* exiles, he ordered one of his generals, *Jordano*, to put himself at the head of fifteen hundred of his best cavalry, to march to the assistance of the *Siennese* and the *Gibelins* of *Florence*. This seasonable reinforcement gave fresh spirit to that cause, and a kind of an universal league was formed to support it. For no sooner did the *German* auxiliaries arrive upon the *Siennese* territories, their time of absence being limited only to three months, than the people of *Pisa*, and of several neighbouring cities, declared for the *Gibelin* party; and a general rendezvous of the confederate troops was held at *Sienna*; from whence they prepared to proceed to besiege *Alcino*, a town allied with *Florence*, but with all the *Siennese* territories intervening. This resolution being published, put the *Florentines* under great difficulties, not daring to carry their troops to such a distance from their city against so powerful a confederacy. Treachery is said to have mingled in their deliberations. The gravest and most experienced of their nobility and military officers were against marching their army; but their magistrates and common people being of another opinion, the nobility resolved to go in a body to lay their sense of the situation of the public before their magistrates, and they chose *Teglarì Adomar* for their spokesman. *Aretino*, the *Florentine* historian, has recorded an excellent speech which *Teglarì* made on this occasion against their marching, founded upon the short time the *German* auxiliaries were to be in the field, and upon the expediency of guarding their own city, and at the same time harrassing the territories of *Sienna* by incursions and inroads, which would oblige them to remain at home. All the answer he received was, that, if he was afraid to march, he might have his dismissal: and, to put an end to all farther debate, the magistrates, with the approbation of the people, imposed a fine upon all who should dare to oppose the march of their troops. The only difficulty now remaining was how to guard against the faction of the *Gibelin* party in the city, during the absence of the army; but at last it was resolved to force them to serve in the army. After this, the *Florentine* magistracy gave notice to their allies of *Lucca* and *Arezzo* to be in readiness to join them about four miles from the city of *Sienna*, which the *Florentines* flattered themselves would fall into their hands

^d LEONARDI ARETINI Hist. Flor. p. 26.

by an insurrection of the *Guelph* inhabitants, who disapproved of the war. *Jordano* and the *German* auxiliaries had not yet left *Sienna*; and ordering the gates to be shut, he remained for some time within the city, which confirmed the *Florentines* in their opinion that an insurrection would happen. But *Jordano* having disposed every thing for a furious attack, and ordering the gates to be thrown open, he advanced against the *Florentines* at the head of his *German* cavalry, and was followed by the *Siennese* and all the *Florentine* exiles. The *Florentines*, not expecting such an onset, were put into confusion; but their horse behaved so bravely, that the success of the battle was for some time doubtful, till the *Gibelin Florentines*, whom they forced along with them, declared for the enemy; and the *Florentine* cavalry, not even knowing how to trust one another, abandoned the foot. It was the custom in those days for *European* armies (the same prevailed in *England*) to carry along with them a chariot, or rather a stage, most magnificently decorated, and in the middle was fixed their chief standard, which they considered as the palladium of their state. The *Florentine* foot, finding themselves abandoned by their cavalry, flocked round their standard, embraced it with tears of affection, and performed miracles in its defence; but all was to no effect. The disciplined *Germans* cut every man of them to pieces, to the number of three thousand, who fought round their standard, and made four thousand prisoners in other parts of the field, besides taking the camp, baggage, and equipages of the *Florentines*.

who are totally defeated by the Siennese.

Divisions of their magistrates.

It is incredible what horror, grief, despair, and distraction, overspread *Florence* upon this news. It was then that the effect of popular rashness, inspired by success, eminently appeared. The great things the *Florentines* had done, were by the common people and their magistrates, who were chosen out of the common people, ascribed to their valour alone; and they looked upon the nobility, who were, in general, men of a liberal education, and of sentiments far above what were common in that age, as so many dead weights upon their state, and obstacles to their courage. They treated their grave remonstrances as so many pleadings for cowardice, and their lessons upon civil and military conduct as attainable by the meanest capacity. In proportion as their presumption had been great in prosperity, their despondency was despicable under adversity; and, without consulting aught but their own fears, they abandoned the city: some of them removing to *Lucca*, and others to *Bologna*, at both which places they were most hospitably received and entertained; and about the middle of *October*, 1260, the *Florentine* exiled nobility re-entered *Florence* without the least opposition. Their return put an end to the popular government of *Florence*, which had lasted for about ten years.

The Gibelins get possession of Florence,

FROM that time the *Florentines* changed their masters. *Guido Novello*, a *Gibelin* nobleman, was put at the head of their civil, and *Jordano* of their military affairs. Public justice was administered in *Manfred's* name. The inhabitants were obliged to swear allegiance to him, and the *German* soldiers were paid out of the *Florentine* treasury; while the houses, estates, and goods of all who had left the city, were confiscated or demolished. This revolution, however, was far from removing the apprehensions of the *Gibelin* party, who sent a fresh deputation to *Manfred*, intreating him to prolong the continuance of *Jordano* and his troops at *Florence*; but all they could obtain was a few months. While this passed, the city of *Arezzo* was miserably divided between the *Guelph* and the *Gibelin* factions; and, by *Manfred's* orders, a general congress of the heads of his party was convoked at *Empoli*. The subject of their deliberations was, in what manner *Manfred's* interest could be best strengthened in *Tuscany*; and the general opinion was, that *Florence* ought to be demolished to the ground. *Farinata*, whom we have mentioned above, was the only member who had the courage to oppose this barbarous resolution. The speech he made on this weighty occasion was full of dignity and resolution, and coming from a person of his exalted character and known courage, startled the assembly so much, that *Florence* was preserved; and *Jordano* being recalled, the whole power of the state, civil and military, was committed to *Novello*, who, besides the ordinary troops kept up by the *Florentines*, had under his command a thousand mercenary horsemen. The first use *Novello* made of his power was to attack the territories of the *Lucquese*, for having received the *Florentine* fugitives. Having destroyed the plain country, and taken some castles, he laid siege to *Lucca*; but that city was so well provided for a defence, and the *Florentine* fugitives within it behaved with so great valour, that, the rainy weather coming on, he was obliged to raise the siege, and return to *Florence*.

who apply to Conradin, grandson to Frederick II. emperor of Germany.

His retreat gave the *Lucquese* and the *Florentine* fugitives time to deliberate; and they resolved to implore the protection of young *Conradin*, who remained still in *Germany*, under his mother's protection. Two *Florentine* knights, *Simon Donati* and *Bonacursio Adimar*, were intrusted with this embassy; and when they arrived at *Conradin's* court, which was extremely sensible of *Manfred's* perfidious proceedings, they found it disposed as they could have wished for: but the prince's tender age proved an unsurmountable obstacle to their

- a success, and they were obliged to return to *Lucca*. Next year, viz. 1262, the *Florentines* there found means to surprise *Segni*; upon which *Novello* once more invaded the territories of the *Lucquese*, and, being joined by the *Pisans*, he defeated the *Lucquese* and the *Florentine* fugitives, who were far inferior to him, in a pitched battle, which put into the hands of *Novello* the greatest part of the territory of *Lucca* without the walls of that capital. Those misfortunes obliged the *Lucquese*, many of whom were of the *Gibelin* party, to enter into a secret treaty with *Novello*; one article of which was, that the *Florentine* fugitives should be expelled from the territories of *Lucca*, and that there should be a firm union between the *Lucquese* and the *Florentines*, with a general release of prisoners on both sides. The fugitives had suspected nothing of this treaty, when, all of a sudden, they had orders to evacuate the *Lucquese* territories, which they were obliged instantly to do, with their wives and children, and to retire to *Bologna*. They were followed by great numbers of the *Arezzians*, who could no longer resist the arms of *Novello*. It is amazing that this sudden reverse of fortune, by which a people, who, but a few days before, were little less than sovereigns, was reduced to a state of exile and beggary, did not damp them, or at least prevail upon them to apply for some mitigations from their countrymen. But the enthusiasm of party had touched their brains, and indeed those of all the *Italians* in general; and it is hard, at this time, to decide upon the merits of the two parties that then divided *Italy*, and the greatest part of *Europe*. The *Gibelins* could not bear with the upstart insolence of the bishops of *Rome*. The *Guelphs* could not endure the tyranny of the emperors and of *Manfred*, and perhaps they considered the pope as a power far less formidable than either of them. Such seems to have been the sentiments of the exiled *Florentines* of the *Guelph* faction, who considered their country as being subdued by *Manfred*, and they disdained to live as slaves in states where they had reigned as masters; but their fortune was on the eve of a new revolution.

The *Lucquese* expel the *Florentine* *Gibelins*.

Effects of enthusiasm.

- MODENA*, like the other parts of *Italy*, was torn between the two factions of *Guelphs* and *Gibelins*. The exiled *Florentines* were now considered as soldiers of fortune, and the *Guelph* faction in that city invited them to their assistance. The exiles cheerfully obeyed the call, and drove the *Gibelins* out of *Modena*. They were rewarded by having the money and effects of the expelled party divided amongst them, which, being very considerable, enabled them to make a very handsome appearance. The fame of their fortune soon reached *Tuscany*, and others of their party joined them. *Reggio*, which lies in the neighbourhood of *Modena*, was pretty much in the same situation; and the *Guelphs* there had likewise taken arms against the *Gibelins*, who were headed by one *Casca*, a man of gigantic stature, and of such amazing strength and activity, that he carried an army in his own person. It was owing to him that the *Gibelins*, on all occasions, worsted the *Guelphs* in *Reggio*; and the latter, in imitation of those of *Modena*, called in the adventurers, who flew to their deliverance. Being admitted into the town, a dreadful conflict ensued in the marketplace, where *Casca*, as usual, bore down all before him, till he was attacked and killed by a chosen band of *Florentines*, with the young *Foresius Adimar*, who was general of the expedition, at their head; and who is said, by some writers, to have killed *Casca* with his own hand in single combat, after a desperate engagement. The conquerors received the like rewards here, but in greater abundance, as at *Modena*; and now the exiles began to be of great consequence in *Italy*, where affairs took an unexpected turn.

The *Florentine* exiles assist the *Modenese* *Guelphs*.

- POPE *Alexander IV.* was obliged all this time to keep himself shut up in *Viterbo*, not daring to trust himself amongst the *Romans*. Upon his death, he was succeeded by *Urban IV.* a *Frenchman*, who had been a shoe-maker at *Troye* in *Champagne*. Seeing that the power of *Manfred* and the *Germans* threatened the extinction of the papal power in *Italy*, and perceiving that the young *Comradin*, who had then only the title of duke of *Austria*, was too weak to reduce *Manfred*, or to recover the kingdoms he had usurped, he bestowed, as far as he could bestow, the kingdom of *Naples* upon *Charles* of *Anjou*, brother to *Lewis the Saint*, and king of *France*. *Charles* accepted of the compliment, and made preparations to take possession of his kingdom. In the mean while pope *Urban* died, and was succeeded by *Clement IV.* who, like his predecessor, was intirely in the *French* interest, and confirmed the grant his predecessor had made to *Charles* of *Anjou*, though in evident prejudice to the rights of young *Comradin*. Saint *Lewis*, it is true, seemed to make some difficulty in agreeing to strip an unoffending minor of his property; but the pope got the better of all his scruples, and *Charles* embarked at *Marseilles* with thirty gallies, and arrived at *Rome* in the year 1265, where he was solemnly crowned king of *Naples* and *Sicily*, but upon very advantageous terms to the Holy See, and received the important dignity of a *Roman* senator.

Succession of the popes.

Charles of *Anjou* crowned king of *Naples*.

- WHEN we write the history of *Florence* at this period, we write that of the brave *Florentine* exiles, who refused to submit to *Manfred's* usurpations, and who had offered their services to pope *Clement*, in support of his new system of power in *Italy*. They were now very numerous, well equipped with arms, and experienced in war. The pope with great joy took them into his service, and told them he would depend in a great measure upon them

Brave exploits of the *Florentines* under him.

for success. At the same time he made them a present of a new armorial bearing for their standard, which was a red eagle squeezing between his talons a blue dragon. After this, at the recommendation of the pope, they made *Guido Guerra* their general, and they marched in a body to join *Charles of Anjou's* army in the plains of *Mantua*, where they excelled all the other troops in the beauty of their appearance and the richness of their armour. They were received with peculiar honours by *Charles* and his generals, they being the first *Italians* who joined him; and their historians have given us a detail of the complimentary speeches that passed between *Charles* and *Guido* upon this occasion. It is certain, that our adventurers did him vast services, as his troops were intirely strangers in the country. He immediately directed his march towards *Monte Casino*, where he entered his new kingdom, and where our adventurers gave the first specimens of their courage in his service, by making themselves masters of one of *Manfred's* forts. which our historians distinguish by no other name than that of the *German town*. After this a great number of other places surrendered to *Charles*, whose progress was so rapid, that *Manfred* resolved to put the whole to a short issue, that of the sword. *Charles* being equally forward, both armies drew up in order of battle in the plains of *Benevento*, the country of the ancient *Samnites*. Before the battle joined, *Manfred* observed a body of troops, superior in appearance to all the rest of *Charles's* army, of different armour, and under a separate command. Observing at the same time the new device of their standard, he asked, with astonishment, who they were. Being told that they were the exiled *Florentines* of the *Guelph* party, "Then, said he, where are the *Florentines* of my party, on whom I heaped so many favours?" He was answered, that none of them were in the field. This answer drew from him several violent expressions against their ingratitude and cowardice, and pointing to the exiles, "That body of men, said he, this day must be conquerors; for, if I am victorious, I am determined, at any rate, to make them my friends." *Manfred* then ordered the signal for battle. *Guido* was at the head of the *Florentines*, and their standard-bearer was *Conrad Magnimontano*, a *Pistoian* knight. Their courage in the battle was answerable to their warlike appearance. *Manfred's* army was defeated, and he himself was killed; and amongst the prisoners made by the *Florentines* were several of their capital enemies, particularly *Jordano*, who, four years before, had given them the fatal defeat near *Sienna*, and who finished his life in prison. By this victory *Charles* came into possession of all the kingdom of *Naples*.

Manfred defeated and killed.

Popular government restored in Florence.

THE *Gibelin* faction in *Florence* were terribly disconcerted by this success of *Charles*; and the friends and relations of the exiles began now boldly to avow their principles. *Novello* the governor of *Florence* (who till then had acted very oppressively in his office) and his creatures saw it was in vain for them to resist; and consented that a council of thirty-six, half *Gibelins*, half *Guelphs*, should be instituted, to take care of the affairs of the public. The head of the *Gibelins* was *Cathalani*, as *Lodoringo* was of the *Guelphs*. Thus popular government was, in some measure, restored in *Florence*. The heads of the two parties agreed so well together, that many excellent civil institutions at this time took place there. The different artists and tradesmen were divided into companies. Each had its separate distinctions and armorial bearings; and it was agreed, that all should assemble, in cases of danger to the state. The nobility did not relish their loss of power, and began to cabal together, when the people refused to pay the mercenaries that had been hired by *Novello*, who, calling his friends and troops together, expelled the thirty-six from their posts in the government; and from that time a civil war commenced. The *Lamberti*, a noble family in *Florence*, joined with *Novello*; who marching to reduce the populace, at the head of his *Germans* and the nobility, was received with such a shower of stones, discharged from the windows and roofs of the houses, that he was obliged to retreat to the old temple of *Mars*, which was the place of rendezvous for his party. He then repaired to the house where *Cathalani* and *Lodoringo* were, where he demanded the keys of the city-gates, which, after some difficulty, were sent to him; and then he, with all the nobility of his party, and his *German* mercenaries, marched out of the city, and took post at *Prato*. This measure had been dictated by jealousy and fear, though the two magistrates of the people had promised to quiet the tumult if he would remain in the city. Upon recollection, he found he had mistaken his measures, marched back with his troops and followers to *Florence*, where he found the gates shut. Both intreaties and force were ineffectual for his re-admittance; and after spending some hours in vain, he was obliged again to make his retreat to *Prato*.

Novello expelled from Florence. The constitution restored,

THE people thus regaining the government of their city, thought of reverting to the principles of their first popular constitution, and of restoring the magistracy of the *Antiani*, under which they had done so great things, and which accordingly taking place, the authority of the two late presidents, instituted by *Novello*, was thereby abolished. It is wonderful with what moderation this restored model of the *Florentine* government was established. The people by their late sufferings became sensible of their former errors; and though the illustrious exiles were restored to their estates and dignities, yet a law passed that

made

a made no difference between them and the nobility of *Novello's* faction, if the latter should think proper to return to the city. The *Guelph* exiles returned covered with laurels, and were received with prodigious acclamations of the people, who, intent upon banishing civil animosities, obliged *Novello* to give his daughter in marriage to *Foresius Adimar*. The contending families of the *Uberti* and *Lamberti* were united in the same manner, and their examples produced the like alliances amongst the other nobility of opposite factions. It is remarked in history, that those intermarriages arose from the people reflecting upon the dreadful consequences that had happened to their state in former times on account of disagreeable marriages. together with the Guelph exiles.

b This nuptial expedient however was far from having the desired effect. The people pushed their power too far in becoming the match-makers, and in forcing the parties to intermarry. The heart-burnings between the two factions began again to gather strength, and the exiles, who were not returned to their country, treating the opposite party as vanquished, severely resented their having deserted them at the battle near *Sienna*, which the *Florentine* historians call the battle of *Arbe*, because it was fought on the banks of that river. While those discontents continued, *Conradin*, the lawful heir to the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, which had now twice been wickedly torn from him, though no more than sixteen years of age, was making preparations to recover his paternal inheritance. The injustice done him in his infancy, as well as his right of blood, had raised him many friends; but it was necessary for him to depend for support upon the *Gibelin* faction. Factions again break out.

c *Charles* of *Anjou*, now king of *Naples* and *Sicily*, foresaw the storm approaching, and his first care was to secure *Tuscany* in his interest. With this view he sent, by the advice as is said of the *Florentines*, *Malatesta*, an illustrious *Italian* nobleman, and one of his officers with a body of horse, to overawe the *Pisans* and the *Siennese*, and in fact all *Tuscany*. But as king of *Naples* and *Sicily*, he could have no pretension upon *Tuscany*; and the holy see, by a most unheard of strain of injustice, was obliged to give him a title. The pope pretended that during the vacancy of the *Roman* empire, the temporary government of *Tuscany* devolved upon him, and under this arbitrary claim he constituted *Charles* of *Anjou* the imperial vicar or lieutenant over the whole province. The exiles had been returned only four months, when *Malatesta* signified his intention to take possession of *Florence*, as well Conradin prepares to recover his right.

d as the other places in *Tuscany*, and the governing party gave him assurances of welcome. Upon this the *Gibelins* of the city left it, and for some weeks all the neighbouring country became a scene of robbery and murder. The *Gibelins* were now what their adversaries had been before, the opposers of a foreign power, in whose name justice was administered in *Florence*. But the papal authority covered all defects of title, and the *Florentine Guelphs* thought they could not exceed in their gratitude to a prince, who, like *Charles*, had restored them to their country. The self-exiled *Gibelins* however were very powerful; but at last the places they had made themselves masters of in the *Florentine* territory were taken by their adversaries, and great numbers of them put to the sword. The *Gibelin* faction being thus totally suppressed, the *Florentines*, who remained in that city, were soon divided into factions, on account of the estates that had been confiscated, but were now claimed by those who had been exiled after the battle of *Arbe*. A vast altercation followed upon this, and the matter was at last referred to the papal and the royal decision, which was in favour of the *Arbian* exiles. This iniquitous sentence was occasioned by the dread of young *Conradin*, who was now ready to enter *Italy*, and the desire that both *Charles* and the pope had to keep the prevailing party in *Florence* in their interest, having already so fully experienced their fidelity and attachment to the see of *Rome*. Thus the very men who had so bravely resisted slavery from one quarter, voluntarily embraced it from another. Charles of Anjou made vicar of Tuscany.

e The pope however did not think it sufficient to have only a momentary ascendancy over his new subjects; and he managed so that a political college, for we can call it by no other name, was added to the other colleges of *Florence*. *Aretin* is of opinion that this college subsisted before^f; but be that as it will, it certainly was renewed and completed at this time. The duty of the members, who had a president, (who sometimes was a foreigner, provided he was a *Guelph*) assigned to them, was to examine into the principles, qualifications, and conduct of the citizens; and whoever underwent their censure became thereby incapable of all trust in the government. The Gibelin exiles put to the sword.

f *GUELPHISM* being thus firmly established in *Florence*, the heads of the party declared war against the *Siennese*, in revenge of their defeat at *Arbe*, and laid that territory waste to the very gates of *Sienna*; but they could not bring their enemies to a battle. While the *Florentines* were upon this expedition, the *Gibelin* exiles rendezvoused at *Boniti*; upon which the *Florentine* army marched thither with *Malatesta* at their head, and laid siege to the place. The besieged were encouraged to a vigorous defence, by assurances sent them A new college erected in Florence.

g THE pope however did not think it sufficient to have only a momentary ascendancy over his new subjects; and he managed so that a political college, for we can call it by no other name, was added to the other colleges of *Florence*. *Aretin* is of opinion that this college subsisted before^f; but be that as it will, it certainly was renewed and completed at this time. The duty of the members, who had a president, (who sometimes was a foreigner, provided he was a *Guelph*) assigned to them, was to examine into the principles, qualifications, and conduct of the citizens; and whoever underwent their censure became thereby incapable of all trust in the government. War between the Florentines and Siennese.

THE pope however did not think it sufficient to have only a momentary ascendancy over his new subjects; and he managed so that a political college, for we can call it by no other name, was added to the other colleges of *Florence*. *Aretin* is of opinion that this college subsisted before^f; but be that as it will, it certainly was renewed and completed at this time. The duty of the members, who had a president, (who sometimes was a foreigner, provided he was a *Guelph*) assigned to them, was to examine into the principles, qualifications, and conduct of the citizens; and whoever underwent their censure became thereby incapable of all trust in the government.

^f LEONARD ARETINI Hist. Flor. pag. 39.

both from *Sienna* and *Pisa*, of a powerful diversion in their favour. The defence made by the besieged was so brave, that *Charles* of *Anjou* came in person into *Tuscany* to head the *Florentine* army. He was received with vast honours at *Florence*, from whence he set out for the siege. The place being naturally strong, the besieged made a vigorous defence for four months; but the numbers of the besiegers daily encreasing, the garrison at last made an honourable capitulation, and *Boniti* surrendered to *Charles*. Though winter at the time of the surrender was far advanced, yet *Charles* before he went into quarters, took some places from the *Pisans*, which he gave to his friends the *Lucchese*, and then put an end to the campaign.

Political state
of Italy.

WHILE *Charles* remained in *Tuscany*, he reduced the whole of that province to his obedience, excepting *Sienna* and *Pisa*: but he now, viz. in the year 1267, received the important news that young *Conradin*, as the representative of the emperor *Frederick* II. and head of the house of *Suabia*, had passed the *Alps* with an army, to make good his family claims in *Italy*. The popes of this age, had all of them, the same turn of genius, which was for an universal authority in temporals as well as spirituals. Though their power was then but low, for it did not extend even over the city of *Rome*, yet their influence was incredible, through the practices of the ecclesiastics upon the minds of the common people, many of whom, the *Florentines* especially, were implicitly devoted to the holy see. Those vulgar prepossessions gathered strength, through the ambitious views of contending princes, who in their turns found it their interest to have the *Roman* pontiff on their side. This was the case first with *Manfred*, and then with *Charles* of *Anjou*, as well as many petty lords and princes in *Italy*, who, by the favour of the holy see, had erected themselves into independent governments, only paying a small consideration to the pope. But neither *Manfred* nor *Charles* were princes disposed to bear subjection to the holy see longer than they found it necessary to their ambition; and the pope at this time, who was *Clement* IV. perceiving *Charles*, now that he was master of *Tuscany*, to grow too powerful and independent, would probably have broken within him, had he not dreaded the house of *Suabia* more than he did that of *Anjou*.

History of
Henry of
Castile.

who becomes
master of
Rome.

HENRY, brother to the king of *Castile*, having long led a kind of a knight errant's life in *Africa*, where he had acquired a great deal of money in the service of the king of *Tunis*, about this time came to *Italy*, and by the mediation of money was treating with *Charles* and the pope, who was still at *Viterbo*, about purchasing the kingdom of *Sardinia*. While this treaty was on foot an insurrection happened at *Rome*, and Don *Henry* was employed by the pope to quell it, which he did, and became so popular there, that the pope could not prevent his taking upon him the title and power of governor of *Rome*. The *Castilian* by this time began more than to suspect that the pope and *Charles*, to whom he had lent a great sum of money, intended to deceive and disappoint him. He demanded the repayment of his money from *Charles*; but receiving no satisfaction, he renounced their party, and embraced that of *Conradin*, who thereby obtained a valuable acquisition. Don *Henry* was not only absolute master of *Rome*, but had in his interest all the *Moslems* or *Saracens*, who remained in the city of *Naples*, and who were very numerous there, and the king of *Tunis*, who was then a formidable power to *Italy*. He had likewise a fine fleet under his command; and his brother *Frederick*, who was still in the service of the king of *Tunis*, had secured the greatest part of *Sicily* to his interest.

Conradin in-
vades Italy.

So many threatening events obliged *Charles* of *Anjou* to lay aside the design he had formed of reducing *Sienna* and *Pisa*, and to leave the *Florentine* territories. The *Pisans*, by Don *Henry*'s assistance, had then a fleet at sea, and many of the *Florentine* *Gibelins* served on board it. This was of great service to *Conradin* in *Sicily*: but that young prince was poor; and when he came to *Trent* he found himself obliged to dismiss his *German* army, all but three thousand horse; a force too small to subdue *Tuscany*, which his interest led him to have attempted. Being joined, however, by great numbers of the *Gibelin* faction, he insulted *Lucca*, but durst not fight the *Florentine* army which came to its defence, and harassed him in his march to *Sienna*. The *Florentines* were commanded at this time by one of *Charles*'s lieutenants, who, on his march to *Arezzo*, dismissed the *Florentine* horse with a kind of contempt of their services. *Conradin*'s generals understanding this, formed an ambush against the Royalists, for so the party of *Charles* was called between the *Arno* and the mountains, at the persuasion of the *Florentine* *Gibelins* who served under *Conradin*. This stratagem was so effectual, that all the Royalists, but a few who had got over a bridge before it was seized by the *Germans*, were cut in pieces almost without resistance. This defeat was of great service to *Conradin*'s affairs, and he marched without opposition by *Viterbo*, where the pope still was, to *Rome*. It was in vain for the pope to launch out his thunders against him; for *Conradin* destroyed the territories of *Viterbo* before

Army of
Charles of
Anjou de-
feated.

^a his eyes, and plundered all the estates of the *Guelph* faction. He was received at *Rome* by *Don Henry* with regal, or rather imperial honours. *Charles*, who knew he was hated in *Italy*, by this time had received a considerable reinforcement of veteran cavalry from *France*; and though his numbers were far inferior to those of *Conradin*, who had actually entered the kingdom of *Naples*, he resolved to give him battle, and both armies met at *Aquila*, or *Alva*, in *Abruzzo*. He knew, that excepting the *Germans* and the *Florentine* exiles, and some troops who followed *Don Henry*, the whole not amounting to six thousand men, *Conradin* had but few soldiers in his army, and that the rest, who were mostly composed of needy *Italians*, were under no discipline. He therefore placed a strong ambush behind a hill, out of the view of his enemies, who at first bore down all before them; but falling to plunder, as *Charles* had foreseen, he fell upon them with his ambushed troops; and totally defeated *Conradin*, who thought himself sure of victory, and it was with difficulty he escaped to *Rome*. But the victory at *Alva* had changed the face of affairs there, where the *Guelph* families of *Ursini* and *Sabelli* now prevailed; so that he was obliged to fly from *Rome* towards *Pisa*; but in his flight he was taken prisoner, with his cousin the duke of *Austria*, who had attended him in his expedition, and *Don Henry* of *Castile*. Being carried to *Naples*, *Conradin* and the duke of *Austria*, though both sovereign princes, were tried before the syndics of the cities of that kingdom, and condemned to die. It is hardly credible that *Charles* of *Anjou*, however ambitious he might be, would have put to death two innocent princes, the eldest of whom was not above seventeen years of age, had he not in a manner been intimidated into that cruelty by pope *Clement IV.* who, though then on his death-bed, sent him the famous apothegm, *Conradi vita, Caroli mors, Caroli vita, Conrad mors*, which signifies “*Conrad’s life is Charles’s death, Charles’s life is Conrad’s death.*” This detestable advice determined *Charles* to put the sentence in execution.

Progress of Conradin.

who is defeated;

ON the twenty-sixth of *October*, 1268, the two young princes were led to a scaffold, erected in the market-place of *Naples*, together with *Gerard* of *Pisa*, who had commanded the *Florentine Gibelins* under *Conradin* at the late battle, with several other persons of distinction, and there they all of them lost their heads. The death of *Conradin* was particularly affecting. When he came upon the scaffold he threw his gauntlet amongst the people; desiring it might be carried to his cousin *Peter* of *Arragon*; who would revenge his death. He then snatched up the head of the duke of *Austria*, with whom the execution began, and, while he tenderly embraced it, his own was struck off. It is said that his gauntlet, or glove, was faithfully delivered by a *German* knight to *Peter* of *Arragon*.

and with the duke of Austria executed.

WHILE those tragedies were acting, *Tuscany* was in a state rather of expectation than tranquility; but no sooner was the death of *Conradin* certified, than both parties resumed their arms. A great many *Florentine* exiles still remained at *Sienna*; and early in the year 1269 they laid siege to *Colle*, which is situated upon the river *Alsa*, a branch of the *Arno*; and not far from *Florence*. The *Florentines* immediately sent some troops to the assistance of their allies, and though only the cavalry threw themselves into the place, the *Siennese* raised the siege; but being pursued lost a great number of men, no quarter being given by the *Florentines*. The latter, that same year, besieged *Ostina*, which was garrisoned by the exiled *Gibelins* of *Florence*. Not finding the place tenable, they endeavoured to escape by night, but were intercepted, and most of them killed or taken prisoners. The *Florentines* after this joined their troops to those of *Lucca*, and laid waste the *Pisan* territories. This brought on a peace with the *Siennese*, who admitted a governor from *Charles* into their city, and agreed to give no harbour to any of the *Florentine* fugitives, who, in consequence of this peace, were obliged to retire towards the *Capuan* territories; where many of them were put to the sword by the *Florentines* and others, amongst whom was *Atholini*, the son of the noble *Farinata*, were made prisoners and sent to *Florence*, where they were capitally punished.

A peace.

^f *CHARLES* of *Anjou* was now by far the most powerful prince in *Italy*; but the death of *Urban IV.* and the intrigues that followed in the election of a new pope, revived the troubles of *Tuscany*, where the *Gibelins* again got ground. *Lewis* king of *France*, notwithstanding his sanctity, far from blaming his brother for his inhumanity^b, at this time undertook a crusade against the king of *Tunis*, on account of the friendship he had shewn to *Conradin*, and required his brother to attend him. This happened just at the time when the *Florentines* and *Lucquese*, not at all doubting of being assisted by *Charles*, had made vast preparations for war against the *Pisans*, his and their determined enemies; but the views of *Charles* were very different from those of the *Florentines*. Being about to attend his brother, he studied to leave every thing in tranquility during his absence, and for that purpose set out in person for *Florence*. All *Italy* thought the ruin of *Pisa* inevitable, as *Charles* daily expressed the most bitter rancour against that city: but he no sooner arrived in the

Affairs of Italy.

^b Voltaire Histoire de l'Empire.

Charles of Anjou makes peace with the Pisans.

Gregory X. chosen pope.

He alters the Florentine government.

Affairs of Tuscany.

Count of Hapsburg chosen emperor

Florence under an interdict.

Death of the pope. War with the Pisans.

Tuscan territories, than he gave a favourable audience to the *Pisan* deputies, who offered to assist him with ships in his *African* expedition. Upon this he not only made peace with them, but obliged the *Florentines* to do the same. So unexpected an event greatly dissatisfied the *Florentines*; but to appease them *Charles* took and razed to the ground *Boniti*, or *Bonitium*, which was the receptacle of all the *Tuscan* *Gibelins*. His governor *Guido*, however, obliged the *Florentines* to refund all the money that *Charles* had expended in the siege and demolition of the place.

THE see of *Rome* still continued vacant; but the late peace between the *Florentines* and *Siennese* had entirely reconciled those two people, when *Lewis* the *French* king died in his *African* expedition, and *Charles* of *Anjou* returned to *Italy*, where he found things in great disorder. At last *Theobald* of *Placentia*, afterwards *Gregory X.* was chosen pope. It was he who indicted the council of *Lyons*, and he then repaired with a vast retinue to *Florence*, with a view, as he pretended, of abolishing all distinctions of party in *Tuscany*; but in reality to weaken the interest of *Charles* there. His election took place in the year 1271; and calling together all the leading men of *Florence*, he made them a very soothing speech, tending to persuade them to re-admit the exiled *Gibelins* into their city. This the *Florentines* humbly, though firmly, opposed; but his holiness, being master there, he forced them to comply, and all the favour he shewed the governing party, was to oblige some of the heads of the *Gibelin* faction to give hostages, that they would not make a bad use of the indulgence that had been shewn them. Notwithstanding his authority, and all the fulminations he pronounced against those who should break the peace, and his even founding a kind of temple of concord, to which he gave his own name; yet the chief *Florentines* remained vastly dissatisfied with the peace that had been forced upon them, and the return of the exiles, who were so apprehensive of the power of their adversaries, that they again voluntarily left the city. This so greatly exasperated the pontiff, that he laid the remaining *Florentines* under an interdict from all sacred functions. The *Florentines*, who seem originally to have embraced the papal cause, only because it was least dangerous to their liberties, were far from being intimidated by its thunders; and *Florence* continued under the interdict for three years, so that it is doubtful, says their historian, which was most prevalent, the obstinacy of the pontiff, or the perseverance of the citizens.

THE differences between the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins* in *Italy*, under this pope, who filled the papal chair four years, raged more than ever. The *Florentines* offered again to assist their friends of *Bologna* against their adversaries with troops; but the *Bolognese* refused to admit them into their city. The *Pisans* again expelled the *Guelphs* out of their territory, and they found shelter in *Florence* and *Lucca*. Their chief was count *Ugolini*, a man of vast consequence in *Tuscany*; and, notwithstanding the repeated menaces of the pope, the *Florentines* and *Lucquese* put him at the head of an army, with which he laid waste the estates of his enemies to the very gates of *Pisa*. The pope at this time was holding the council of *Lyons*; and growing daily more and more uneasy at the power of *Charles* of *Anjou*, he wrote to the electors of the empire, commanding them to chuse an emperor, as that dignity had been in fact vacant fifteen years; threatening, if they did not agree in their election, to give, by his own authority, a head to the empire. Their choice fell upon *Rodolph* of *Hapsburg*, ancestor to the present house of *Austria*, chiefly because he was so inconsiderable a prince, that the electors had nothing to fear from his power. This election happened in the year 1273; and the following year it was confirmed by the pope, whose friendship was of great service to *Rodolph*.

THE imperial dignity being now filled, *Charles* of *Anjou*, king of *Naples*, had no farther pretext for acting under the pope as imperial vicar in *Tuscany*; and this was thought to be the great view the pope had in hastening the election of an emperor^d. *Gregory* however could not be prevailed upon to remove his interdict from the *Florentines*, though by the swelling of the *Arno* he was obliged, upon his return out of *France*, to pass, against his will, some days in *Florence*. All he could be prevailed on to do was to give the people there his benediction, but without remitting their punishment. Removing from *Florence* to *Arezzo*, he there fell sick, and died in 1276. He was succeeded by *Innocent V.* who took off his predecessor's interdict from *Florence*. The war between the *Florentines* and the *Pisans* still continued; and the latter had, with incredible labour, cut a ditch, which divided the territories of the two republics, and terminated at the mouth of the *Arno*. This ditch was fortified at certain distances with towers, and for some years it was of vast service to the *Pisans* against the incursions of the *Florentines*. The latter however at last discovered, in a dry season, that they could pass it by the channel of the *Arno*, which they did with a body of horse, and surprising the *Pisans*, they and their faithful allies the *Lucquese* cut in pieces great numbers of them, and drove the others to the gates of *Pisa*. The

^d ARETINI, pag. 52.

a allies then plundered all that rich territory; and were making dispositions for besieging *Pisa* itself, when the pope, by his legate, one *Valasco* a Spaniard, forced both parties into an accommodation, by which count *Ugolini* and his friends were reinstated in their former honours and possessions in *Pisa*; and all the other matters of controversy between the two republics were referred to his holiness.

b *INNOCENT* dying in the fourth month of his pontificate, he was succeeded by *Adrian* Adrian V. chosen pope, and is the fourth in three years. *V.* who lived but a few days after his election; and his successor, *John XXI.* was killed by an accident at *Viterbo*, in the sixth month of his pontificate: thus four popes died in three years. The next pope was *Nicholas III.* an Italian, of the noble house of *Ursini*, who was chosen in the year 1277. This spirited pontiff followed the plan chalked out by *Gregory X.* for reducing the power of *Charles* of *Anjou* and the French faction in *Italy*, and deprived him not only of his dignity of *Roman* senator, but of the vicariate of *Tuscany*. His holiness, at the same time, put his kinsman *Bertolo Ursini* at the head of some troops, to give the greater weight to the papal authority; and sent his legate *Latino*, who was very popular in *Tuscany*, to reconcile all the jarring interests there. The legate was a man of great address; and finding that the extravagance and haughtiness of some of the *Florentine* nobility had disgusted the magistracy, he artfully brought the latter over to agree to the recalling the exiled *Gibelins*, by which he conciliated all parties in the city to each other. After this, to make the reconciliation more lasting, he prevailed on the heads of c each faction publicly to embrace one another, and to give reciprocal securities for preserving the tranquility of the state. He then new modelled the *Florentine* government, by creating a magistracy of fourteen persons, chosen indifferently out of both parties; ordered all the records and sentences against the exiles to be cancelled, and destroyed and took such other prudent measures, that they were restored to their estates and honours. In this reconciliation so much good faith was observed, that all the exiles returned to *Florence*, except about sixty families, whom the pope detained near *Rome* for a short time, till the accommodation should be fully established. But the interest of the holy see was not forgot in this negotiation: some forts or castles, as they are called, were put into the hands of his holiness, and *Florence* was obliged to receive from him every two years its magistracy.

His legate new models the Florentine government.

S E C T III.

Containing the History of Florence, after the new Plan of their Republic took place; their Wars with the Pisans, and Arezzians, and other Italian States; the Institution of the Office of Gonfalonier; and their Revolutions till the Year 1300.

e **I**T is somewhat surprising that a prince, so ambitious and powerful as *Charles* of *Anjou* Charles of Anjou resigns the vicariate of Tuscany. was, should, so quietly as he did, resign the vicariate of *Tuscany*, by which he had been enabled to do so many great things, especially when we consider the weakness of the emperor *Rodolph*, and the yet unsettled state of his government. But *Charles* perceived the French growing every day more and more odious in *Italy*, and yet he could trust no others, nor was his own government over *Naples* and *Sicily* so secure as not to be shaken by the papal fulminations. Such were the considerations that determined him to make no resistance, and to draw his troops out of *Tuscany*. As to the *Florentines*, the comprehensive system which had taken place, left them little to fear from the power of the pope, if he had inclined to make a bad use of it, while they continued united amongst themselves, and his protection was very useful to them against more dangerous masters. For two years the government of *Florence* went so smoothly on, that their historians tell us that nothing f memorable at home happened during that time.

In the year 1281 pope *Nicholas III.* died of an apoplectic fit at *Viterbo*; and differences arose to such a height in the conclave between the Italian and French factions, that the populace breaking into it, abused and imprisoned the friends of the late pope, whom they hated; but the choice at last fell upon a French cardinal*, who took the name of *Martin* Martin IV. chosen pope. *IV.* and was a dependent of *Charles* of *Anjou*. In the mean while the emperor *Rodolph*, who was a wise and a brave prince, had, by the concessions he made to pope *Nicholas III.* got possession of the government of *Tuscany*, which he managed by a deputy. This deputy, on his arrival, found he had little or no power there, especially at *Florence* and *Lucca*, and raised a body of *Germans* to enforce obedience to his commands. The *Florentines*, on the other hand, depended for protection on the new pope, and his countryman *Charles* of *Anjou*; and joining with the *Lucqueses*, who still more violently opposed the imperial authority, they took and razed to the ground the town of *Piscia*, or *Poggia*, because

* ARETINI, pag. 54.

The Florentines change the form of their government.

it was in that interest; but the affairs of the pope, and his friend *Charles of Anjou*, taking an unfavourable turn, the *Florentines* resumed their usual jealousy of their governors. Perceiving the pope was no longer able to protect them against the growing power of the emperor, and that he sought rather to put them up to sale to the best bidder, they again changed their form of government, and abolished the authority of the fourteen magistrates, introduced by the legate *Larino*. In their room they chose for their magistrates three eminent citizens, whom they called the presidents of the artists; in *Latin*, *præces artium*. This number was afterwards enlarged; and in fact, it was little more than a renewal of their most antient form of government, after *Florence* aspired to be a republic, and somewhat resembled that of the *Antiani*. This form was chosen as being the most effectual curb upon the nobility of both parties. The presidents first chosen were men of plain, sober sense, and the most distinguished for industry, frugality, and simplicity of manners, and consequently for pacific dispositions. Their names were *Bertolo Bardi*, who was of a noble family, and very rich; *Rosso Bacarelli*, and *Salvio Clari Jerome*. Those three magistrates were obliged constantly to reside, or rather to be imprisoned, in the town-house, or guild-hall, without being suffered all the time of their magistracy, which was to last two months, to repair to their private houses. In other respects they were not unprovided with the badges of authority: their table and all their expences were defrayed by the public. They had twenty-four officers allowed them, of whom twelve served as messengers or beadles, for convoking the citizens to the public hall, and for executing the inferior duties of justice. As to the presidents themselves, the first charge they had from their constituents was, that during the time of their magistracy they should concern themselves with nothing but the affairs of government. When the first two months of this new constitution were elapsed, six presidents were chosen, being one for each ward in the city. This was a year of scarcity and famine in the *Florentine* state, through the rains and inundations that had happened during the seed-time.

Affairs of Italy,

THE *Florentines* still continuing refractory to the imperial authority, about this time received into their city the son of *Charles of Anjou*, in his return from *France*, with some troops to his father's assistance, with great respect, and even lent him six hundred horse, to be employed in his *Sicilian* wars. This make it necessary for us briefly to recount the history of that prince, so far as it is immediately connected with that of *Florence*.

and Sicily.

THE fatal success of the crusades in the Holy Land, had at this time cured the *European* princes of that passion; but in the course of them they became acquainted with the weakness of the *Greek* empire, and the degeneracy of its government; and *Charles* thought that it would be no difficult attempt to conquer *Constantinople* itself, provided he could ensure the quiet of his regal dominions during his absence. *Sicily* had been the most refractory; but after the defeat and death of *Conradin* he again reduced it; and he thought the only way to preserve the natives in subjection, was to keep them in misery. He therefore abandoned that noble island to the government of the most rapacious set of men, most of them *Provençals*, or *Frenchmen*, that ever disgraced the human appearance. The instances of their avarice, lust, and cruelty, are numerous, and detestable beyond example. *John de Procida*, a gentleman of *Salerno*, of a good estate, but exercising at once the professions of law and medicine, found means to come to the knowledge of *Charles's* design upon *Constantinople*, to which city he went in disguise, and had an interview with the emperor *Michael Paleologus*, who furnished him with money, and encouraged him in the projects he was meditating. He had the like interviews with *Peter* king of *Arragon*, who was married to *Constance*, daughter to *Manfred*; and *Procida*, who was devoted to enthusiasm, to the memory of the house of *Suabia*, exhorted him so earnestly to revenge the blood of *Conradin*, that that prince and his queen fell in with all his views, which terminated in no less than a general massacre of all the *French* and *Provençals* in *Sicily*, at the first knell of the bell that was to call the *Sicilians* to the vespers the third day after *Easter*, in 1282. It is almost incredible that a project like this, so shocking in its own nature, should be communicated to above a hundred thousand people for many months before it was put into execution, and yet be kept so inviolably secret, that not one of the destined victims came to the knowledge of it, or so much as suspected themselves to be in danger. No sooner did the fatal knell sound than the tragedy began, and so furiously incensed were the islanders at their tyrants, that they even massacred such of their own daughters as were pregnant by *Frenchmen*. Above eight thousand were massacred on this occasion. In the mean while *Peter* of *Arragon*, under pretence of an expedition to *Africa*, had fitted out a fleet to support the revolt of the *Sicilians*, and the right of his wife to that island.

Siege of Messina,

CHARLES of *Anjou*, according to the *Florentine* historians, was in *Lombardy* to join his son, when he heard of this dismal revolution; but immediately returning to *Naples*, he went from *Reggio* to *Sicily*, where he laid siege to *Messina*, the *Florentine* auxiliaries serving under him. The siege was vigorously pressed, and the place as vigorously defended, till

a it was relieved by *Peter of Arragon*, who obliged *Charles* to make a precipitate retreat to his ships. All the loss the *Florentines* sustained on this occasion was a state tent, and their troops are said to have returned undiminished home, where they were received with great joy. *which is raised.*

b *FLORENCE* at this time enjoyed an uncommon degree of tranquility, considering the commotions that prevailed through all the rest of *Italy*, and began to make no inconsiderable progress in those fine arts that afterwards so greatly distinguished her. The imperial deputy in *Tuscany*, who seems never to have ventured himself within the walls of *Florence*, not being supported by his master, had desisted from harassing the citizens, who, on the return of their cavalry from *Sicily*, held a kind of jubilee, by exhibiting plays and pageants, and entertainments of all kinds, at which both sexes appeared magnificently dressed, the men in a white uniform, and the women in their richest apparel. *Prosperous state of Florence.*

c THE next year, 1283, was observed to have been a busy year amongst the *Florentines*, between whom and the *Pisans* the old animosities still subsisted. The *Genoese* at this time began to make so great a figure at sea, that they had defeated the *Pisans* on that element, and the *Florentines* thought that a lucky opportunity then presented for ruining the power of *Pisa*^b, both by sea and land, by entering into a league with the *Genoese*. They had received fresh provocation, by the assistance the *Pisans* had given to the imperial deputy, and by their invasions upon the properties of the *Florentine* allies; at least, those were made the pretexts for war. The *Lucchese*, who likewise had their quarrels with the *Pisans*, came into the same confederacy, as did several other petty states, and the storm fell at once upon *Pisa* by sea and land; the allied army carrying fire and sword to the walls of that city, and the *Genoese* fleet destroying their coasts. It does not however appear, that the allies this year obtained any other conquests than those over the open country of *Pisa*; for they returned home with a resolution to besiege that city next year with greater effect. The consternation however into which the *Pisans* were thrown, gave count *Ugolini*, whom we have already mentioned, an opportunity to become master of *Pisa*, and he undertook to pacify the *Florentines*, with whom he said his countrymen had no differences, but the idle fantastical distinctions of party. By his address *Florence* was detached from the confederacy, and the weight of the war fell upon the *Genoese* and the *Lucchese*, by which, d in all probability, *Pisa* was saved from destruction. *The Genoese join the Florentines against the Pisans.*

e TRANQUILITY being thus again restored to *Florence*, her inhabitants wisely again applied themselves to the arts of peace, which, by making their city rich, rendered it so populous that they were obliged to extend its walls. Public roads were laid out leading to the *Casentino*, to *Bologna*, to *Prato*, and *Pistoia*, and each of those roads terminated in a most magnificent gate of the city. The *Florentines*, at the same time, erected pleasure-houses, for the first time, on the other side of the *Arno*; and those increased so much, that they afterwards became part of the city, and were equally well fortified: here likewise three magnificent gates were erected, answering to three public roads, or causeways, leading to *Pisa*, *Sienna*, and *Arezzo*. This year *Charles of Anjou* died, after losing *Sicily*, and seeing his son the prince of *Salerno* a prisoner in the hands of his capital enemy, *Peter of Arragon*, who could not, for all that, make himself master of *Naples*, to which he had the same title as to *Sicily*. *The Florentines cultivate the arts of peace.*

f THE tranquility of *Florence* was at last interrupted by the ambition of the bishop of *Arezzo*, who seized and fortified a strong castle, called in the history of the times *Cecilia*, lying between the territories of *Arezzo* and *Sienna*, with a view of over-awing the *Siennese*, who, resenting this encroachment, called upon the *Florentines* for assistance. They readily sent them auxiliaries; and the place, which was naturally very strong, was besieged in form, the prelate, who had got together a body of troops, not daring to relieve it. The garrison however made a vigorous defence for five months, when, being pressed by famine, they endeavoured to escape: but being intercepted by their enemies, most of them were cut in pieces, and the castle itself was razed to the ground, so that scarcely any memorial of it now remains. *Ambition of the bishop of Arezzo.*

g HONORIUS IV. an *Italian*, of the house of *Savelli*, was now pope. The emperor *Rodolph* had hitherto gained little or nothing by his pretended superiority over *Florence*; and this pope is said to have encouraged him to make *Foscano*, a *Tuscan* nobleman, his deputy, or governor there. *Foscano* accordingly repaired to *Florence*, and tried all the soothing arts he was master of, to induce them to submit to the imperial authority: but all was in vain; both the *Florentines* and the *Arezzians* appeared more determined than ever against any such subjection, and *Foscano* was obliged to leave *Tuscany*, greatly mortified by his ill success. The *Arezzians*, about this time, in imitation of the *Florentines*, had put themselves under the protection of one *Guelfo*, whom they created their president of the artists. This person, who was a sworn enemy to the nobility, not *Bishop of Arezzo besieged by the Guelfs.*

^b ARETINI, pag. 56.

only expelled them from the city, but, wherever he could, levelled their castles and their houses to the ground, and at last besieged *Civitella*, the residence of the bishop, whose name was *William*, and who was himself a noble *Arezzian*^a. This violence and barbarity united in one common interest the *Arezzian* nobility, though before greatly divided amongst themselves; and they drove the president and his army back into the city, which they took, dividing amongst themselves all the properties of their enemies. As to the president, they put out his eyes, and exposed him to all manner of public contempt. By this means the bishop, at the head of his own family, the *Paoli*, and that of the *Ubertini*, became master of *Arezzo*, and expelled from thence all the commons, and such of the nobility as had formerly opposed him, or had only occasionally joined him. These applied, in the most pathetic manner, for assistance to the *Florentines*, who, nobly mindful of the long subsisting friendship between the two states, immediately called together the deputies of the *Lucquese*, and their other allies, and it was agreed to lend the *Arezzians* eighty horse for their assistance, fifty of whom they immediately received. This reinforcement enabled the *Arezzian* exiles to make incursions to the very walls of *Arezzo*, and to renew the war. The bishop on his part, called to his assistance all his confederates, amongst whom were many discontented *Florentines*. Next year the war between *Arezzo* and *Florence* was renewed with greater fury than ever. The *Siennese* on this occasion joined the *Florentines*, whose warlike preparations were greater than had been known since their defeat at *Arbe*. The *Arezzians* were likewise very powerful, through great numbers of exiles, or rather malcontents, who joined them. These generally were nobility, who, disliking popular government, retired to the country, where, having great estates and followings, they lived in a kind of independency upon the civil government. The *Florentine* army set out on its march the last day of *May*, and reduced a great many strong places, particularly *Laterino*, in their march to *Arezzo*, which they at last straitly besieged. Not being able to take the place, the *Siennese* and *Florentines* agreed to return home, each by the road leading to their own city. Their separation gave the besieged *Arezzians* an opportunity to make a sally upon the *Siennese* who were completely defeated; and the *Florentines* thought proper, after some consultation, to leave their cavalry at *Laterino*, to restrain the excursions of the enemy, and to return home with their infantry.

but takes
Arezzo.

War with the
Arezzians.

Affairs of
Pisa.

The Floren-
tines succour
the Arezzian
Guelphs;

A. D. 1286.

and make a
league against
the Arezzians.

THE *Florentines* may, at this time, be said to have been the patrons of popular liberty, not only in *Tuscany*, but all over *Italy*. Count *Ugolini*, having expelled the heads of the people out of *Pisa*, particularly another *Ugolini*, his kinsman, the exiles applied to the *Florentines*, who gave them assistance and support against their enemies. In the mean while the bishop of *Arezzo*, and his faction, had driven the banished *Arezzians* into such distresses, that they were obliged to shut themselves up within the walls of *Carciano*, where they must have surrendered themselves, had they not applied by their deputies to the *Florentines* for assistance, which was instantly sent them, without waiting, as usual, to consult with their allies. This generous reinforcement consisted of eight hundred *Florentine* and two hundred mercenary horse, and four thousand foot. The vast expedition with which this army was raised, is a proof of the excellent government under which the *Florentine* state then was. Upon their approach the *Arezzians* raised the siege, and returned to *Arezzo*, where they received such reinforcements as rendered them greatly superior to the *Florentines*. The latter having gained the main end of their expedition, which was the relief of their allies, kept upon the defensive at *Laterino*. This gave their enemies an opportunity of extending their incursions even to *Florence* itself; and at last they laid siege to *Varico*, and laid every thing waste with fire and sword to *Collina*, which was but seven miles from *Florence*. The government there, understanding that many of their discontented nobility were in the *Arezzian* army, were suspicious of a correspondence between them and their friends in the city, and therefore redoubled their vigilance, without indulging their young citizens in the great desire they expressed to sally out and attack the enemy, who soon after raised the siege of *Varico*, and returned home loaded with plunder.

NEXT year, in the spring, the *Florentines* meditated a severe revenge against the *Arezzians* for all their sufferings, and convoked a general assembly of their allies, who were the *Siennese*, the *Lucquese*, the *Volterrans*, the *Pistoians*, the *Pratense*, and several others. All these petty states, as well as *Florence* and the greater ones, had by this time entered into a kind of compromise with the emperor *Rodolph* (who found himself unable to reduce them) for their liberties, which consisted in the power of electing their magistrates, raising their own troops, coining money, and modelling their own forms of government. Those privileges gave them as much independence as the emperor could bestow, and they are said to have been purchased by the *Florentines* at the expence of forty thousand golden ducats.

^a ARETINI, pag. 58.

a This sum is a proof of the wealth and importance of *Florence* at this time, as *Lucca* gave but twelve thousand, and *Genoa* and *Bologna* but six thousand each, for the same privileges.

b ALL the allies had their particular causes of hatred towards the *Arezzians*, who, on their side, were very powerful. They were joined by *Guido Ferentina*, who was at that time master of *Pisa*, and by great numbers of noblemen from *Umbria* and *Picento*, and all the *Florentine* malcontents. *Arezzo* was the rendezvous of their army. The bishop continued to be its general, and he was strongly supported by the powerful families of the *Paoli*, *Ubertini*, and *Tarlatti*. The opening of the campaign was attended, on the part of the *Florentines*, by the arrival of the prince of *Salerno*, son to *Charles* of *Anjou*, in their city. This prince had regained his liberty by the favour of queen *Constance*, and seems to have come to *Florence*, in his way to *Rome*, chiefly to know what assistance he could depend upon from the *Florentines* for recovering his father's crown. He was received in that city with extraordinary respect; but that was all he obtained, excepting a strong escorte of *Florentine* horse, who attended him to the *Siennese* territories, to protect him from the insults of the *Arezzians*. *Charles*, before his departure, recommended to them an experienced officer, *Amerigo*, (perhaps *Americo*, of *Narbonne*, and the ancestor of the famous navigator *Americus*, who was a *Florentine*) to the *Florentines*, for their general. They accepted of this recommendation; but nominated a council of six of their most eminent citizens, who were to attend him in the nature of field-deputies, and who were to approve of his operations. A council of war being held, it was agreed that the army should cross the *Arno*, and march by the *Casentino*, by which they fell into *Novello's* estates, and destroyed them, he having always taken part with their enemies. As the *Arezzians* had expected the *Florentines*, as usual, on the other side of the *Arno*, the latter had sufficient time for revenging upon their territories, towards the *Casentino*, all the devastations they had committed upon those of *Florence* the year before. The *Arezzians* were surprised at the boldness of their enemy's march through so mountainous a country; the first intimation of which they had was from the peasants, who fled in consternation from the desolated estates to *Arezzo*. The *Arezzian* army, upon this dismal intelligence, marched to *Bibienna*: their numbers being eight thousand foot and nine hundred horse, commanded by the bishop and *Bono* of *Feretri*, and other excellent officers. This army was inferior to that of their enemies; but their generals had so great an opinion of its discipline and courage, that they resolved immediately to give battle, and were met with equal dispositions on the side of the *Florentines*. Both armies encountered on a plain, called by the inhabitants *Campaldini*; and neither interrupted the other in forming its order of battle. The *Florentines* placed their cavalry, in which they were strong, in their front. Their infantry formed the second line; and those two first lines were flanked by archers, and such of the foot as carried shields, called in Latin *scutati*. A body of reserve of the *Pistoians*, and their other allies, under *Cursio Donati*, a *Florentine* knight, formed the third line. The disposition of the *Arezzians* was the same; but their troops were out-flanked by those of the *Florentines*.

c BOTH armies being drawn up in order of battle, a *Florentine* nobleman, one *Vario Circuli*, a man of great quality and fortune, set an example of patriotism and magnanimity, far more instructive to a generous mind than the relations of battles, and other operations of war. By the post he held in the army, he was to chuse the squadron of horse that was to form the van, and to guard the grand standard; a service so dangerous, that the boldest in their army seemed to shrink from it. *Vario* being required to name his men, named first himself (though he was then ill of the gout), then his son, and then his grandson; but refused to name any more, giving for his reason, that "they who loved their country would offer themselves." This generous declaration produced such emulation through the *Florentines*, that they crowded for the glory of serving in the van, which that day consisted of one hundred and fifty horsemen, of whom twenty were knighted on the field of battle. The *Arezzian* cavalry, being better armed and disciplined, made so furious a charge on that of their enemies, that they drove them back on their infantry; but the *Arezzians* incautiously continuing their pursuit, they were, in a manner, inclosed by the right and left flanks of the *Florentine* army, while their own infantry was at too great a distance to support them. The *Arezzian* horse, however, made so gallant a resistance, that they were upon the point of being joined by their foot, when *Cursio Donati*, in disobedience of his orders, charged the enemy at the head of the *Pistoians* of the third line, with this noble expression, "If we die, we can fear no farther penalty; If we conquer, let our accuser impeach us at *Pistoia*." The attack he made upon the *Arezzians* was so

who defend themselves.

Prince of Salerno visits Florence.

The Arezzians and their allies defeated, and their bishop slain.

Noble behaviour of a Florentine nobleman.

^a LEONARDI ARETINI, Hist. Flor. pag. 62.

critical and well-judged, that it turned the fortune of the day; for the *Arezzians* were every where cut in pieces, or betook themselves to flight. *Novello* was amongst the first who left the field, which the bishop obstinately kept, though he might have retreated with safety to *Bibienna*, saying, he would never abandon those who had followed him into danger. At last, after performing amazing acts of valour, he was killed, together with *Bono of Feretri*, and many of the chief *Arezzian* nobility, with above three thousand of their common men, and about two thousand were taken prisoners. This battle was fought on the eighteenth of June, 1287.

Dante the
poet's account
of the battle.

THE above account of this memorable battle, taken from *Leonardi Aretini*, agrees perfectly well with the relation given of it by *Dante*^b, the celebrated poet, who was then a young man, and that day served in the *Florentine* army. He says, in one of his letters, that the slaughter made of the enemy threatened to exterminate the *Arezzian* name. The fruits of this victory were, the reduction of the town of *Bibienna*, which was dismantled, and other places belonging to the *Arezzians*. Those advantages cost the victors dear, because, had they immediately after the battle marched against *Arezzo*, that city must have fallen into their hands; but the inhabitants now gaining eight days, in which they recovered from their consternation, they prepared for a vigorous defence. The *Florentines*, sensible of the oversight they had committed, sought to repair it; and even two of their presidents went into the trenches, a thing never heard of before, to encourage and direct the assailants. The besieged, however, taking advantage of a dark tempestuous night, sallied out, and burnt all the wooden towers that had been erected by the besiegers, who thereupon returned to *Florence*, where they were received in triumph; and the armour of the *Arezzian* bishop was hung up as a trophy in the antient temple of *Mars*. When the *Florentine* magistracy wrote or spoke of this victory in public, they termed it their victory over the *Gibelins*, lest they should offend the delicacy of their *Arezzian* friends.

The Floren-
tines miscarry
in an attempt
upon Arezzo.

THOSE successes seem to have inspired the *Florentines* with too great a passion for conquest. They sent, soon after their return, two thousand foot and four hundred horse to the assistance of the *Lucques* and *Pisan* exiles, without having any connection with them, but as they were sufferers for popular government. The exiles, with this assistance, wasted the territory; but could not take that city. *Tarlatti*, a nobleman of great distinction, was then master of *Arezzo*, which the malcontents within the city had agreed to betray to the *Florentines*, who for that purpose sent a strong body of horse to *Civitella*. The design, however, was discovered by one of the conspirators, who had been mortally wounded, to a priest, who discovered it to *Tarlatti*; and such measures were taken for the defence of the city, that the *Florentine* troops were obliged to return home.

Institution of
the standard-
bearer.

A VAST improvement of the *Florentine* government took place this year. By its constitution the nobility was not excluded from posts of power and trust in the state; but a nobleman who was qualified to be a magistrate of *Florence*, was required to be of some particular trade; the law excluding all idle persons, plebeians as well as nobles, from being presidents. By this means an unnatural kind of distinction arose in the state, that between property, which was in the nobles, and power, which was vested in the commoners, or rather artists; for so the *Florentines* chose to call all kinds of tradesmen and merchants, as well as the professors of the finer arts, who were every day increasing in *Florence*. Many of the nobility, about this time, laying out their fortunes in commerce, had great returns of profit from *France*, *England*, *Germany*, and other nations. The riches they acquired made them impatient under the government of those whom they looked upon to be no better than mechanics; and sometimes they insulted them, while the magistrates were deterred, by the numerous retinues always attending those noblemen, from vindicating their own authority. For this reason the *Florentines* chose a new magistrate, who was to bear the standard of justice, and who afterwards was called the Gonfalonier of Justice; and his office was to call the people out to attend his standard, in all cases of the breach of the peace, which could not be remedied in the ordinary court of justice. This constitution took place seven years after that of the presidents of the artists; but as it was a post of great power, the *Florentines* were excessively jealous of the exercise of it, and limited its duration in one person to two months, and none but a plebeian or commoner could exercise it. Four counsellors were appointed to assist him, two colonels to serve under him, and he was to command a thousand men, who were chosen out of the different wards of the city. That of *Scardi* furnished two hundred; that of *Transarnini* two hundred; and each of the other four wards one hundred and fifty. Those thousand soldiers were to serve for a year, and obliged, when required, to follow the standard of justice. None of the nobility could be of the number, and severe penalties were inflicted on all who should obstruct or threaten them. But this formidable military force was to be under the direction of the civil magistrate; nor could it

^b DANTE Epist. xxi.

a be arrayed by the gonfalonier, without an order from the presidents, or in any other case but in that abovementioned.

THE *Florentines* the same year gave another proof of their wise vigilance over public liberty, by making a law that no president should be re-chosen in a shorter time than three years after his former magistracy was expired. The reason *Aretin* assigns for this institution is, that the posts of honour in the state might be accessible to the greater number of citizens. Other regulations.

b WHILE the *Florentines* were thus concerting the means of preserving their constitution, they still were possessed of a spirit for foreign conquests; and next year, viz. 1288, they again invaded the territories of *Arezzo*, and destroyed *Novello's* estates in the *Casentino*; but being unable to take *Arezzo*, they and their confederates returned home, after an unmanly expedition against a defenceless country. The season of the campaign, however, not being over, at their return they and the *Lucchese*, with their confederate cities, renewed the league with the *Genoese* against *Pisa*; and the *Genoese* being possessed of forty galleys, the *Pisans* who were their rivals in commerce, received many fatal blows. *Leghorn* at that time belonged to *Pisa*; and the confederates not only took it, but sunk two ships loaded with ballast in the mouth of the harbour, to obstruct its navigation. The *Florentines* we are told, at the same time took and garrisoned several places belonging to the enemy near *Arici*. But no sooner did the *Florentine* army return home, than *Guido* of *Feretri*, the *Pisan* general, without any loss, retook all the places the *Pisans* had lost. Not contented with that, in the dead of winter, *Guido* surprised and made himself master of a strong fortification, which the *Florentines* had erected near *Arici*. Till that time the *Florentines* had served in the wars against *Pisa* as the allies of the *Lucchese*; but they now declared themselves to be principals. Their military virtues, however, at this period, do not appear to be equal to their civil; and to say the truth, the art of war was then very low all over *Italy*. Early in the spring the *Florentines*, as it were, stung with rage, snatching up their arms, again invaded the territories of *Pisa*, and, as usual, laid waste the open country; but the rains prevented their farther progress, and they were obliged to return home. Those and the other expeditions they undertook about this time were so tumultuary, and so ill-conducted, that the names of their generals are not preserved in history. A. D. 1288. Expedition against Arezzo.

d Upon the return of their army to *Florence*, the *Florentines* began to see the necessity of having a man of military reputation at the head of their troops; but they seem to have been somewhat shy of entrusting so great a power with one of their own countrymen. They therefore chose *Gentili Ursini*, a *Roman* nobleman, to be their general; and he brought along with him some disciplined troops from the *campania* of *Rome*. We know, however, of no great success he had in the field; for though the *Florentine* troops, and those of their allies, who now joined them, were very numerous, and exasperated beyond measure against the *Pisans*, yet *Guido* of *Feretri*, who commanded at *Pisa*, giving them no opportunity to fight, all that the confederates could do was to insult their enemies within their walls, renew their ravages upon the open country, and then return home. A. D. 1289. Degeneracy of military virtue amongst the Florentines.

e It appears, from the *Florentine* historians, that their nobility at this time were too powerful to be restrained by the new office of gonfalonier. The spirit of crusading was then over in *Italy*, and it was filled with soldiers of fortune and idle people, whom the great riches of the *Florentine* nobility enabled to take into their pay; and thus two factions still continued in the state, that of the nobility, and that of the plebeians. The magistracy itself, being partly composed of nobility, was not sufficiently active in suppressing the tyranny of that order, and every day produced some new insult upon the people; so that it was evident to the more discerning *Florentines*, that the moment the nobility were united amongst themselves, they would become masters of the government. On the other hand, one cannot read the *Florentine* historians of this time, without more than suspecting, that the people were too much intoxicated with the thoughts of their own importance, and that they often complained without reason. One *Janus Labella*, of a decayed but illustrious family at *Florence*, undertook the patronage of the people on this occasion: and perhaps the fallen lustre of his family somewhat influenced his acrimony against the powerful nobility. Being a man of eloquence and abilities, he found means to convoke a general assembly of the citizens in the town-hall, where he laid open the danger the liberties of the people were exposed to by the power of the nobility, and proposed that the military establishment under the gonfalonier should be increased to four thousand men, and that he should reside in the town-house or guild-hall along with the presidents. He likewise proposed to exclude the most powerful of the nobility, even such of them as exercised trades, from being presidents. their idle expeditions.

f g They exclude the chief nobility from all share of the government; by the influence of *Labella*.

THIS speech was heard with great applause, and agreed to; and many noble families, both within and without the city, were not only immediately disqualified from the magistracy, but the presidents were invested with a power of disqualifying others, if they thought proper. When the next election of magistrates took place, *Janus* was chosen a president, and *Baldo Ruffuli* gonfalonier. Being a man of spirit, and having now four thousand men under his command, he began the exercise of his magistracy with an act of justice; for hearing that a plebeian had been put to death by a nobleman of the family of the *Galli*, he drove them out of the state, demolished their houses, and laid waste their lands. This vigour struck such terror into the nobility, that they grew more moderate; and the people at the same time began to alter their system; which hitherto had been too warlike. They considered that their new form of government was yet in its infancy, and that their nobility always gained ground in time of war; they therefore listened to a proposal for peace made by the *Pisans*^a; who were now greatly reduced. This pacific disposition of the *Florentines* astonished and disconcerted the *Lucquese*, and their other allies; but all their remonstrances were in vain. The *Florentines* named two of their citizens, *Guadagni* and *Paradisi*, for their plenipotentiaries, and they rather prescribed than made a peace. Some of the terms were, that all the exiled *Pisans* should be reinstated in their fortunes and privileges; that the *Pisans* should chuse their magistrates only from the states that were in alliance with *Florence*; and that the *Florentines* should have free liberty of exporting and importing their commodities to all the territories and harbours belonging to *Pisa*. It was likewise stipulated, that *Guido Feretri* and all his troops should be dismissed from the service of *Pisa*.

Their tranquillity and magnificence.
A. D. 1291.

THOSE and a great many other stipulations appeared so hard to the *Pisans*, that it was with great difficulty they were carried into execution. After this, *Florence* enjoyed a state of tranquillity for a whole year. Two *Florentine* popes were created about this time, *Celestine V.* and *Boniface VIII.* The latter was one of the most haughty pontiffs that ever filled the papal throne. About the same time the *Florentines* built their magnificent church of the *Holy Cross* at *Florence*, in a taste and with a grandeur uncommon to that age. They were, however, corrupted by the prosperity and tranquillity they enjoyed, and both magistracy and people were equally infected. The great credit which their patriot *Labella* had now obtained in the government, had procured him vast envy from many of the plebeians, as well as all the nobility; and his enemies had interest enough to chuse some of their own number to be presidents of the republic. A fray happened, in which a plebeian was killed; and the nobleman who had been tried for the murder was acquitted, after a legal trial. This acquittal left no room for the interposition of the gonfalonier's power; but the people, running to arms, accused the judges of corruption, and marched to *Labella's* house, demanding that he would head them. His advice was, that they should apply to the presidents, and obey their directions. The headstrong mob, instead of following his counsel, ran to the town-house, broke open its doors, and committing a vast number of other violences, the enemies of *Labella* pretended that all their irregularities had proceeded from his direction. They were supported by the great credit and influence of the nobility, and *Labella* was accused before the presidents, who were his enemies, of treason against the state. His authority amongst the people was so great, that a civil war must have ensued; but *Labella* prevented it by a magnanimity that would have done honour to the greatest patriot that *Greece* or *Rome* ever produced, by chusing a voluntary banishment, rather than disturb the tranquillity of the state. Before his departure, he publicly embraced his friends in the most affectionate manner, bidding them adieu. His brother *Taddo* and his grandson *Rainerio* were banished at the same time, and their estates and houses laid waste.

Labella banished.

Dissensions break out again between the nobles and the people.

THIS ingratitude, and the reigning disease of popular government, had almost ruined the public of *Florence*. *Labella* had always been considered as the bulwark of the people against the nobility, who, seeing him and his friends driven into banishment, thought nothing could then resist them. They met in a body; they agreed to compose all differences amongst themselves, to lay the hardships they suffered before the magistracy; and, if they did not find redress, to have recourse to force. They accordingly made their application to the presidents; but found so obstinate a resistance on the part of the people, that they called out their followers, and put themselves in arms. They were easily distinguished from the commons by the beauty of their horses, the splendor of their arms, and their armorial bearings, which were richly embroidered on their upper habits. They divided themselves into three bodies, of whom one took its stand at the ancient temple of *Mars*, another at the New Exchange or Square, and the third at the end of the Upper Bridge across the *Arno*. The people, no way daunted at this military appearance, barri-

^a LEONARDI ARETINI Hist. Flor. p. 69.

^c Ib. p. 71.

a cadoed the streets; and whenever the nobility began to move, showered upon them darts and stones from the tops and windows of their houses; so that the others were obliged to remain on the defensive. At last, some moderate citizens interposing, the nobility laid down their arms; and the people, at the persuasion of the presidents, gave up a few inconsiderable points; on which both parties retired for that time in peace. Such, however, was the antipathy between the two orders, that the plebeians, reflecting on what they had done, upbraided their presidents with the concessions they had prevailed on them to make; and not only insulted them when they went out of their office, but in a manner obliged their successors to revoke all the concessions that had been made to the nobility.

b THEY even went farther, and, according to their usual inconstancy, they proposed the recalling *Labella* from banishment. They attributed to his absence all the late attempts of the nobility: and the latter, considering themselves as being undone, applied for protection to pope *Boniface VIII.* who, glad of every opportunity to exert or extend his power, ordered the people of *Florence*, on pain of his displeasure, not to recal *Labella*, whom he termed a fomentor of sedition amongst the citizens, or any of his friends, to *Florence*. The *Florentines* were then too great slaves to papal power to dispute this order; and thus that worthy patriot was suffered to die in exile, his very enemies compassionating his fate.

Labella's recall proposed.

He dies in exile.

c AN interval of tranquility succeeded for about two years, during which the noble genius of the *Florentine* plebeians appeared with amazing lustre. Their first care was to renew their engagements with the neighbouring states, and they took *Perugia* into the confederacy. They then applied themselves at once to strengthen and to adorn their state and city. They built the towns of *St. Giovanni* and *Franco*, on the opposite banks of the *Arno*. They erected, for the residence of their presidents and magistrates, a most magnificent new town-house, their former one being too weak to protect them from the insults of the nobility. This palace, the noblest perhaps at that time in *Europe*, was erected partly upon the ground of forfeited estates, and partly upon the scites of other houses, which were purchased by the public for that purpose. They next completed the fortifications of their city, by carrying round it a long strong wall, with towers and bastions at proper distances; and, lastly, they laid out five thousand crowns in erecting a commodious airy prison, which was built upon the ground of forfeited estates. Those splendid works, and the flourishing state of commerce at *Florence*, rendered the *Florentines* now so respectable, that the people of *Bologna* and *Ferrara*, then at war with one another, offered to refer their differences to their arbitration. The *Florentines*, by permission of the pope, accepted of the office; but under his patronage and direction, he pretending that the two cities, as being fiefs of the Holy See, depended upon him. The *Florentines*, on this occasion, sent no fewer than seven ambassadors, partly nobility, and partly plebeians, to his holiness, and in a short time composed all their differences. We are now come to the year

A. D. 1298.
Magnificent works erected by the Florentines,

who mediate between the Bolognese and the Ferrarese.

d fications of their city, by carrying round it a long strong wall, with towers and bastions at proper distances; and, lastly, they laid out five thousand crowns in erecting a commodious airy prison, which was built upon the ground of forfeited estates. Those splendid works, and the flourishing state of commerce at *Florence*, rendered the *Florentines* now so respectable, that the people of *Bologna* and *Ferrara*, then at war with one another, offered to refer their differences to their arbitration. The *Florentines*, by permission of the pope, accepted of the office; but under his patronage and direction, he pretending that the two cities, as being fiefs of the Holy See, depended upon him. The *Florentines*, on this occasion, sent no fewer than seven ambassadors, partly nobility, and partly plebeians, to his holiness, and in a short time composed all their differences. We are now come to the year

e 1300, when pope *Boniface VIII.* celebrated the first centurial jubilee ever known in the christian world. A. D. 1300.

S E C T. IV.

f *Containing the History of the Civil Wars of Florence between the Nobility and the People; the Usurpations of the Popes upon their Liberties; their Leagues with the other States of Tuscany; their Election of Prince Robert of Naples for their General; and their Wars with the neighbouring States, particularly with the famous Castruccio Castruccani of Lucca.*

I N the year 1300 there flourished at *Pistoia* a noble family, commonly called *Cancellari*; the branches of which, being at variance with one another, were distinguished by the ridiculous appellations of the Whites and the Blacks, and daily skirmishes and murders happened between the two parties; so that *Pistoia* was in danger of being destroyed, when the *Florentines*, its ancient allies, offered their assistance towards restoring its tranquility. This being accepted by the *Pistoians*, the only expedient the *Florentines* could devise for that purpose was to oblige both parties to remove to *Florence*; but as *Aretin* elegantly observes, *Florence* was rather infected than *Pistoia* cured by this measure. The families thus removed, communicated their resentments to many *Florentine* families with whom they had intermarried; and *Florence*, in a short time, became as much divided be-

New divisions in Florence.

^f ARET. Hist. Flor. p. 72.

^e LEONARDI ARETINI, Hist. Flor. p. 73.

tween the Whites and the Blacks as *Pistoia* had been before, and was equally filled with tumults, family being divided against family, brother against brother, and father against son; and thus the *Guelphs* split into parties.

The pope mediates an agreement.

GREAT heart-burnings had for some time been harboured by the rival families of the *Circuli* and the *Donati*; but they now broke out into action, the former taking part with the Whites, and the latter with the Blacks. The more moderate nobility and citizens, to prevent the consequences, applied to the pope, who enjoined *Vario Circuli*, the head of that family, to accommodate matters with *Cursio Donati*; but all was to no purpose: civil broils ensued, blood was shed, and the city filled with armed troops. *Florence* being in so dangerous a situation, the pope sent his legate to compose matters; but the *Circuli*, who were it seems the most powerful party, refusing to stand to his award, he put the city under an interdict, and left it. After his departure, greater violences were committed than ever; for the parties, now throwing off all reverence for government, no longer fought accidentally, and in a tumultuous manner; but drew up in regular bodies, one against another, in squadrons and companies. The great dependence of the *Donati*, who were of the black party, was upon *Cursio Donati*, esteemed the best soldier in *Florence*; and he answered their expectations, by always leading his party to victory. The *Circuli*, however, had the greatest interest in the magistracy, whom they prevailed upon to send a deputation to his holiness, requesting his interposition for restoring the tranquility of their city. The *Donati* no sooner heard of this resolution than they again took arms, accused the magistrates of betraying the independency of the city, and threatened to punish them; and thus civil dissention flamed higher than ever.

Advice of Dante the poet.

DANTE the poet happened that year to be one of the presidents, and being a man of great resolution, as well as eloquence, he had more sway than any other with his colleagues. He had the spirit to advise them to call the citizens in general to arms, and then to punish and expel from *Florence* the disturbers of her peace. This advice was followed. *Cursio Donati* was exiled, and his goods confiscated, for having threatened the magistrates. The proceedings against his abettors and friends were more moderate, they being only fined and sent to *Perugia*, where they were ordered to remain for some time, till they should be recalled by the people. Others of the nobility were likewise censured; but more for form-sake than justice. Some of their heads, amongst whom was *Guido Cavalcanti*, a *Florentine* philosopher of great learning and knowledge in the fine arts, were sent to *Seranza*; from whence, however, they were quickly recalled; but *Cavalcanti* died soon after.

Cursio Donati's intrigues. A.D. 1302.

CURSIO DONATI was not idle during his exile. He went to the pope, and by his address, eloquence, and assiduity, he prevailed with his holiness to interpose in the affairs of *Florence*, though he and his party had been expelled for opposing that very resolution. The pope, therefore, prevailed upon *Charles* of *Valois*, brother to the king of *France*, *Philip* the Fair, to march into *Italy*, and to take upon him the pacification of *Tuscany*, where the *Pistoians*, the *Lucquese*, and other cities confederated with *Florence*, were still filled with blood and tumult on account of the two parties. His holiness was then at *Anagni*, where he gave his charge to *Charles*, who set out for *Florence* about the middle of *September*, attended by a body of regular troops. The faction of the Whites, who were now masters of *Florence*, not expecting an armed mediation, were terribly disconcerted with the arrival of *Charles*, who was suspected of having entered into private terms with *Cursio*. Being however professedly *Guelphs*, they did not chuse to deny him admittance into their city; but received him, when he was near the gates, with vast honours and rejoicings. *Charles*, some days after his entrance, behaved with great modesty and appearance of justice. He ordered his troops to lay aside their arms, and never to appear in bodies; and calling a general meeting of the magistracy and people, he prevailed with them to give him full powers to regulate them as he pleased. After this he took an oath that he would make no other use of this power, than to restore justice and tranquility to the state; but no sooner was he established in the government than he appeared in public, and upon his tribunal, surrounded by a formidable body of his guards under arms.

Charles of Valois enters Florence.

His conduct there.

IT is difficult, at this time, to assign the true motive of *Charles's* conduct on this occasion. The most probable conjecture is, that he gave encouragement to both parties, yet assisted neither; that the citizens might be so weakened as to invite him to take upon himself the perpetual government of *Florence*, which would soon be followed by that of all *Tuscany*. For when *Charles* appeared attended with his guards, the people of all factions ran to arms; but being without any plan or leader, they durst not attack him, and he remained on his tribunal, without offering to disperse them. In the mean while *Cursio Donati*, with a body of men, broke into *Florence*, and, being joined by his friends there, they marched to the public hall, where they deposed the presidents, and degraded them to the rank of private persons. After this, the new prevailing party proceeded against their antagonists with fire and sword; *Charles* appearing all the while as an unconcerned spectator, and without any emotion

2 emotion hearing the reproaches of the people against him. Though the return and the triumphs of the *Donati* undoubtedly were effected by his connivance or direction, yet he entered secretly into treaty with the opposite faction ; which the magistracy and people discovering, the *Donati* found means to drive into exile the heads of the *Circuli* and their abettors ; and thus the Blacks remained masters of the *Florentine* magistracy.

In the mean while the pope's legate returned to *Florence* ; and the hostilities between the two parties, not being confined within the walls of the city, had filled all its territory with conflagrations and murders. The legate sought to reconcile the two parties ; but was so violently opposed by the *Donati*, that he laid the city under a fresh interdict, and left it. Amongst the leaders of the exiled faction was the poet *Dante*, whose fate was particularly severe and unjust. He had, on account of his great abilities, been sent ambassador to the pope by the *Florentines*, to inform his holiness of the true state of their affairs, and to propose a plan of accommodation ; but the *Donati* getting the better in *Florence*, he was, in his absence, accused and condemned, his house was rifled, and his estates were plundered. As to *Charles* of *Valois*, he seems intirely to have mistaken his measures. The pope grew jealous of him, or, at least, did not support him sufficiently to make good the government or vicariate of *Tuscany* he had given him ; and, after five months abode at *Florence*, he recalled him to expel the *Spaniards* out of *Sicily*.

Hostilities
rage more
than ever in
Florence.

Charles leaves
Florence,

His departure left the *Donati*, or black faction, nothing to fear ; and they immediately resolved to drive the Whites from *Pistoia*, where they were most numerous. For this purpose they joined their forces with the *Lucquese* ; but all they could do was to defeat the scattered parties of the exiled Whites ; and, after taking some of their castles, they returned to *Florence* with great shew of victory and triumph. That city was then in an unhappy situation ; for though it had reverted to its popular form of government, yet, in fact, it received law from the *Donati*, who put several of the principal citizens to death, and drove others into exile, on pretence of their conspiring against the public liberty. They soon experienced the bad policy of this proceeding ; for the exiles became so numerous as to be formidable to the governing party at *Florence*, who were far from being united amongst themselves. The *Bolognese* took part with the exiles, and the confederacy amongst them being formed, they raised a great army, with which they marched against *Florence*, hoping, through the civil disputes in the city, to become masters of it. The citizens, however, hearing of the approach of the enemy, summoned the *Lucquese* and their ancient allies to their assistance, and boldly marched out to give battle to the enemy, who were waiting in hopes that the gates of the city would be opened to them ; so great was their dependence upon its intestine commotions. Being disappointed, consternation succeeded their confidence, and they took flight without fighting, leaving the *Florentines* in possession of their camp and many noble prisoners, most of whom were put to death at *Florence*.

where the
Donati pre-
vail.

They defeat
the Bolognese

THE succeeding year the *Florentines* and the *Lucquese* again laid siege to *Pistoia* ; but they neither were able to take it, nor to bring the enemy to a battle. The civil wars that now prevailed over all *Tuscany*, with the inclemency of the seasons, had introduced a famine among the *Florentines*, who were obliged to purchase with ready money twenty-seven thousand measures of corn from *Sicily* and *Calabria*. But no sooner was *Florence* freed from famine, than she relapsed into domestic distractions. *Cursio Donati*, thinking himself neglected by his fellow-citizens, and that he was not sufficiently preferred in the government, moved that the state of the public money should be laid before the people. Though it had been greatly embezzled, yet the motion was unseasonable, and made only upon seditious motives, to bring certain leading magistrates to punishment, for obstructing his ambition. The measure, however, was so plausible, that *Lothario*, bishop of *Florence*, at first befriended it ; and the malcontents of both parties, who were very numerous, united under *Cursio*. But the real views of the latter appearing, the bishop employed all his interest against the motion ; and not only the magistrates, but the other heads of the *Donati* family, put themselves in arms against *Cursio*. His party was still so prevalent, that, after a vast number of robberies and murders had been committed on both sides, the *Lucquese* were forced to interpose, by marching into *Florence* such an army as must have turned the scale of victory in favour of the faction they espoused. But they acted with great moderation ; and partly by threats, and partly by persuasions, they in some measure restored the public tranquility. They next applied themselves to reform and prevent the abuses of government, and twelve presidents were elected instead of six.

A. D. 1304.

A famine in
Florence.

Discontent of
Cursio Dona-
ti.

BENEDICT, who was then upon the papal throne, took it amiss that those commotions should be appeased without his intervention, and sent *Nicholas* of *Prato*, a cardinal, as his legate to *Florence*. This prelate, examining into the grounds of the late differences, took part with the people, whom he persuaded to divide themselves into twenty companies, each company to have a gonfalonier, or standard-bearer, a colonel, and a standard adorned with

Nicholas,
cardinal of
Prato, sent
legate to
Florence :

the new-models
its govern-
ment;

the arms and badges of the company. Several penalties were decreed against all who did not follow their respective standards as soon as they appeared in public. Each gonfalonier was to hold his place for six months, and, while the standard was abroad, no person who followed it was to go to his own home. This last regulation was made, in order to deter the nobility from enrolling themselves into the companies. Each gonfalonier was to assist the members of his own company by force of arms, if the case required it, against the oppressions of the great; and if a nobleman killed a plebeian, the next relation of the deceased, if poor, was to be assisted with money to revenge his kinsman's death, at the expense of the company to which he belonged; but if one plebeian killed another, the survivor was to be delivered up to the common courts of justice. The like institutions took place in the *Florentine* territories without the city.

but fails in
his main pur-
pose,

THE legate having, by those regulations, obtained a great degree of popularity in *Florence*, proceeded to execute the principal design of his legation, which was to persuade the citizens to recall the *Circuli*, and the other exiles, from their banishment. The chief of them resided at *Arezzo*; and amongst them were *Dante* the poet, and the father of *Petrarch*, the other famous *Tuscan* poet of that age, who was born at *Arezzo* during his father's exile. *Vario Circuli* was at the same time there; and by his advice the exiles, who continued to be very numerous, had chosen *Alexander*, count of *Romena*, to be their head. The legate did not find the *Florentines* inexorable on this head; but the affair turned out to be more difficult than was at first imagined. The exiles committed their concerns to the legate, who might easily have succeeded in restoring the white party; but insisting upon the *Gibelin* exiles being restored at the same time, he succeeded in neither, though he was supported in both by a strong party of nobility and commons within the city. The exiles had appointed a deputation to wait upon the legate; but while the treaty was going forward, they pretended an invitation under the legate's own hand, which they produced; but whether genuine or forged, our author does not determine. It was in vain for the legate to make the most solemn protestations of his innocence and good intentions; for at once he lost his popularity, and was obliged to retire to *Prato*. He found no shelter there; and returning to *Florence*, he attempted to prevail with the citizens to undertake an expedition against *Prato*. The *Florentines* discovered, or thought they discovered, that the army he wanted to raise was to be employed against their liberties, and refusing to obey him, he was forced to leave *Florence*, and repair to his master the pope. His departure was followed by a fresh eruption of civil dissensions, in which *Cursio Donati* took no part, he having left his friends, who were strengthened by the accession of two great families, that of the *Junii* and the *Medici*. The two parties took arms, and, after many partial skirmishes, they came to a general engagement between the old and new exchanges, and about the corn-market. The north-wind blew at that time very strong against the quarter where the houses of the white faction stood, which one *Nerio Abbati*, of the black party, observing, he set the houses of the *Caponfacci* on fire; and the flames spread with such fury, that they consumed seventeen hundred houses, and was stopt only by the interposition of the *Arno*. This vast loss falling on the trading quarter of the city, the quantities of the rich merchandizes and commodities thereby destroyed is incredible; and the violence with which the flames proceeded, made the common people believe the conflagration was assisted by enchantment.

The pope sum-
mons the Flo-
rentines to
appear before
him.

THE party of the Whites was now utterly subdued within the city; but the cardinal legate, exasperated at the affronts he had met with, represented the *Florentines* in so odious a light to the pope, that he summoned twelve of the principal men of the city, amongst whom was *Cursio Donati*, to appear before his tribunal at *Perugia*, where he then was. The *Florentines* long debated whether they should obey this summons, which seemed to be intended to give the Whites a favourable opportunity to re-enter the city, during the absence of their chief enemies. But at last, rather than be thought guilty, they obeyed it, and set out with magnificent retinues to *Perugia*. Their apprehensions, however, were well-grounded. No sooner were they arrived, and had entered upon the vindication of their conduct, than the legate privately wrote to the heads of the other party, advising them to seize on that opportunity of reinstating themselves in the city. They accordingly assembled, to the number of nine thousand foot, and seventeen hundred horse, great part of whom were *Bolognese* and *Arezzians*. They marched so secretly, that they came to the gates of *Florence*, without being discovered, about sun-set, and actually forced their way into the city. But they were not unanimous: the Whites were jealous of their confederates, who were *Gibelins*; and they began to debate upon the manner of their proceeding. This created delay, which gave the citizens time to collect their strength, and they attacked their invaders so briskly, that they drove them out of the city before the *Bolognese* troops, who had been left at some distance, could come up to support them. In their retreat some were killed; but they were joined near *Mugelli* by a reinforcement of

a three hundred horse, and eight hundred foot, all *Pistoians*, under *Uberti*, who was himself a *Florentine* exile. Nothing, however, could re-animate them after their late disappointment; and thus the enterprize came to nothing.

In the mean while pope *Benedict* died, and the *Florentine* deputies, after complaining to the cardinals of the legate's treachery, returned to *Florence*. On examining into the state of their affairs, and the strength of their enemies, they thought proper to renew and extend their confederacy with all the neighbouring states of the *Guelph* party, which comprehended those of *Lucca*, *Volterra*, *Sienna*, *Prato*, *Gemmiani*, *Colle*, and *Civita Castellana*. This alliance being formed, the confederates resolved to chuse a general to command the whole of the troops, that they might act with more effect, and they pitched upon prince *Robert*, eldest son to *Charles* king of *Naples*. The conditions of his command were, that he should have no direction in the civil government of the confederate states, but that he should have the command of their armies; that he should reside constantly in *Tuscany* for a whole year; that the confederates should maintain the cavalry he was to bring along with him, and contribute, in proportion to their abilities, towards a revenue for himself. In this contribution the *Florentines*, as the most powerful, had the greatest share, and the *Lucchese* the next to them. Early in the following spring, *Robert* arrived in *Tuscany*, at the head of a small, but well-disciplined, body of horse, and taking upon him the command of the allied army, he laid siege to *Pistoia*.

The Florentines renew their confederacy with their neighbours.

c THE reader, in the course of this history, will perceive how awkward the *Florentines*, and indeed all the people of *Italy* were at that time, in the art of besieging towns; and that they seldom attempted a siege in which they succeeded. This was not so much owing to the strength of the places, as to the unskilfulness of the assailants, who were destitute of engines. *Pistoia* had within it a strong garrison, and the place was well defended, so that the siege was converted into a blockade, which lasted four months. In the mean while, *Clement V.* who had been chosen pope, sent two legates into *Tuscany*, to dissuade *Robert* and the confederates from continuing their hostilities against *Pistoia*. *Robert* immediately desisted, as did all the confederates, except the *Florentines* and *Lucchese*, who, in contempt of the papal authority, obstinately continued the blockade. Upon this the states of *Lucca* and *Florence* were, by the legates, laid under an interdict. Notwithstanding this, the siege, or rather blockade, of *Pistoia*, continued ten months, till the besieged began to be pressed by famine and want of necessaries; the only engines the besiegers knew how to apply. In vain the *Pistoians* endeavoured to send their women and useless mouths out of the city, for they were driven back by the besiegers; and the *Pistoians* were obliged at last to capitulate; but the only terms they could obtain were, that the exiles within the place might depart in safety, and that no punishment should be inflicted upon the inhabitants. This taking of *Pistoia* is a memorable æra in the *Florentine* history, and happened in the year 1306^d. The conquerors no sooner got possession of it than they dismantled all its fortifications, and divided its houses and territories amongst themselves. The confederate army next laid siege to *Acciani*, a very strong place belonging to the family of the *Ubaldi*, where most of the exiles had taken refuge. They besieged this place for three months; but they could not have taken it, had not the defendants fallen at variance amongst themselves, and surrendered it for a sum of money. The place was dismantled, and razed to the ground, and the inhabitants removed to a neighbouring valley, where they built for themselves a town, afterwards called *Scarpari*.

Florence and Lucca interdicted.

Pistoia taken.

f THIS year was created in *Florence* a new magistrate, under the title of the executor of justice. Great part of the power of the gonfalonier was transferred to him; and that he might be the more disinterested, it was enacted, that the office should not be held by a native of *Florence*, or of *Tuscany*. The same year the companies of *Florence* were reduced from twenty to nineteen. Cardinal *Nicholas* of *Prato*, the same who had been the pope's legate in *Florence*, was now in high favour with pope *Clement*, who owed his election to the popedom to him. This cardinal never had lost sight of his favourite scheme of restoring the *Florentine* exiles; and he persuaded the pope to send cardinal *Neapoli*, who was of the noble family of the *Ursini*, as his legate to *Florence*, to compose all the disquiets of *Tuscany*. The cardinal having passed the *Alps*, sent a messenger to *Florence*, signifying his approach, and ordering preparations to be made for his reception, and that of his retinue. This produced a consultation among the *Florentine* magistracy, who, says my author^e, having experienced that the residence of legates amongst them had always rather inflamed than allayed their civil dissensions, resolved to refuse him admittance into their city. The legate therefore was obliged to retire to *Cesena*, where he put *Florence* under an interdict. But the *Florentines* knew not how to sport with the papal bolts; and the legate marching to *Arezzo*, put himself at the head of a large body of horse and foot, chiefly composed of the

A new magistrate created in Florence.

The Florentines despise the papal power.

^d LEONARDI ARETINI Hist. Flor. p. 83.

^e Ibid, p. 84.

- *Florentine* exiles, intending to force his entrance into *Florence*. Upon this the *Florentines* calling their confederates to their assistance, laid siege to the castle of *Garganza*, where great numbers of the exiles were assembled. This gave the legate an opportunity of advancing towards *Florence*; but the *Florentine* army returning from the siege, he retired to *Arezzo*, and soon after, finding all his endeavours unsuccessful, he returned to *France*.

THERE is somewhat singular in the state of *Florence* at this time. The inhabitants had, upon all occasions, distinguished themselves in defence of the holy see, and gloried in being its votaries, and yet the popes of late had never gained one point which they thought might tend to the prejudice of their freedom or interest. In fact, they professed themselves *Guelfs*, because it was the most convenient party for them to espouse, without having one grain of regard for the papal authority. Though the papal thunders now roared more furiously than ever above their heads, yet so greatly were they disregarded by the *Florentines*, that they multiplied tax on tax upon the ecclesiastics, to indemnify themselves for the expences they had been at in the late war.

A. D. 1307.
Cursio Do-
nati killed.

NEXT year, 1307, was free from foreign wars, but filled with domestic contentions. *Cursio Donati* still remained dissatisfied, and was the patron of all the malcontents. He had about him that kind of stubborn virtue which is ill suited to a popular government; for, instead of courting honours, he imagined that honours ought to court him. His magnanimity, however, and the ready refuge which distress always found in him, but above all his professed opposition to the nobility, procured him vast popularity, which, at the same time, his enemies gave out he intended to employ to the subversion of public liberty. Their report was somewhat countenanced by his marrying the daughter of *Fagiolani*, a nobleman of great power and authority, which, they said, were to be applied to make *Cursio* master of *Florence*. The people believed the report from the appearances that favoured it, and *Cursio* was cited to appear before the magistracy. He was now the most unpopular man in *Florence*; but still he was backed by some friends, from the opinion they had of his personal virtues. Conscious of his innocence, and at the same time of the power of his adversaries, he refused to appear before the magistrates; and in one day he was accused, cited, and condemned. Knowing the fate to which he was destined, he fortified his house, which the magistrates, seconded by all the power of the city, besieged and stormed, after a valiant resistance of some hours, and *Cursio*, in endeavouring to make his escape, was killed. After his death, both the people and magistracy repented of their proceedings. No process was held against his estate or family; and, too late, they reflected that no accusation, except the hasty one which had procured his death, had ever been brought against him.

Generosity of
the Floren-
tines.

THE *Arezzians*, for some time, had been under the *Gibelin* government; but having expelled the family of the *Tarlatti*, they renewed their ancient confederacy with the *Florentines* about the beginning of the year 1308. About the same time the *Florentines* interposed to quell some seditions at *Prato*, which had been fomented by the *Pistoians*, who were exasperated at the *Lucquese*, for pressing the *Florentines* to the utter demolition of *Pistoia*. The *Florentines* generously rejected this proposal, and even agreed that the *Pistoians* should have liberty to rebuild their fortifications, which they did in a very short time, by the assistance of their religious, their young, and their aged of both sexes. Mean while the *Tarlatti*, by the assistance of *Fagiolani*, again got footing in *Arezzo*, from whence they expelled their enemies, who were patronized by the *Florentines*. And thus fire and sword again raged in the territories of *Arezzo*.

THOUGH the *Florentines*, as we have seen, resolutely opposed all attempts made by the papal see against their independency, yet they were very ready to vindicate and assist the authority of his holiness, in all matters that were indifferent to them. They therefore this year sent a body of troops to the assistance of the papal legate, who was at war with the *Venetians*, over whom he gained a complete victory, by means of that reinforcement. Upon this his holiness took off his interdict from *Florence*, which now became his favourite city. That same year the *Florentines* were chosen arbiters by the inhabitants of *Gemmiani* and *Volterra*, who had been long at war on account of their limits, which were now settled by the *Florentines*, to the satisfaction of both parties. Towards the close of the year, the *Florentines* sent three hundred horse and six hundred foot to the assistance of their allies of *Civita Castellana*, who were oppressed by the domineering faction at *Arezzo*. As those troops were to march through the territories of the *Arezzians*, their expedition might have proved fatal, had it not been for the madness of the *Arezzians*, who, understanding how despicable the *Florentine* force was, attacked them on their march to *Cortona*, but in so irregular and tumultuary a manner that the *Florentines* obtained a complete victory.

The Floren-
tines relieve
Civita Cas-
tellana.

A. D. 1309.

NEXT summer, the *Florentines* and their allies, being joined by the *Arezzian* exiles, marched against *Arezzo*, and besieged it. During the siege, *Henry of Luxemburgh*, who had lately been chosen emperor, sent ambassadors to *Florence*, who demanded an audience

a of the magistracy. This being granted, the purpose of the ambassy was declared to be, that the *Florentines* should prepare to receive in their city *Henry*, who was about to march into *Italy*, at the head of a vast army, and that they should desist from the siege of *Arezzo*. According to *Ricobaldi* of *Ferrara*, who lived near those times^a, the *Florentines* and the *Bolognese*, and the other *Guelphs* of *Italy*, had secretly entered into a league not to obey *Henry*. This confederacy seems to be confirmed by *Aretin*^b, who tells us that the *Florentines*, in answer to the ambassadors, expressed their surprize that a *Roman* emperor should carry his barbarians into *Italy*, and at the same time justified the war they had undertaken against *Arezzo*. *Henry's* ambassadors delivered the same message to the *Arezzians*; and received much the same answer. The campaign, as usual, ended in depopulating the neighbouring country, and the *Florentines* returned to their own city.

and besiege
Arezzo.

They enter in-
to a confede-
racy against
the emperor,

b By this time the emperor had advanced as far as the lake *Leman* at the head of his army, and that news led the *Florentines* into very serious consultations. However despicable the strength of *Florence* was, when opposed to that of *Henry*, yet they behaved on this occasion with vast spirit; and after many debates, they came to the dangerous resolution of refusing *Henry* admittance into their city, and of joining with *Robert* king of *Sicily*, who soon after came to *Florence*, where he met with great honours, and staid for almost a month. According to *Aretin*^c, it was then the *Guelph* league of the *Italian* states was formed; but we rather think it was then confirmed. The emperor was attended by *Leopold* duke of *Austria*, and *Rodolphus* of *Bavaria*, with *Baldwin* archbishop of *Treves*, the bishop of *Liege*, the counts of *Savoy* and *Flanders*, and other lords of the empire^d; so that the *German* army was very formidable. As no emperor of *Germany* had ever been in *Italy*, since the time of *Frederick II.* pope *Clement V.* though he had before invited him, now put himself at the head of the confederacy against him. The greatness of *Henry's* army and court, rendered his marches very slow, which was of some service to the *Florentines*. Notwithstanding the danger they were in, they this year sent an army to the assistance of the *Arezzian Guelphs*, who were hard pressed by their adversaries, but relieved by the *Florentines*. The *Florentine Ghibelins*, however, joined the emperor; and even *Dante* himself, in one of his epistles, bitterly reproaches the *Florentines* for their conduct^e, in resisting him; and many messages passed between them and the emperor, who continued most of the year about *Milan*, *Cremona*, and *Brescia*, and other places in that neighbourhood. The *Florentines* still continued obstinate; but many of the wiser and more moderate amongst them, proposed a kind of an act of amnesty, for re-admitting their exiled brethren, which at last passed; but by the intrigues of one *Baldi*, a mercenary lawyer, it was clogged with great numbers of exceptions, which afterwards proved of vast detriment to the state. Amongst those who were excepted was *Dante* the poet.

A. D. 1311.

who marches
into Italy.

c GREAT numbers, however, were restored by this act of amnesty, and the confederacy now extended to *Florence*, *Lucca*, *Sienna*, *Pistoia*, *Bologna*, *Citta di Castello*, and a great number of other smaller states, who all ranged themselves under the banners of *Robert* king of *Sicily*, and *Bologna* was appointed to be the place of rendezvous for all their forces, as being most convenient for preventing the emperor's march into *Tuscany*. The emperor spent the winter of the year 1311 at *Genoa*, which lent him twenty long gallies, and in the following *March* he arrived at *Pisa*, in his way to *Rome*; but remained some days at *Viterbo*, that he might the better understand the state of *Italy*, which he found most miserably divided. His intention was to re-establish the imperial authority there, and he had made himself be crowned king of *Lombardy* at *Milan*; but he could not prevail upon the pope and the cardinals to crown him in *Rome*. Having, however, a great faction in that city, he resolved to force his way into it, though he was opposed by *John* the prince of *Morea*, brother to *Robert* king of *Sicily*. The *Florentines*, ever faithful to their engagements, understanding how things went at *Rome*, sent their friends there a strong reinforcement; so that it was with the utmost difficulty that he forced his way into the city, and was tumultuously crowned by some cardinals in the church of *St. John Lateran* on the first of *August*, 1312. This irregular coronation would have been but of little service to the emperor, had he not been favoured by the intestine divisions which at this time prevailed all over *Italy*. He had made himself master of *Milan* and *Cremona*, the latter by force; and obliged *Parma*, *Vicenza*, and *Piacenza*, to acknowledge his authority, and pay him money. *Padua* paid him 100,000 crowns, and submitted to receive a governor from him; and *Venice* made him a present of a magnificent crown of gold, enriched with diamonds: and he appointed governors in all the cities that either voluntarily, or by force, submitted to him. *Nicholas* bishop of *Brotonto*^f, who attended *Henry* in this expedition, informs us, that the *Florentines* on this occasion sent one *Ricardo Hugueti*, to make up matters with the

Progress,

and coronation of the emperor at Rome,

g

^a MURATORI, tom. ix. pag. 259.

^b Page 87.

^c Ibid.

^d HEISS's Hist of the Empire, pag. 329.

^e Cronaca di dino Compagni apud MURATORI, tom. ix. pag. 532.

^f Iter Italicum Henrici Septimi. Imper.

apud MURATORI, tom. ix. pag. 922.

emperor,

also marches
against Flo-
rence,

emperor, but that they deceived him. *Aretin* is silent as to that embassy; so that possibly it was no other than a secret negotiation between the emperor and the heads of the *Ghibelin* party in *Florence* (A). Be that as it will, it is certain that the emperor was enraged beyond all measure with the king of *Sicily* and the *Florentines*, to whom he imputed all the difficulties he encountered. His *German* army, by this time, was so greatly harassed and weakened, that he was in no condition to march against *Robert*; he therefore resolved to vent his rage upon *Florence*, and advanced against that state by the way of *Perugia*, *Cortona*, and *Arezzo*, keeping the *Apennines* on his right. In his march he was joined by all the *Florentine* exiles, who had been excepted out of the late act of amnesty. The *Florentines*, mean while, were not wanting to themselves: they called in all their troops, which were in excellent order, and charged their generals to do all they could to oppose the emperor; but, if possible, to avoid coming to a battle. The emperor, however, made himself master of several places of their territories; and at last came to *Ancisa*, where the *Florentine* army was so strongly entrenched, that he could not have proceeded, had he not been directed in his march by the *Florentine* exiles, who knew the country. The bishop of *Brotonto* says, that the emperor's army was then in very bad plight; but that the emperor, having beaten part of the *Florentines*, would certainly have made himself master of *Ancisa*, had he attempted it. *Aretin's* account is pretty much the same^b; and it appears upon the whole, that *Henry's* animosity against *Florence* hurried him into a wrong step, by his leaving *Ancisa*, and the main part of the *Florentine* army, at his back, and marching against *Florence*, which he immediately invested on the side of the *Casentine* gate.

which he lo-
sages, but

THE *Florentines*, on seeing the imperial army, imagined that their troops had been totally defeated at *Ancisa*, and this belief threw them into a consternation that terminated in despair. They manned their walls, and repaired their fortifications; but *Aretin* does not comprehend why the emperor did not take the first advantage of the consternation of the *Florentines*, and assault the city, in which case he probably would have made himself master of the place. The bishop of *Brotonto*, who, at this time, attended the emperor's person, accounts for this omission, by telling us, that the emperor then was in a desperate state of health; that he had not with him above three hundred horse; that his camp was unprovided of every thing, through the madness of the *Germans*, who had made a military desert wherever they came; and that they were obliged to buy at double price their provisions from the *Gibelins*, who attended the army, and who left him as soon as their turn was served. In fact, the *Florentines*, from despair, reflected with amazement on their own condition. They summoned their confederates to their assistance, and the *Lucchese* sent them three thousand foot, and six hundred horse, all well appointed troops. In a few hours their own army arrived from *Ancisa*, by a different route from what the emperor had taken, and they were now so secure, that though the emperor was encamped within three hundred paces of their walls, they scarcely perceived that they were besieged. *Henry*, on the last day of *November*, raised the siege, but not without being harassed in his retreat by the *Florentines*. When he came to *Casciano*, which he besieged, he received a strong reinforcement from *Pisa* of three thousand foot and five hundred horse, and one thousand *Genoese* cross-bows. The bishop of *Brotonto* acknowledges, that the *Germans* committed great irregularities during this siege, by burning a great many places, and taking others. Amongst the latter was the castle of *St. Mary*, where *Contardi*, of the family of *Filache*, then one of the noblest in *Venice*, was made prisoner. The *Ghibelin* faction were earnest with the emperor to have taken off this nobleman's head, that he might thereby strike the greater terror into his enemies. The emperor, however, chose to dismiss him in safety, which he accordingly did, on condition of his returning to *Florence*, and endeavouring to conciliate the minds of his countrymen to the emperor. *Contardi* acquitted himself like a man of honour as to the conditions of his release; but without success. On his return to the emperor, he laid the principal blame of the stubbornness of the *Florentines* upon the bishop of *Florence* and his clergy, who were perpetually haranguing the people to stand by their liberties against the emperor. The emperor, while he lay before *Casciano*, was so little formidable to the *Florentines*, that they dismissed their auxiliaries, and harassed him to such a degree, that he was obliged to raise the siege, and removed to *Poggiobonza*, formerly called *Bonetium*^d, where he rebuilt the fortifications that had been razed by *Charles* of *Anjou*. But though it was now in the middle of winter, his army was so harassed by the *Florentines*, that he was obliged to keep the field till the beginning of *January*, 1313.

is forced to
raise the
siege.

^b ARETIN. pag. 90.

^c Idem ibid.

^d Iter Italicum, pag. 929. ARETIN. pag. 90.

(A) Notwithstanding this seeming omission, the agreements amongst the *Italian* authors, in all particulars relating to the *Florentine* history at this time, is wonderful, when we consider the factions that then tore *Italy*.

- a THE emperor's obstinacy, however, in continuing this war, gave the *Florentines* such apprehensions, that they resolved to apply to *Robert* king of *Naples*, *Sicily* being then under *Frederick*, for assistance, as they expected he would renew the war next spring with more fury than ever. They chose for their ambassadors *Giacomo Bardi* and *Dardano Acciaïoli*. They were instructed to repair to *Sienna* and *Perugia*, that they might excite those states to join in the common cause, and likewise to apply to the *Lucquese* and *Bolognese*. All of them ordered their deputies to join with those of *Florence*. *Robert* received the deputies with the utmost affection, and promised, if the affairs of his kingdom would suffer him, to put himself at the head of the *Tuscan* confederacy in person; and in the mean time, b he sent his brother *Peter* to their assistance with a body of cavalry. This gave great spirits to the *Florentines*; but they were quickly damped by a demand made upon them from *Robert* of three months pay for his horsemen. This demand was the more unseasonable, as the state, of late, had been put to so great expence, that the public treasury was exhausted; nor would their other allies contribute to any share of the expence. In vain they applied to *Robert* for a mitigation of his demand; and part of the money being paid, they expected him to fulfil his promise. *Robert* knew the dread the *Florentines* were under of subjection to the emperor, and trifled with them so long, that they were forced to come to a resolution of offering to him the sovereignty of their city and dominions for five years. This was done by the presidents, who were vested with authority from the people for that purpose; c but upon the following express conditions, viz. "That the king himself in person, or one of his sons or brothers, should reside in *Florence*; that no exile should be restored; that the people should be governed by their own laws; and that the power of the presidents should continue." Deputies were then appointed by the state, who repaired to *Naples*, and made a tender to *Robert* of his new sovereignty. *Robert* began his government with an act of justice highly approved of by the *Florentines*; for the presidents, who had been the main instruments of conferring the government upon him, presuming upon the great services they had done him, solicited him for certain immunities to themselves and their families, and other privileges, which were incompatible with the liberties of the people; *Robert*, after ratifying the instrument by which he received the government, rejected this d application with the utmost disdain and dislike.

The *Florentines* apply to *Robert* king of *Naples*.

They transfer the government of their city to him for five years.

- WHILE the emperor continued at *Poggiobonza*, he entered into a league with *Frederick* king of *Sicily* against *Robert*. Their intention was to invade the kingdom of *Naples*; and *Frederick* for that purpose furnished the emperor with a large sum of money. This supply enabled the emperor to take into his pay seventy *Genoese* galleys, to hire more troops in *Germany*, and to make other preparations, which might have proved fatal both to *Florence* and *Robert*, had not the emperor himself died near *Sienna*, in the midst of his expedition against *Florence* and its confederates, in *August* 1213. Authors of no mean rank e tell us he was poisoned. He certainly was a violent but impolitic prince. Before his death he had arrogated to himself the sovereignty of all *Italy*, and had summoned all the princes and states of it not only to do him homage, but to pay him tribute. The *Florentines* and their allies had the courage to oppose him; for which reason he denounced vengeance against them, and published edicts, giving them up to the sword, by putting both them and *Robert* king of *Naples* to the ban of the empire. This is said to have been the sentence of his own death, by giving the *Florentines* the hint to poison him, which a *Dominican*, hired by them, did, in administering to him the sacrament. Whatever may be in this (for the fact is not sufficiently (B) authenticated) it is certain his death happened very critically for the *Florentines* and their allies, as well as for the king of *Naples*, because it absolutely destroyed the strong confederacy that had been formed against them. The *Genoese* fleet was dismissed, and the imperial army returned to *Germany*; while *Frederick*, who was then besieging *Reggio*, was f obliged to return with his army to *Sicily*. The face of affairs all over *Italy* was now changed. The *Florentines* and their allies had been highly exasperated against the *Pisans*, for the assistance they had given to *Henry*, and determined to take a severe vengeance. The *Pisans*, upon this, chose for their governor *Ugulcio Fagiolani*, in hopes of being able, by his means, to break or weaken the confederacy against them. *Fagiolani* immediately took into his pay eight hundred *German* horse, part of the emperor's army, and made great preparations against the *Lucquese*, who, upon that occasion, imitated the example of the *Florentines*, by putting themselves under the protection of the king of *Naples*. The elegant historian of *Florence* observes d, that this objection rendered them less alert than they had been before in the field, because they trusted too much to *Robert's* protection. The *Florentines*,

The emperor leagues with the king of *Sicily* against him.

The emperor dies.

His character.

c VOLTAIRE, HEISS, &c.

d LEONARD. ARETIN:

(B) *Ferretus Vincentinus*, a cotemporary author of great credit, published by *Muratori*, vol. ix. of his *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, has given us a very minute account of this prince's death; but leaves no room for

thinking that it happened by poison. He tells us, indeed, that a *Dominican* gave him the sacrament; but this was not till after he was given over by his physicians.

A. D. 1314.

Good faith of
the Floren-
tines.Lucquese
exiles succour-
ed by the Flo-
rentines.The Pisans
rebel against
Fagiolani.

however, punctually performed all their engagements with the *Lucquese*, and *Fagiolani* for some time thought proper to shut himself up in *Pisa*. But no sooner did the confederates retire, than he attacked the *Lucquese* territories with so much fury, that he forced them to a scandalous peace, by which they delivered up several of their forts to the *Pisans*, and were obliged to re-admit into their city all their *Gibelin* exiles. The latter demanded to be reinstated in their effects; but this meeting with opposition, a civil war broke out in the city. The *Florentines*, on this occasion, gave a noble proof of their good faith: they had remonstrated, in the strongest terms, against the pusillanimity of the *Lucquese* in concluding the late peace; but still they supported their friends in *Lucca*. The *Gibelin* faction there, on the other hand, applied to *Fagiolani*, who came to their assistance with his German horse, plundered the houses of both parties in *Lucca*, and drove all the *Lucquese Guelphs* out of that city.

So sudden a revolution of government could take place only in an *Italian* state, balanced, as that of *Lucca* was, between two powerful parties. The *Lucquese* exiles retired to some estates they had upon the *Lower Arno*, where they implored the protection of the *Florentines*, which they received in an eminent degree. They not only sent them succours, by which they were enabled to maintain their forts, but applied by an embassy to the king of *Naples* for assistance. *Robert*, to keep up his credit with the *Tuscan* states, whom he now considered as his subjects, immediately ordered his brother *Peter* to march at the head of a body of horse to *Florence*. *Peter's* first care, after arriving there, was to make up matters with the *Arezzians*, whose government continued yet to be *Gibelin*, lest they should join with *Fagiolani*, and the *Gibelins* of *Lucca* and *Pisa*. This great point being effected, the *Florentines* applied themselves entirely to the war against *Pisa*; while *Fagiolani* as briskly pushed that against the exiled *Lucquese*, the *Pistoians*, the people of *Miniato*, the *Volterrans*, and other states confederated with *Florence*, that were open to his incursions. At last he formed the siege of *Catino*. In the mean while *Philip*, prince of *Tarentum*, another brother of *Robert* king of *Naples*, came to *Florence*, and gave such life to the *Florentines*, that they put him at the head of all the troops they could muster up, and he marched to raise the siege of *Catino*. *Fagiolani*, on his side, made suitable preparations to meet him; but, as he was inferior in strength, he remained on the defensive, though without raising the siege. But *Fagiolani* found himself under a necessity of returning to *Lucca*, where his presence was necessary to prevent a new revolution. This, however, he could not do without coming to a battle. Amongst the confederates of *Florence* were the *Siennese* and *Collenese* (C), whom *Fagiolani* attacked with such fury, that he drove them upon the main body of the *Florentines*. The latter, however, bravely made head against their enemies; But *Fagiolani's* German horse breaking in, they were put to a total rout, and two thousand of them were cut in pieces, besides great numbers who were drowned. *Philip*, who commanded the army, was that day sick, so that the command devolved upon his younger brother *Peter*, who, together with *Philip's* eldest son *Charles*, was killed in the battle. This victory was not bloodless on the side of *Fagiolani*. The *Florentines* killed his eldest son, and cut in pieces his first line of foot.

THE *Florentines* shewed great dissatisfaction at the conduct of their commanders that fatal day, and it was increased when they saw *Catino* surrendered to the conqueror, and that the king of *Naples* made no motion for assisting them. At last they began to talk of chusing another protector, when *Novello*, one of *Robert's* generals came, but with scarce any attendance, to put himself at the head of their army. This disappointment rendered the *Florentines* still more outrageous. Two factions, the Royalists and the Anti-royalists, sprung up in the city, who often came to blows with each other; and there must have been an end of the *Florentine* liberty, had not the *Pisans*, in attempting to throw off *Fagiolani's* yoke, given his army such a diversion that the *Florentines* received a breathing-time.

It was at this period that the famous *Castruccio Castruccani* appeared. His personal history will come more properly under that of *Lucca*. It is sufficient here to say, that he was at this time a young man of wonderful endowments, both of body and mind, and was one of the *Lucquese*, who, upon the late revolution, had been re-admitted into that city; where falling under *Fagiolani's* displeasure, he was imprisoned, when he was at the height of his reputation, after doing *Fagiolani* the most important services. *Fagiolani* made no secret that he intended to put him to death, as he had done many other noble *Pisans* and *Lucquese*; but the latter took arms in his favour, and freed him from his imprisonment. *Fagiolani* hearing of this, marched out of *Pisa*, intending to reduce the contumacious *Lucquese*; but he was no sooner gone than the *Pisans* shut their gates against his return, while

^c ARETIN. pag. 95. JANOTTI MANETTI Historia apud Muratorium, vol. xix. pag. 1030.

(C) The inhabitants of *Colle*, a town of *Tuscany*, so small that it scarcely deserves that name, though it is the seat of a bishop.

a the *Lucquese* expelled him their city ; and thus in one day he lost two principalities, and was obliged to fly with his son to *Luna*, now *Arici*. Both the *Pisans* and *Lucquese* after this put themselves under the protection of the king of *Naples*, to the great discontent of the *Florentines*, who were in hopes of being revenged upon the *Pisans* for their defeat at *Catino* : being afraid, however, of injuring the common cause by disunion, they at last ratified what the king had done.

b THIS year is remarkable for a new regulation made in *Florence*, by which every horseman, who went to war, was to have his helmet, breast-plate, gauntlets, cuisses, and boots all of iron ; a precaution which was taken on account of the disadvantages their cavalry had suffered from their light armour at the battle of *Catino*. *Guido*, a *Tuscan* count, whose estate lay in the neighbourhood of *Florence*, was then governor of the city under *Robert*, who grew daily more and more unpopular there ; not so much from any real grounds of dissatisfaction the people had, but because the seeds of enmity still subsisting among the noble families, if one favoured the king, it was cause sufficient for the other to oppose him. *Guido* was perfectly well acquainted with the interests and dispositions of the *Florentines*, and acted with such incomparable wisdom and moderation, that he made up above fifty capital quarrels subsisting amongst noble families, and thereby all of them were reconciled to the king ; so that he reduced *Florence* to such a state of tranquility and unanimity that it scarce had ever known before. This period is further remarkable for the good faith with which the *Florentines* continued to assist their allies, by supporting the *Guelphs* of *Cremona* and *Parma* against their enemies.

c *ROBERT* king of *Naples* was at this time at *Genoa*, where a faction of the citizens put him in possession of that city. Meeting, however, with a strong opposition, he applied to the *Florentines*, who were then at peace both at home and abroad, and their allies, for assistance, which was accordingly sent him, and did him great service. The empire at this time was vacant, and had continued so ever since the death of the emperor *Henry* of *Luxemburg* in *Italy*. Pope *Clement* V. had condemned the memory of that emperor, and had reversed his sentence against *Robert* king of *Naples*. Not content with that, he pretended that *Robert* was his vassal, and that the holy see had a right to govern the empire during its vacancy ; he therefore named *Robert* to be the imperial, or rather the papal vicar all over the imperial fiefs and possessions in *Italy*, and it was under that pretext he had got footing in *Genoa*. The expelled *Genoese*, however, being supported by *France*, *Robert* could not have maintained his footing in that city, without the assistance of the *Florentines*. Upon the death of *Clement* V. *John* XXII. succeeded to the see of *Rome*. Although his father was only a shoe-maker, he pretended to the same right his predecessors had done of deposing kings, and disposing of empires ; but the *Gibelin* interest was at this time very strong in *Italy*. The *Florentines* had weakened themselves by the great supplies they had sent to *Genoa* and *France* against *Robert's* enemies. The bishop of *Arezzo* had again in a manner got possession of that city ; and *Castruccio* of *Lucca*, who was a soldier of fortune, having been practised upon by the *Gibelins*, brought the *Lucquese*, whom he entirely governed, to declare against the *Florentines*. Thus *Florence* had a more formidable enemy than ever to encounter, no general in *Italy* being then thought comparable to *Castruccio*, either for interest or reputation. All at once he invaded and laid waste the territories of *Florence*, and took many fortified places, proceeding as far as *Empoli*. The *Florentines*, upon this, were obliged to recal one thousand horse, who were serving the king of *Naples* in his *Genoese* wars. *Castruccio*, glad of this opportunity to shew his power, immediately marched towards *Genoa*, but was obliged to return by an irruption which the *Florentines* made into the *Lucquese* territories. His ambition was, if possible, to fight the *Florentines* ; but the latter, conscious of his superiority, kept upon the defensive all that year, but not without a great loss of reputation as well as territory.

d f NEXT year the *Florentines* made a league with *Spinetta*, a *Lucquese* nobleman of great property, whom *Castruccio* had injured ; and raising two armies, they invaded the *Lucquese* territories from different quarters. With one army they laid siege to *Figbini* ; and with the other marched directly against *Lucca*, retaking a great many places they had before lost. *Castruccio* lost no time in opposing this double invasion, and marched with wonderful expedition to the relief of *Figbini*. The *Florentines*, on his approach, abandoned the siege, and made a more hasty retreat than was consistent with their honour. *Castruccio*, however, could not bring them to any decisive action, and with great difficulty, and some loss, they returned to *Florence*. Upon which *Castruccio* recovered all the places he had lost, and took several others.

g THE affairs of the *Florentines* were at this time in a low state, chiefly through the loss of reputation, and their having no man of great consequence to head them. They had suffered greatly by the succours they had sent to the king of *Naples*, and their other allies ; and they

New regulation about armour.

A. D. 1316. The Florentines assist the king of Naples.

Their wars with Castruccio.

they were so involved in war and difficulties in the year 1321^f, that they were obliged to create twelve assistant presidents for the management of affairs: they likewise that year added some new fortifications to their city.

The Pistoians
treat with
Castruccio,
and submit to
him.

THE ancient league between (D) the *Florentines* and the *Pistoians* still subsisted, and the former sent *Julio*, one of their best officers, with a body of horse to the assistance of the latter, *Castruccio* having a strong party in their city, and an eye upon their government. At the same time *Pino*, a *Florentine* knight, was governor for the king of *Naples* in *Pistoia*. All that *Julio* could do, was to prevent *Castruccio* from making himself master of *Pistoia*; but he could not hinder him from actually laying the *Pistoian* territories under such heavy contributions, that the inhabitants wished for nothing so much as a peace, and some citizens of great eminence managed matters so, that they brought about a conference between *Castruccio* and *Pino* for that purpose; but they disagreed upon the terms^g. This treaty gave so great uneasiness to the *Florentines* that they sent for *Pino* to *Florence*; and in the mean time the *Pistoians* of themselves chose a new governor, one *Fumo*, a partizan of *Castruccio*. *Ormanni*, prior of the monastery of *Pescia*, was of the same faction, and extremely active in getting all the enemies to *Castruccio* removed out of the government. *Ormanni*'s influence was so great in the state, that he got the common people publicly to declare for a treaty with *Castruccio*. The *Florentine* government, understanding this, sent a formal embassy, consisting of six noblemen, and as many principal citizens, to dissuade the *Pistoians* from making, at least, a separate treaty. *Ormanni* hearing of this deputation, wrote to all the inhabitants of the *Pistoian* territories, desiring them to repair instantly to that city, if they were for peace with *Castruccio*. In the mean while, the *Florentine* ambassadors were received with the utmost politeness by *Ormanni*, and the heads of his faction; but by his management, the gates of the city and the palace were suddenly seized by the people, and all the magistrates, whom they suspected to be averse to peace, were displaced. *Ormanni* pretended to the *Florentine* deputies, that this had been done without his knowledge, and against his intention; but at the same time he privately invited *Castruccio* to advance towards *Pistoia*, to give weight to the revolution.

Revolutions
in Lucca.

IT does not appear, from *Manetti*'s relation, that *Ormanni* hitherto was more sincere with *Castruccio* than he had been with the *Florentine* deputies; who, upon the news of *Castruccio*'s approach, hastily left *Pistoia*, and with some difficulty saved two noblemen, whom *Ormanni* designed to have put to death. After this, he took upon himself the exercise of the government, drove out of the city all who opposed him, and left the people to be plundered and oppressed by his rapacious kinsmen. He still, however, endeavoured to keep fair with *Castruccio*; but the latter, perceiving that *Ormanni* was only amusing him, made himself master of the greatest part of the *Pistoian* territory. This, together with *Ormanni*'s own insolence, rendered him extremely unpopular; and *Philip*, his nephew, a man of much greater address and moderation, stripped him of his power; but behaved so as to keep well both with *Castruccio* and the *Florentines*; though it was not long before he was obliged to give up the government of *Pistoia* intirely to *Castruccio*.

WHILE this revolution was bringing about in *Pistoia*, the *Florentines* sent an army to the relief of their allies of *Sienna*, while the turbulent bishop of *Arezzo* besieged and took *Fronzoli*, and persecuted with fire and sword all the allies of *Florence* in the territories of *Arezzo*, who sent to *Florence* for assistance. The bishop was then besieging *Velona*; and though the *Florentines* might well have excused themselves, on account of the multiplicity of the wars they were engaged in, from undertaking a new one, yet they immediately ordered a powerful assistance to their confederates. But the bishop by this time had taken and razed to the ground *Velona*; upon which the *Florentine* auxiliaries returned home, as the bishop did to *Arezzo*. The difficulties in which the *Florentines* were now involved, seem rather to increase than damp their spirits. They incessantly put their allies, who were chiefly composed of exiled *Guelphs*, in mind of *Castruccio*'s power, and the danger the liberties of *Tuscany* were in from him; and this they did with such success, that they once more assembled a powerful army in *Florence*. This checked *Castruccio*'s progress for some time; and the *Florentines* even entered into a treaty with the *Genoese*, whom they assisted with a body of land-forces, upon condition that the *Genoese* should assist them with a fleet against the *Lucanese*, to give a diversion to *Castruccio*. While preparations were making for this expedition by land, an officer of approved fidelity, who had the command of three hundred horse,

An officer re-
volts from the
Florentines.

^f ARETINI, pag. 98.

^g MANETTI apud MURAT. p. 1031.

(D) The following particulars of the league between the *Pistoians* and *Castruccio*, are taken from the *Pistoian* chronicle of *Janottius*, or *Jannottius Manetti*, a *Florentine*, published by *Muratori*, tom. xix. pag. 987. This

Manettius is an unexceptionable authority, not only as he was a *Florentine* of great rank and consideration, but governor of *Pistoia*. *Aretin* is very lame in this period of his history.

a deserted with his men to *Castruccio*. The *Florentines* thought that this had happened thro' the corruption of the officer; and each dreading the other, the expedition came to nothing. This gave an opportunity to *Castruccio* to make a fresh irruption into the *Florentine* territories, as far as *St. Miniato*; and then he returned triumphantly to *Lucca*, boasting that he had inflicted upon his enemies those calamities they had intended against him. In the mean while the bishop of *Arezzo* fell upon *Iagiolani's* estates, which lay at the foot of the *Appennines*; and after taking several of his castles, he besieged *Rondino*. This small city and territory had been always faithful to their confederacy with *Florence*, and the inhabitants immediately implored its protection. The *Florentines*, with sorrowful hearts, found the danger they were encompassed with was such, that they could send no relief to their
b brave allies, who, after a resistance of some months, were obliged to give up their town to the bishop. In the mean while *Castruccio* had advanced as far as *Prato*, which lies almost half way between *Florence* and *Pistoia*, and but a few miles from both. This spread such an alarm through *Florence*, that the people, without waiting for orders, ran to arms, marched out of the city, and, to the number of twenty thousand, faced *Castruccio*. The latter was startled at such superior numbers to his own; but not caring to attack an enraged multitude; though he made dispositions for fighting, he withdrew in the night-time from *Pistoia*; so that next morning the *Florentine* beheld no enemy. *Manetti* informs us ^b, though *Aretin* is silent on the matter, that *Raimond Cardoni*, who had been one of the pope's generals in *France*, was the *Florentine* commander in this expedition. It is certain,
c that the morning after *Castruccio's* retreat, the *Florentines* were dreadfully mortified in perceiving they had no enemy to fight. The common people, and all who had served as volunteers in the expedition, were for pursuing the enemy; but the nobility opposed them. This begat such differences in the army, that it was resolved to refer the matter to the council of presidents at *Florence*; but debates running as high amongst them as they had done in the army, the common people who had been left behind, being joined by the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and country, who all of them, on this occasion, repaired to *Florence*, forced their magistrates to continue the expedition, and to attempt the reduction of *Lucca* itself. This tumultuous resolution is as tumultuously expressed by the *Florentine* historians. It is certain, that an incredible number of people, in hopes of bringing
d *Castruccio* and his army in chains to *Florence*, marched to join their army near *Prato*. But when they came upon the spot, the whole formed an unwieldly disorderly concourse; and after a few altercations with the nobility, the main body returned to *Florence*; where new difficulties started on the following occasion.

WHILE the *Florentines* were trembling at the approach of *Castruccio* to *Prato*, they passed a decree, by which the *Florentine* exiles, who were very numerous, and all of them men of service, were promised re-admission into the city, if they would appear in arms, and join their countrymen against *Castruccio*. This brought a great body of exiles to the *Florentine* camp; where the nature of the disputes between the nobles and the people who returned to *Florence*, convinced them, that they would have some difficulty in being rein-
e stated in the immunities that had been promised them. Being better mounted than the rest of the *Florentine* army, which was now on its march back to *Florence*, they thought to have got the start, and to have entered the city before them; but the prevailing party within the walls shut the gates against them; they therefore were obliged to encamp without the gates ¹. Next day the main army re-entered the city, and the exiles marched to *Prato*, from whence they sent eight deputies to treat with the magistracy and people of *Florence*.

THOSE deputies found the city greatly divided. The re-admission of the *Florentine* Divisions in
Florence. exiles had been carried through by the presidents, who insisted upon the performance of the public faith; and they were joined by the nobility, who, being now cured of their
f attachment to the pope, sought to strengthen their interest by the re-admission of the exiles. The people, on the other hand, opposed that re-admission, not only from a spirit of pertinaciousness, but on account of the behaviour of the nobility in the late expedition. The party of the nobles and magistracy, however, prevailed so far, that the deputies of the exiles had a public hearing. In this audience they strongly urged the decree of the presidents in favour of their re-admission. Upon their withdrawing, one of the shrewdest among the popular advocates insisted, that the presidents, who were but trustees of the public, were not authorized, by the constitution of their government, to make any such decree without the consent of the people, whose sense ought to be consulted upon the occasion. Great objections were likewise raised against the exiles for their leaving their camp,
g and attempting to force their way into the city. It appears from *Aretin* ^k, as if, in such cases of debate, the *Florentines* had proceeded to ballot, which, in this question, went great-

^a MANETTI apud MURAT. p. 1035.¹ ARETIN, p. 100.^k Ibid. p. 102.

The exiles dis-
appointed.

ly against the exiles; upon which the assembly was dismissed, and the exiles came to a resolution of forcing their way into the city. This could not be done without consulting their friends within the walls; and while that was in agitation, the citizens, more than suspecting the matter, doubled their guards, and manned their walls; so that when the exiles, to the number of fifteen thousand, came to execute their design, they perceived it had been discovered, and found themselves under a necessity of abandoning it.

THEIR appearance before the gates was evidence sufficient to the people that they had accomplices in the city; but the popular proceedings on this occasion, though without precedent, were, beyond all example, wise and moderate. Having no positive proof against any one, and yet convinced that some of them were guilty, they met in a body, and every one writing down the name of the person he suspected, all the notes were thrown into a kind of balloting box; and upon examination it was found, that, by the plurality of the assembly's tickets, their suspicions were fixed on three persons, *Amerigo* or *Americo Donata*, *Teggia Frescobaldi*, and *Lotteringo Gerardini*. Those noblemen being cited, appeared before the magistracy, where they justified the suspicion of the people, by owning that they knew of the conspiracy of the exiles, but that they had not encouraged it. This, being what is called by the law of *England*, misprison of treason, each had a moderate fine (A) imposed upon him, and was subject to a slight short banishment. This sentence being pronounced, the people furnished themselves with what they called penons, from whence the *English* have the same word, which were diminutives of their great flags of arms, and to which they could resort on occasions, either when they could not join their great standards; or when their magistrates prohibited their being displayed.

New regula-
tions in Flo-
rence.

AT this time, the constitution of *Florence* received a new and an important alteration. The election of magistrates had always, till then, been carried by a majority; but this proving the source of great heats in the state, it was agreed that the electors, who consisted of the president and the members of the colleges, should write upon tickets, and inclose in a chest, the names of such citizens as they conceived to be proper for magistrates; and that, when the day of election came, so many of those names should be casually taken out, after shaking the chest or coffer, according to the number to be chosen; and those names that were first drawn out were to be the magistrates elect. Their persons, however, were subject to two disqualifications; which were, that no man could be a magistrate who had served in the same post within three years, or who had a brother or near relation in the magistracy. Their authority was to continue three years and a half (B).

WHILE *Florence* was thus providing for the security of her liberty, she was in danger of losing her territory, which *Castruccio* was laying waste on the one hand; while the bishop of *Arezzo*, on the other, took *Tifernum*, or *Citta di Castello*. The neighbourhood and power of the *Arezzian* prelate alarmed some of the *Tuscan* states so greatly, *Peruggia* particularly, that they renewed their league with *Florence* for three years, and resolved to attempt the recovery of *Citta di Castello*. *Castruccio*, who had excellent intelligence of the motions of his enemies, was at this time lying near *Fucetti*, a town of great importance on the frontiers of *Lucca*, but in possession of the *Florentines*. Being unable to take it by force, he had recourse to money, and corrupted part of its garrison with a large sum; so that he found admittance, in a dark and stormy night, with one hundred and fifty horse and five hundred foot. The uncorrupted part of the garrison, and the citizens, finding they were betrayed, ran to arms, and drove *Castruccio*, after a most bloody encounter, to the upper part of the town; where he was obliged to barricade himself and his troops, in hopes of his being joined next day by the main body of his army. But the neighbouring garrisons in the interest of *Florence*, suspecting what had happened, from the fires they saw lighted up in the night-time within the place, sent such reinforcements next morning to the garrison, that *Castruccio* could no longer maintain his ground; and receiving a wound in his face, he escaped with great difficulty, and with the loss of almost his whole party. This year there was, by tacit consent, a kind of a cessation of arms between the *Florentines* and the *Arezzians*; but the former joined their troops with the *Siennese*, the *Bolognese*, and their other confederates, in the expedition against *Citta di Castello*. By this time *Castruccio* had become intirely master of *Pistoia*, where he gave his daughter in marriage to *Philip*, who some time before had for that purpose poisoned his former wife.

Intestine divi-
sions there.

THIS danger from abroad seemed rather to increase than abate the intestine divisions of *Florence*. The people attributed all their misfortunes to the mismanagement or corruption of their magistrates, whom they displaced at the next general election; and, amongst others, one *Nardi Bordo*, or *Berdo* whom they resolved to impeach before *Robert's* governor for treason. The presidents, either favouring the accused, or conscious of his in-

(A) *Aretin's* words are, *Duobus millibus æris singuli eorum multati*. This sum, according to the best of my information, did not exceed 50 l sterling a piece.

(B) Though this method of chusing by lots continued

as long as *Florence* could be called a republic; yet *Aretin*, p. 103, thinks that its evil over-balanced its good consequences.

innocence, sent him abroad in a public character; and, when the day of trial, came, his brother, attended by the officers of the presidents, pleaded his employment as an excuse for his absence. The president, who was *Bordo's* enemy, over-ruled this plea; and from words they proceeded to blows. The president, favoured by the people, remained master of the field; and not only pronounced sentence against *Bordo*, but banished his brother out of the city.

THE war all this while was going on briskly between the *Florentines* and their confederates, who had still *Raimond* at their head, and *Castruccio*, who remained on the defensive, shut up in *Pistoia*. *Raimond*, to draw him to a battle, made dispositions as if he was about to besiege *Ticini*; and sent out foraging parties to the very gates of *Pistoia*. Those movements amused *Castruccio*; so that *Raimond* made himself master of *Capiano* and *Falconi*. This great success of the allies gave the *Florentines* such spirits, that they reinforced their army under *Raimond*, so that the whole amounted to twenty thousand foot besides horse. They then besieged *Topalci*, a very strong place, with a garrison within it of five hundred men, but very unwholesomely situated on the side of a lake. The besieged, expecting every day to be relieved by *Castruccio*, made an obstinate defence; but the diseases which the allies contracted, during the siege, ruined their army. *Castruccio* advanced to the relief of the place, and did all that an able general, at the head of an army inferior to that of his enemies, could do to raise the siege (C); but being defeated in several encounters, the town was yielded to the allies. A great division now succeeded amongst them, concerning their subsequent operations: some were for returning to *Florence*, on account of the great mortality that had happened in their army, and the diminution of their troops by leave of absence, and other accidents. The majority, however, carried it for an expedition against *Lucca* itself. As the ground, over which the army was to march, was very woody and uneven, an advanced party of one hundred horse were detached before to reconnoitre. They were attacked by the like number from *Castruccio's* army, which remained still in the neighbourhood; and both parties being supported from their main bodies, a general engagement followed, in which the bravest on both sides were killed, and *Castruccio* himself was wounded; but the day was decided in his favour, though *Raimond* made an orderly retreat, and even laid some claim to the victory.

Progress of the war between Castruccio and the Florentines;

RAIMOND, however, could not re-inspire the *Florentines* with courage sufficient to keep the field, and their dejection after the battle corresponded to their presumption before it. *Castruccio*, on the other hand, sensible of the important victory he had obtained, made dispositions for carrying on the war against the *Florentines* with greater vigour than ever. For this purpose he applied to *Galeazzo*, viscount of *Milan*. He sent to his assistance his son *Azo* a young prince of great fire and courage, with eight hundred horse, who immediately set out for *Lucca*. While they were upon their march, *Castruccio* found means to spread so many suspicious reports amongst the *Florentines*, that their general did not find it safe for him to march to intercept the *Milanese*. But no sooner was it known that the latter were in the neighbourhood of *Lucca*, than the *Florentine* army fell back to *Topalci*, and from thence to *Fucetti*. They were pursued by *Castruccio* into the *Milanese*, who fell in with their rear, and drove the *Florentines* into such a situation, that they had no safety but by fighting. A desperate battle ensued, in which their lieutenant-general under *Raimond*, being (as it is said) corrupted by *Castruccio*, gave way; and the *Milanese* horse making themselves masters of a bridge by which the *Florentines* were to retreat, a terrible slaughter followed, in which the *Florentines* were cut in pieces, and their general with his son were taken prisoners by *Castruccio*, who likewise made himself master of all their camp and baggage. *Castruccio* improved this victory by conquering the *Florentine* territory, and laying it waste to the very gates of *Florence*, which he insulted for some days with all the indignities he could devise. He then returned by the way of *Prato* to *Lucca*, where he paid his *Milanese* auxiliaries out of the immense booty he made in the field. This punctuality was so pleasing to *Azo*, that, in revenge, as he said, for the *Florentines* having always taken part against the viscounts of *Milan*, he led his horse once more against the *Florentines*; but not being able to bring them to a battle, he braved the inhabitants within their walls, returned to *Lucca*, and from thence home.

who are defeated.

FLORENCE was at this time in a most deplorable situation. *Castruccio* renewed his ravages, and burnt down all that his fury had spared before. This obliged the country people, with their families, to fly to *Florence*, which created first a famine, and then a pestilence. There must now have been an end of that republic, had it not been for the moderation of the bishop of *Arezzo*, who began to grow jealous of *Castruccio's* greatness.

(C) The reader is to observe, that the face of the country of *Tuscany* is now so greatly altered, that several places mentioned here have now hardly any existence. Nor are the *Italian* writers themselves agreed about the situation of them. I have therefore thought proper, where there is any doubt concerning them, to keep as near as I can to the names given them by *Aretin*.

The

The latter again and again solicited that prelate, and the *Arezzians*, to revenge the former injuries and losses they had suffered from the *Florentines*, and to undertake the siege of that city on one side, while he carried it on on the other. The prelate firmly rejected this proposal; upon which *Castruccio* carried his devastations into the *Florentine* territories lying towards the vale of *Mugelli*, at the foot of the *Appennines*. The reader who knows the fertility and riches of the *Florentine* territory, will not be surprised at *Castruccio's* still finding fresh objects of rapine and devastation. He met with no opposition in the field; but upon his return towards *Segni*, which lay within sight of *Florence*, the *Florentines* sent out one thousand foot and two hundred horse, to dispute an advantageous pass by which he must march. Had this order been expeditiously executed, *Castruccio*, in all probability, must have been defeated, or, at least, forced to resign the effects and cattle he had taken; but he had got clear of the pass before the *Florentines* came up, and arrived safe at *Segni*; where he was so well pleased with his successes, that he ordered money to be struck in commemoration of them.

Constancy of
the Floren-
tines,

THE *Florentines* bore their misfortune with incredible constancy: they named two new officers to take care of the fortifications of the city, which were repaired and improved, and took precautions for preventing *Castruccio's* return to the vale of *Mugelli*. In the mean while the pope, being exasperated with the bishop of *Arezzo*, for having taken *Citta di Castello*, and holding it against his express injunctions and commands, struck off *Cortona* from the see of *Arezzo*, and named one *Rainer*, of the family of *Uberti*, for its first bishop. *Guido*, bishop of *Arezzo*, looking upon the erection of this new bishopric to be a robbery committed upon himself, immediately laid siege to *Laterina*, while the *Arezzians* demolished the houses, and plundered the estates of the *Uberti* family. *Laterina*, was taken and razed to the ground by the prelate, who after this took *Sabinum*, which he likewise levelled.

THOSE successes of the bishop of *Arezzo* rendered *Castruccio* jealous in his turn. He offered to treat with the *Florentines* for peace, and for that purpose employed the chief *Florentine* prisoners who were in his hands. The *Florentines* were so exasperated by the losses they had sustained, that they not only declined all advances towards a peace, but deprived the friends and relations of the captives of all places of power and trust they had in the government, lest they should favour the negotiations. At the same time they raised fresh troops, and, though their capital enemy was in a manner at their gates, they sent two hundred horse to the assistance of their *Bolognese* allies. Upon this *Castruccio* laid siege to *Murli*, a town in the neighbourhood of *Prato*. This place was bravely defended by *Adimar* and *Pattio* against the utmost efforts of *Castruccio*, who was at last obliged to turn the siege into a kind of blockade: but in the mean time he renewed his incursions to the gates of *Florence*, from which his troops were driven with great loss by the *Florentines*. He then resumed the siege of *Murli*, which continued to make a gallant defence; but the garrison having no prospect of relief, was at last obliged to deliver up the place, after an honourable capitulation.

who resign
their city to
the prince of
Tarentum.

DURING those distresses, the *Florentines* applied for protection once more to the court of *Naples*, and resigned the government of their city, for ten years, into the hands of *Charles* prince of *Tarentum*, son to that king, who made great preparations for taking possession of his new government. A *Frenchman*, whose name was *Peter*, then commanded the *Florentine* army; and a great number of his countrymen serving in *Castruccio's* troops, he found means to enter into a conspiracy with them for delivering the important fortress of *Segni* into his hands. This conspiracy was discovered, and the heads of it were put to death; but this discovery tended only to render *Castruccio's* troops jealous of one another, so that he came to a resolution of razing the place. *Peter*, who knew nothing of the discovery, advanced with a body of troops against *Segni*, where he found the gates shut against him; while *Castruccio* himself renewed his ravages in the *Florentine* territories. Soon after this *Castruccio* demolished *Segni*, and removed his head-quarters to *Carmini*, where he over-reached the *Frenchman* in his own arts, by means of certain emissaries, who pretended they would betray *Carmini* into his hands. *Peter* marched with a body of troops to take possession, as he thought, of that place. In his march he fell into a strong ambuscade, which had been formed by *Castruccio*. His troops were partly put to the sword, and partly, with himself, taken prisoners, and put to death in cold blood by *Castruccio*, on pretence that *Peter*, by his intrigues, had transgressed the laws of war. This disaster served to redouble the instances of the *Florentines* at the court of *Naples*, for hastening the march of *Charles* to their assistance. They increased the revenue they were to pay him, and engaged to defray the expence of six thousand additional troops while the war lasted.

ABOUT this time cardinal *Ursini* arrived at *Florence*, as legate from the pope, and waited

a some time for the arrival of *Charles*, to consult upon the means of restoring the tranquillity of *Tuscany*. *Charles*, in his approach to *Florence*, spent some time at *Sienna*, to secure his interest in that city; and at last he entered *Florence* in vast pomp, and with such a retinue as alarmed many of the *Florentines*, who signified their apprehensions that their public liberty was about to fall a sacrifice to *Charles* and the legate.

GALEAZZO, the artful viscount of *Milan*, was well apprized of their apprehensions; and being an enemy at once to the pope and the king of *Naples*, he prevailed with the *Gibelin* faction, both in *Florence* and all over *Italy*, to invite the emperor *Lewis V.* of *Bavaria*, to come in person to their assistance. *John XXII.* continued still to sit in the papal chair, and had again and again excommunicated *Lewis*. The latter, however, receiving great encouragement in *Germany*, as well as in *Italy*, to proceed in the expedition, passed the *Alps*, and came to *Trent*, with his empress. He there summoned a general assembly of all the *Italian Gibelins*; and his prospect of success was so fair, that in the beginning of the next year he marched to *Milan*, where he was crowned king of *Lombardy*, by the hands of the turbulent bishop of *Arezzo*: but *Lewis*, being poor, he fleeced the *Italian* states so immoderately, that they soon became tired of his government. *Castruccio* was by him honoured with the title of his vicar in *Tuscany*, and still continued the war against *Florence*. The courage of *Charles*, the new *Florentine* governor, was far from answering expectations. Instead of taking the field in person, he gave the command of his army to *Novello*, one of his officers, who took *Monte Alverno* in sight of *Castruccio*, and besieged *Artimini*, which surrendered upon an honourable capitulation. While *Novello* was in this career of success, he was recalled by *Charles*, to oppose the emperor, who had passed the *Appennines*, and was in full march towards *Pisa*. *Novello's* return to *Florence*, gave *Castruccio* leisure to pay his respects to the emperor, and to make him a present of a considerable sum of money. By this time the *Pisans*, having conceived an invincible aversion to the emperor, came to a resolution to deny him admittance into their city. This was the more remarkable, because they were amongst the first of the *Italians* who had invited him into *Italy*; but his exclusion was owing to the rapaciousness of himself and his attendants, great numbers of whom were *Franciscan* monks. The *Pisans*, however, that they might keep some measures of decency with him, offered him sixty thousand florins, if he would postpone his visit to their city. The offer was refused, and the *Pisans* dismissed all the *German* cavalry that was in their pay, but kept their horses; and came to the resolution, if they were attacked, to call to their aid *Charles* and the *Florentines*. *Lewis* had intelligence of all those proceedings, and *Florence* owed her liberty, at this time, to the firmness of the *Pisans*, and the differences between *Castruccio* and the bishop of *Arezzo*.

THE state of *Italy* was now very singular. The pope had less power there than he had in any part of the Christian world. There was indeed a great party who called themselves *Guelphs*; but they affected this distinction only to keep themselves independent of the Imperialists, and his holiness durst not even trust his person in *Rome*, but generally resided at *Lyons*, or some other part of *France*. Notwithstanding this, though the pope had little power, he had great influence in *Italy*. Being insatiably covetous, he had amassed five and twenty millions of florins of gold, above six millions sterling money, for the places and benefices he sold; and the states and princes, who called themselves *Guelphs*, paid him no other acknowledgement for the great convenience they found in sheltering themselves under his name and authority. Thus the pope and they were of mutual service to each other. The extravagant power of excommunicating sovereign princes, which he assumed and exercised, served them as a pretext to keep them free from the imperial yoke. The emperor, on the other hand, carried his claims to as extravagant a pitch as the pope, by pretending to succeed to all the rights and dominions of the old *Roman* emperors in *Italy*, and even to that of making popes; while at the same time he was childishly devoted to the superstition and follies of the papal religion; and his power in *Italy*, like that of the pope, consisted in a great measure in the convenience which the *Gibelins* found in opposing their enemies under the sanction of his authority.

LEWIS thought it of dangerous consequence to his affairs to be refused admittance into *Pisa*, and appointed commissioners to treat with the magistracy, who would not suffer them to enter the city; but consented to send deputies to treat with the bishop of *Arezzo*, upon their receiving a safe-conduct for their return, which they accordingly did; but nothing could be agreed upon. The deputies in going back to *Pisa*, were intercepted by *Castruccio*; and the bishop complained of *Castruccio* to the emperor, as if the affront had been offered to his honour, under which the deputies had treated. *Castruccio* replied with equal spirit, and each recriminated on the other; but it was very discernible, that the emperor was most inclinable to favour *Castruccio*. This disgusted the prelate so much, that

Success of
their general,

State of Italy.

Death of the
bishop of
Arezzo,

he left *Lewis*, and probably would have reconciled himself to the pope and the *Florentines*, if he had not died in his journey to *Arezzo*.

AFTER the bishop's departure, *Castruccio* acted as general and sole minister to the emperor. The *Pisans* continuing refractory, their city was besieged and taken; but we know of no severities inflicted on the inhabitants, farther than that they were burthened with the entertainment of the emperor for almost two months, and forced to furnish him with a sum of money, and other necessaries, for continuing his journey to *Rome*.

CHARLES of *Naples* no sooner heard that the emperor was set out for *Rome*, than calling together a general assembly of the *Florentines*, he laid before them the necessity he was under of returning to defend *Naples* against the emperor and *Castruccio*; but he acquainted them, that he would leave them for his deputy-governor *Philip*, one of his ablest generals, with one thousand horse to assist him. He then set out for *Naples* by the way of *Sienna* and *Perugia*.

*Pistoia taken
by the Flo-
rentines.*

UPON the departure of *Charles*, *Philip* resolved on an enterprize, which makes a great figure in the *Florentine* history; and that was no less than the surprisal of *Pistoia*, where *Castruccio* had left seven hundred men in garrison, all of them choice troops. He concerted his measures with two *Pistoian* *Guelph* exiles, who promised to be his conductors, and a *Neapolitan* nobleman, whose name was *Simon Tosa*. All others were ignorant of his design; and this probably was the chief reason why it succeeded. In consequence of their agreement, he marched to *Prato*, where he prepared scaling ladders, and other instruments and machines for his purpose; and being attended with a body of two thousand foot, and six hundred horse, he arrived that very night under the walls of *Pistoia*. It was then the dead of winter, and the frost so severe, that the waters in the ditches were passable, whereby the exiles came near enough to the walls to mount them by the assistance of their scaling ladders; and they were followed by about one hundred of their party; while those without, passing the ditches, attempted with pick-axes, and other instruments they brought with them, to penetrate the walls, in which at last they made two small breaches.

IN the mean while the commandant of the place, in going his rounds, perceiving what was passing, alarmed the garrison, who, at first imagining that the town had been betrayed by the inhabitants, were somewhat backward in standing to their arms; but seeing the townsmen, who were by this time likewise alarmed, charge the enemy with great vigour, they seconded them so well, that the *Florentines* who had entered, must have been cut in pieces or driven back, had not the breaches been so widened, that *Philip* entered them at the head of some of his horse, by which means he somewhat checked the fury of the townsmen and the garrison. Notwithstanding this, the latter was so well supported, that the assailants must have been repelled with great loss, had they not found means to set fire to the gates, by which the whole body, both of horse and foot, entered the place, and with great slaughter to themselves, as well as their enemies, gained some ground, and pushed on towards the market-place. This success was in a great measure owing to the active intrepidity of *Philip*, who exposed himself to all kinds of danger, and ordered a body of his horse to secure the breaches, so as to take from his own soldiers all hopes of flying. The assailants were likewise greatly favoured by the confusion and hurry of the women, children, and the more fearful part of the citizens, which greatly alarmed and disordered the garrison and townsmen; and *Castruccio's* two sons, retiring with the garrison to the citadel, the townsmen returned to their several homes. The *Florentines*, seeing now no enemy, dispersed themselves all over the town; so that when *Philip* marched to force the citadel, he was attended with a very inconsiderable number of his soldiers, and those mostly officers. The garrison observing this, attacked him with great fury; and it was with the utmost difficulty he could maintain his ground till day-break, when his straggling soldiers, hearing of their general's danger, and ashamed of their own irregularities, rejoined him; while the garrison retired to the citadel, which they soon after abandoned. The *Florentines* becoming thus absolute masters both of the town and citadel, again gave a loose, not, perhaps, without leave from their general, to the spirit of rapine, and plundered equally friends as foes. As to *Philip*, having settled affairs, and left a garrison in *Pistoia*, he returned, in ten days from his first setting out upon his expedition, to *Florence*, where he was received with triumphal honours.

*The emperor
crowned at
Rome.*

IN the mean while, the emperor and his consort had entered *Rome*; and though he had been formerly excommunicated by the pope, he was received there as emperor by the *Gibelin* faction, and crowned emperor, by two excommunicated bishops, on the seventeenth of *January*, 1328, without taking the usual oath of fidelity to the holy see. The *Romans*, at this time, seemed to have forgot there was such a person as a pope in being. The *Colonna*, the *Ursini*, the *Savelli*, and *Conti* families, who were the great barons of *Rome*, and its territory, supported the imperial against the papal dignity; and *Lewis* appeared

on all occasions in imperial robes, and as lord paramount of all *Italy*. *Castruccio* continued to be still his distinguished favourite; and such was the confidence he reposed in him, that he gave him not only the title of count, but the government of *Rome*.

THERE is some reason for believing that those honours were paid *Castruccio*, not more on account of his personal merits, than from the apprehensions *Lewis* was under from his active ambitious spirit. When *Castruccio* understood, (which he did in three days after the thing happened) that *Pistoia* was lost, he forgot himself so far as even to reproach the emperor for having obliged him to attend him; and without more ceremony he left *Rome*, attended with his own troops, who were one thousand cross-bows, a weapon at that time greatly used in *Italy*, and six hundred chosen horse, and set out for *Pisa*; but in his march, through impatience and solicitude, he left his troops behind him, and through almost impassable dangerous roads he entered *Pisa*, with no more than twelve followers. The *Pisans*, seeing him so slightly attended, received him with great respect; and his first care was to place a well-provided garrison in *Murli*, which lay in the neighbourhood of *Pistoia*. He then returned to *Pisa*, where, being supported by the Imperialists, whose cause he said was the same as his own, he raised money for executing his designs.

GRATITUDE is seldom the distinguishing virtue of republicans. Notwithstanding the extasies with which the *Florentines* had received *Philip*, upon his return from his *Pistoian* expedition, they soon fell at variance with him, when he insisted upon their being at the expence of providing all things necessary for keeping possession of *Pistoia*. They pleaded, that they had punctually performed all agreements with his master, and that he ought to provide for the safety of the place out of the plunder he had carried from it. *Philip* replied, by urging the laws and practice of war; and thus, in the heat of the dispute, the security of *Pistoia* was unprovided for. *Castruccio* was minutely informed of all that passed; and, before the parties could come to an accommodation, he besieged *Pistoia* with a great army, which he had assembled at *Pisa* and *Lucca*.

SIMON TOSA, the *Florentine* nobleman we have already mentioned, commanded at that time in *Pistoia*, with a garrison of one thousand foot and three hundred horse, assisted by all the *Pistoian* *Guelphs*. No sooner was it known at *Florence* that the siege was formed, than the citizens there, proceeding from the extreme of frugality to that of public spirit, offered to devote their lives and fortunes to *Philip* for the relief of the town, and actually raised an army of twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse; at the head of which *Philip* went to give battle to *Castruccio*. The latter's intelligence was so good, that he knew the place had within it but two months provision; and being no stranger to the abilities of *Philip*, he resolved to act upon the defensive; but in the mean while he seemed to make such dispositions for engaging, as prevented the *Florentines* from attacking him in his camp. *Castruccio* made use of the time which this delay gave him, in fortifying his camp with trees and pallisadoes, which he cut down in the neighbourhood; so that when the *Florentines*, tired out with long expectation, actually attacked it, they found it impregnable. This disappointment threw the *Florentines* into great consternation. In vain they challenged *Castruccio*, by the sound of all the trumpets in their army, to fight them; and at last, finding no other object to employ them, they resolved to plunder the defenceless territories of *Pisa* and *Lucca*, which they accordingly did. Even this did not shake *Castruccio* in his purpose. Almost three months were now elapsed since the siege had been formed. The garrison was reduced to the last mouthful of their provision; they saw their friends abandon them; they had no farther prospect of relief; and *Castruccio* wisely offering them an honourable capitulation, they surrendered the place, and marched out with what we now call the honours of war.

THE *Florentine* historians, with great justice, think this retaking of *Pistoia* to be the most shining action of *Castruccio's* life; and undoubtedly, every thing considered, it shewed a vast superiority of military genius over all his contemporaries. It was, in that age, a new spectacle to behold a conqueror take possession of a strong city in the sight, as it were, of a far superior army sent to relieve it. The *Florentines* could scarce believe their own eyes; but within a very few days they received still more mortifying news. The emperor, who had all this time remained at *Rome*, provoked by the pope's bull, by which he was divested of all his titles and possessions, summoned together at *Rome* a general assembly, wherein he was so presumptuous as to act as pope. He ordered no bishop to be absent above three months, and two days journey, from their sees, under pain of deprivation, and others being elected in their room. He then passed sentence of death upon all heretics, and particularly upon the pope, whom he termed *John de Cahors*, from the place of his nativity, and whom he likewise condemned for high treason against the imperial dignity. After this *Lewis*, in another grand assembly of the clergy and laity, produced a cordelier,

* ARETINI, pag. 116. MANETTI ubi supra, pag. 1048.

called father *Peter de Corvaria*, and asked the assembly whether they would have him for their pope. Upon their answering in the affirmative, he invested him with the papacy, by putting a ring on his finger, and throwing a robe over his shoulders. He then gave him the name of *Nicholas V.* together with a solemn induction into the papacy; and he was crowned by his hands, as if his first coronation had been irregular. *Robert* king of *Naples* was doomed to the same death, as pope *John* had been by *Lewis*; nor is it easy to conceive what could drive so prudent a prince, as *Lewis* is acknowledged to have been, into such frantic measures, if he had not intended to reside in *Italy*. Without hazarding farther conjectures, it is certain that he was disappointed in the assistance of a fleet he expected from *Sicily*; and he was so far from being able to make any impression upon *Robert* by land, that he every day expected to be besieged in *Rome* by that prince. At the same time he had certain intelligence from *Germany*, that the princes there were forming cabals against him, and that he was in danger of being stripped of the imperial dignity. For these and other reasons, but above all, because he saw some of the great *Roman* families disgusted with his conduct, he removed from *Rome* to *Terni*, and openly declared, that he intended to make himself master of *Florence*; by which declaration all the *Tuscan Gibelins* resorted to his army, which thereby became very formidable.

Danger of
Florence.

THIS impending danger, with the certain accounts the *Florentines* received at the same time of the great preparations making against them by *Castruccio*, and the petty states which lay towards the foot of the *Appennines*, threw them into the utmost consternation; but they soon recovered themselves, and, like men of sense, they resolved to provide against the worst, and to sell their liberties as dear as they could. They summoned their confederates to their assistance, strengthened, repaired, and revictualled their garrisons, and augmented their forces, determining bravely to wait for the event. Two incidents happened which gave them vast relief. The *Sicilian* fleet, commanded by *Peter*, son to the king of *Sicily*, joined by that of the *Genoese Gibelins*, was now at sea; and *Peter* sent several messages to the emperor, entreating him to return to *Rome*. This produced a kind of a negotiation, which relaxed the preparations of the emperor, who had by this time advanced as far as *Arezzo*, and gave the *Florentines* a farther respite. The other incident was far more in their favour; for at this very critical juncture the famous *Castruccio*, their capital enemy, died, being worn out by his military fatigues. His death was followed by that of their other implacable enemy, *Galeazzo*, viscount of *Milan*, which happened at *Peschia*.

Death of
Castruccio.

Good fortune
of the Floren-
tines.

THE *Florentines* could scarcely give credit to their good fortune, when they heard of the death of *Castruccio*, who left behind him two sons, yet in their nonage, and under the tutelage of their mother and relations. As soon as the emperor, who was still in treaty with the *Sicilians*, heard of *Castruccio's* death, he went by sea to *Pisa*, and gave over all farther thoughts of molesting the *Florentines*; who, being freed from that terror, thought now of acting offensively. Their first attempt was upon *Artimini*, which had been taken from them by *Castruccio*: they attacked it with so much vigour, that, though it was very well garrisoned, they carried the town, and granted a capitulation to the garrison, after eight days siege. In the mean while *Lewis*, who still remained in *Italy*, came to *Pisa*, and there deprived *Castruccio's* children and friends of the government, which he bestowed upon *Tartagliani*, brother to the late bishop of *Arezzo*. From thence he went to *Lucca*, and, notwithstanding all the presents given, and applications made to him by *Castruccio's* widow, he gave the government of that city to one of his own generals; but exacted heavy contributions both there and at *Pisa*, as an acknowledgment for their recovered liberties.

Alterations in
the govern-
ment of Flo-
rence.

ABOUT this time, to compleat the good fortune of the *Florentines*, their governor *Charles*, son to the king of *Naples*, died. The *Florentines* considered his death as a great deliverance, on account of the prodigious sums of money which his rapacious *Neapolitans* carried from *Florence*. They, therefore, applied themselves to the regulation of their government with great assiduity, and instituted two councils for the management of their most important affairs; one composed of plebeians only; the other, which they called the mixed council, equally of the plebeians and nobles. They likewise restricted the duration of the gonfalonier's office, from six to four months.

A. D. 1329.

THIS year the *Florentines* gave a signal proof of the firmness and wisdom of their government. The emperor *Lewis*, who was still at *Pisa*, notwithstanding the vast sums he had exacted of the *Italian* states, was both poor and contemptible; and eight hundred of his cavalry left his service for want of pay. Their design at first was to have surprised *Lucca*; but being disappointed, they subsisted by ravaging the neighbouring country; and at last offered their service to the *Florentines*, who, after long deliberation, rejected it, as being too dangerous for their public liberty. This refusal multiplied disorders in the open country; and *Lewis*, being afraid of the consequences, treated with them, by *Azo*, now viscount of *Milan*, who engaged to pay them the arrears they demanded. The mutineers accordingly named some agents, who received the money from *Azo*, but carried it off to *Germany*;

a many; and this disappointment farther incensed the mutineers, who were the flower of the emperor's army, so that he came to a resolution of immediately returning to Germany. *Castruccio's* sons thought this a favourable opportunity for endeavouring to repossess themselves of *Pistoia*, which had likewise been taken from them, and garrisoned by *Lewis*; and drawing together a great number of their father's friends and followers, they found means to enter the place, but were soon driven out by the inhabitants.

b THE historian of *Florence*^a takes notice, though not in the order of time, of a kind of *Catilinarian* conspiracy, which was this year formed at *Florence*, to burn the city, and admit into it the troops of *Lewis* and *Castruccio*. We are likewise told, that upon searching the houses of the inhabitants, evidences of the plot were discovered; and that, some of the conspirators being put to death, the city returned to a state of tranquility. We are however apt, from the manner in which this plot is introduced and related, to believe that it was of the *Florentine* government's own making, to give them a handle for taking off some citizens they suspected.

c THE emperor had now passed the *Apennines* in his return to Germany, in no very creditable circumstances. He had left the pope of his own creation at *Pisa*, in a most forlorn condition; and he was refused admittance into *Milan* by *Azo*, whom, till then, he took to be his creature. During his treaty with the mutineers, who had left his service, he had sent *Marco Visconti*, one of his chief officers, to their camp, as a hostage, and he was there detained; but being a person of great abilities and credit in the army, they no sooner heard of the emperor's departure for Germany, than they chose him to be their general, and encamped on an eminence that overlooks *Lucca*. Having now the face of a regular army, the German garrison of *Lucca* put *Marco* in possession of that city, and he offered to give it up to the *Florentines*, on two conditions; first, that the *Florentines* should pay his army all their arrears, which amounted to a very large sum; secondly, that some provision should be made for the family of *Castruccio*, with whom *Marco* lived in the most intimate friendship. The matter was most seriously debated at *Florence*; and *Aretin*^b has given us a very fine speech made by *Pino Tosa*, a *Florentine* nobleman, to persuade his countrymen to accept of the offer. Private animosities, however, prevailed so greatly at that time amongst the *Florentines*, that it was rejected, on pretext that the sum required was too large, and that *Lucca* would entirely fall under the dominion of the *Florentines*, without their being at such an expence.

d FLORENCE, from being but a few months before on the brink of perdition, was now at the summit of her glory, courted and revered by all the free states of *Italy*. The *Pistoians* sent a deputation to implore her friendship and protection, which the *Florentines* readily granted. The terms were, that all the *Pistoian* exiles should be restored, and that the *Florentines* should be put in possession of *Murli*, *Carmini*, and other places. This advantageous treaty induced the *Florentines* to bestow a particular compliment upon those *Pistoians*, who had been most active in bringing it about. *Giacomo Stroza*, a *Florentine* nobleman, or knight, was deputed by the republic to repair to *Pistoia*, where, in her name, he e invested four of the inhabitants with the equestrian honours of *Florence*, and made each of them a handsome present in money. Magnificent public entertainments of feasting and shews were exhibited at the same time: This peace, so honourable for both parties, occasioned many of the proprietors of forts in the territories of *Lucca* to put themselves under the protection of the *Florentines*, and even the *Pisans* had the spirit to expel out of their city *Tarlatti*, the imperial governor left them by *Lewis*, and to call in *Marco Visconti* for their protector. *Visconti* after this repaired to *Florence*, where he was received with distinguished honours, and renewed the negotiation between the *Florentines* and the German garrison at *Lucca*. This negotiation proving ineffectual, *Marco* left *Tuscany*; and the *Pisans* immediately offered to strike the bargain which the *Florentines* had rejected, by paying the f Germans their arrears, on condition of taking possession of *Lucca*. This step was considered by the *Florentines* in so unfavourable a light, that they immediately denounced war against the *Pisans*, and invaded their state. About this time *Catino*, a town which had put itself under the protection of the *Florentines*, expelled their garrison; as did several other places, by the instigation of *Castruccio's* party and family. *Americo Donati*, a *Florentine* nobleman, was appointed to the command of an army for reducing them; in which he succeeded so well, that the *Pisans* now sued for peace and obtained it. *Catino*, however, still held out, and a new scene was opened at *Lucca*. There the *Pisans*, being unable or unwilling to perform their promises to the garrison, *Spinola*, a *Genoese* nobleman of immense riches, was, by the Germans, put in possession of the city, and asked g with great lenity, in hopes of reconciling the *Lucquese* to his government, offering, at the same time, to enter into a treaty with the *Florentines*.

Prosperity of
the Floren-
tines,

War with
Pisa.

^a ARETIN. pag. 118.

^b Ibid. p. 119, and 120.

Progress of
the war.

Siege of Ca-
tino.

THE latter had all along flattered themselves of becoming masters of *Lucca*, without any expence : they therefore rejected all *Spinola*'s advances, pressed the siege of *Catino* with more fury than ever, and practised with the garrisons in the neighbourhood to induce them to throw off the *Lucquese* yoke, which some of them did. *Spinola* and the *Lucquese*, upon this, marched against one of the revolted garrisons, which they took, and put all the *Florentines* in it to the sword. They then returned home in high spirits, to make new and more powerful levies for the relief of *Catino*, being encouraged by a report that they were to be strongly supported by the emperor. This extraordinary shew of resolution in the *Lucquese* determined the *Florentines* to more vigorous operations against the town, which they now completely surrounded with a strong rampart and ditch, the last being filled with water from a neighbouring river. According to the *Florentine* historian ^c, this work would have done honour even to the old *Romans*. He tells us, the ditch and the rampart ran through a level plain six miles in length ; that where it was impossible to carry it on, by reason of the unevenness of the ground, a wall was run up, which was strengthened with bastions at a small distance from one another ; and that the compass of the whole was about twelve miles. *Spinola*, however, receiving a reinforcement of *German* horse, attacked this fortification with great obstinacy ; but was beaten off, through the excellent dispositions made by the *Florentines*, who seem in this siege to have copied the conduct of *Castruccio* at the siege of *Pistoia*. At the extremity of the ditch lay the castle of *Sevia*, and, by reason of its great distance from the *Lucquese*, the guard was but slight in that quarter. *Spinola*, understanding this, marched in the night-time a body of troops, which forced their way within the *Florentine* entrenchments, being favoured by a strong attack which the *Lucquese* made upon another quarter. The *Florentines*, however, perceived their danger, by their enemies drawing off from the attack as soon as their party made a signal of their having entered the entrenchments, and hastening to support them. The *Florentines*, being nearest to the place of danger, were the first who attacked them, and fought with such vigour, that the *Germans* and *Lucquese*, who had entered the entrenchments, were either driven out of them, or obliged to take refuge in *Catino*. This disappointment did not daunt the spirit of the *Lucquese*, who, in their attack at *Sera*, made *Giacomo Medicis*, a noble *Florentine* knight, prisoner. The operations were carried on with infinite obstinacy on both sides ; but so much to the advantage of the *Florentines*, who were perpetually relieving one another from their capital, that *Spinola* was at last forced to retreat to *Pescia* ; and the garrison of *Catino*, unable to hold longer out, surrendered the place upon an honourable capitulation. The *Florentines* debated long amongst themselves, whether they should demolish *Catino* ; but the strength and importance of its situation determined them to preserve it.

The Floren-
tines besiege
Lucca.

THE success of the siege of *Catino*, and some other advantages obtained about the same time, gave such reputation and spirit to the *Florentines*, that they resolved to besiege *Lucca* itself ; to which they were greatly encouraged by the losses the *Lucquese* had lately received, their now having no allies they could depend upon for relief, and the distressed state of the emperor's affairs in *Germany*. The anti-pope, who had been created by the emperor, after skulking for some time about *Italy*, was sent prisoner by the archbishop of *Pisa* to his rival *John XXII.* before whom he presented himself with a halter about his neck, and was by him committed to prison : he died three years after. The *Florentines*, having now no where an enemy in *Italy* they could dread, laid a vigorous siege to *Lucca*, and made themselves masters of all the neighbouring fortifications. The place was defended by *Spinola*, who was on the point of giving it up, when affairs took a sudden turn against the besiegers. About the year 1331, *John* king of *Bohemia*, son to the emperor *Henry* of *Luxemburg*, marched with an army into *Lombardy*, in quality of vicar of the empire. Having reduced *Brescia*, and a great many places in that neighbourhood, *Bergamo* particularly, he received a deputation from *Spinola* and the *Lucquese*, offering to put themselves under his protection, provided he would raise the siege. *John* had his reasons for attempting to soothe the *Florentines*, and sent an ambassador to *Florence* to prevail with the magistracy and the people to recall their troops from before *Lucca* ; but all applications of that kind proved ineffectual, and *John* marched with his army to raise the siege. This would have been no easy matter, had not a spirit of mutiny happened at that very time to take possession of the *Florentine* troops, who had insulted the *Lucquese* with the most wanton abuse ; so that the *Florentine* generals thought proper to draw off their army, after having continued for almost five months before the place. *Simon*, a noble *Pistoian*, who acted as *John*'s general, upon the retreat of the *Florentines*, found an easy admittance into *Lucca* ; and, after establishing his master's authority there, he entered the *Florentine* dominions at the head of twelve hundred horse and two thousand foot, and having laid them waste, he returned

The siege is
raised.

^c LEON. ARET. Hist. Flor. p. 122.

- a without any loss to *Lucca*: an insult for which he must have dearly paid, had it not been for the jealousies and divisions which still reigned amongst the *Florentines*. About this time *John* made himself master of *Parma*, *Cremona*, *Pavia*, *Modena*, and other places; so that he grew very formidable in *Italy*. He found, however, that he could not maintain his ground without leaguings himself with the pope; and to the amazement of all *Europe*, from being mortal enemies, they ran into a strict alliance with one another. His holiness, on this occasion, employed his legate at *Bologna* as his plenipotentiary; and though he hated *John*, yet he knew his affairs were so embarrassed in *Germany*, that he must be quickly obliged to quit *Italy*, and therefore that his conquests could not be very permanent. *Robert*, king of *Naples*, and the *Florentines*, had hitherto continued faithfully attached to the pope; but seeing this unnatural conjunction between his holiness and *John*, they entered into a confederacy against both, in which they were joined by several of the other *Italian* states. The consequence of this alliance was, that the *Pistoians* put themselves under the protection of *Florence*, and even admitted a *Florentine* garrison into their city. Continuing however to exercise the outward marks of government, they were considered neither as being the subjects nor the allies of *Florence*. The *Lucchese*, about the same time, besieged and took possession of the small town of *Barga*, which was under the *Florentine* protection, the *Florentines* in vain endeavouring to raise the siege.

- By this time the whole system of power in *Italy* was changed; but it must be said, to the glory of the *Florentines*, that they stuck much firmer than any other *Italian* state did to the principles of their constitutional independency. *John*, king of *Bohemia*, had been obliged to return to *Germany*; but he had left his son *Charles* at the head of his affairs and armies in *Italy*. The strict alliance that still subsisted between *Charles* and the legate of *Bologna*, at last prevailed with the princes of *Ferrara*, *Verona*, *Mantua*, and even *Milan*, though *Azo*, as we have already seen, was the sworn foe of *Florence*, to join in the confederacy with the *Florentines* and the king of *Naples*: and we may form some estimate of the several degrees of power the parties were possessed of, by the contingents each was obliged to send to their common defence; for of three thousand horse which they agreed to bring into the field, the *Florentines* were to furnish six hundred; the king of *Naples* as many; *Mastino*, prince (who was commonly then called Dog) of *Verona*, eight hundred; *Azo*, viscount of *Milan*, six hundred; and the princes or dukes (for their titles at this time were as unsettled as their power) of *Ferrara* and *Mantua*, two hundred each. The legate was making war with the *Ferrarese* when he heard of this powerful confederacy taking place; and he immediately sent deputies to expostulate with the *Florentines*, and, if possible, to draw them off from the alliance. The answer returned by the *Florentines* was modest, but firm: they represented the great services they had often done to the see of *Rome*; but seemed surprised at being reproached for entering into measures against the son and grandson of the emperor *Henry* of *Luxemburg*, who had been their mortal enemy. This situation of affairs in *Italy*, recalled *John* king of *Bohemia* from *Germany*, and he was met by his son *Charles* at *Parma*. Here he learned, that *Mastino* of *Verona* had seized *Brescia* and *Bergamo*, as *Azo* had *Pavia*. *Charles*, who brought back with him a small but choice army, endeavoured to retake *Pavia*, and to relieve the citadel, which still held out; but being baffled by *Azo*, he was obliged to retreat to *Parma*, after laying waste the *Milanese*. His confederate the legate had better success. He beat the *Ferrarese* in a pitched battle, and laid siege to *Ferrara* itself. The besieged immediately applied for assistance to the *Florentines*, who appeared very willing to relieve them; but found it an enterprize of great difficulty, the victorious legate being in possession of all the country of *Romagna* and the *Bolognese*, as *John's* troops were of all the strong important passes by the way of *Modena* and *Parma*. The *Florentines*, however, that they might not be wanting to their allies, sent them four hundred horse, under the command of two young noblemen, *Stroza* and *Scala*, by the long detours of *Genoa*, *Milan*, and *Verona*, in all which cities they were received with the greatest respect and affection. They arrived at *Verona* just as king *John* and the legate were preparing to give a general assault to *Ferrara*, and the king was for that purpose bringing a reinforcement from *Parma*. They were prevented by the ardour of the *Florentines*, who no sooner threw themselves into *Ferrara* than they resolved to attack the camp of the besiegers. The *Florentine* historian^d is, with great justice, proud of his countrymen's behaviour, on this occasion, against the best troops of *Germany*, whom they defeated with great slaughter, or drove into the *Po*, where numbers were drowned by the breaking down of the bridge. The victory was so complete, that all *Romagna* revolted from the legate; and *Bologna* would have done the same, had it not been kept in awe by *John's* German horse. While *John* was thus employed in assisting the legate, *Castruccio's* sons, having drawn together a large body of their father's friends, who were still very numerous in *Italy*, surprised *Lucca*; but the citadel holding out, *John* made a quick march, and dispossessed them of

The system of power in Italy altered.

The Florentines defeat the Germans.

^d ARETINI, pag. 126.

their

their new conquest. This year was remarkable for prodigious inundations all over *Italy*; and the bridges at *Florence*, over the *Arno*, being broken down, it appeared like two cities, which gave some uneasiness to the jealous plebeians, lest the nobles, who lived in a separate quarter, should make use of that opportunity to cabal against their liberty; but the public resumed its tranquility when the loss was repaired by some temporary bridges.

S E C T. V.

Containing the History of the War between Florence and Scaliger, Prince of Verona.

The Florentines purchase Arezzo; they are defeated by the Pisans; chuse the Duke of Athens for their Stadtholder, or Governor; Conspiracies against him; he is driven out. Dissentions in Florence; Ascendency of the People.

A general confederacy takes place.

IT was now high time for the confederate states to consult measures for their future operations, and to divide their conquests. Deputies from all of them met at *Lerice*, then belonging to the *Genoese*. Here great disputes arose: at last it was determined, that the viscount of *Milan* should keep possession of *Cremona*, the prince of *Verona* of *Parma*, the duke of *Mantua* of *Reggio*, the duke of *Ferrara* of *Modena*, and the *Florentines* of *Pisa*. It is to be observed, that some of those territories remained still to be conquered; but the confederates agreed not to lay down their arms till each was in full possession of his allotment, which determined them to prosecute the war with double vigour. They began with the legate, a *Frenchman* by birth, and in his manners insolent, severe, and haughty beyond expression. He had fled to *Bologna*, after the victory the confederates had obtained near *Ferrara*; but the emperor being now returned to *Germany*, he was so unpopular at *Bologna*, that the inhabitants ran to arms, beat his guards, and forced him to fly to the citadel, which he had built for bridling that city, and to which the *Bolognese* laid close siege. The *Florentines*, though they had no reason to be satisfied with the legate's person, yet they could not consider his character without wishing to save him. They therefore sent four deputies, with three hundred horse and a large body of foot, to *Bologna*, where the deputies mediated for the legate; and with infinite difficulty, after negotiating for several days, it was agreed, that his passage should be safe, upon his surrendering the citadel to the townsmen. The people, however, held the legate in such abhorrence, that they would have torn him to pieces, had he not been guarded by the *Florentines*, night and day. He was first carried to *Florence*, and from thence to *Pisa*, where he embarked for the pope's dominions, who was still at *Avignon*.

The German mercenaries mutiny.

AMONGST the unconquered places, partitioned out by the treaty of *Lerice*, was *Parma*, which was now besieged by the confederates, while the *Florentines* undertook that of *Lucca*. The rendezvous of all the confederates being before *Parma*, the *Florentines* demanded that a body of troops should march over the *Appennines*, to assist them at the siege of *Lucca*. In the mean while, the legate, by his intrigues and money, having debauched the *German* mercenaries who served in the confederate army, they mutinied and threw themselves into *Parma*. The desertion obliged *Scaliger* (A), prince of *Verona*, to raise the siege of *Parma*, and the *Florentines* to give over that of *Lucca*. The siege of *Parma* was soon after resumed by *Scaliger*, and the *Florentines* made dispositions for carrying on that of *Lucca*; upon which *John* king of *Bohemia*, as sovereign, made a present of that city to the *French* king. A vast number of *Florentine* merchants, men of great property, resided then in *France*; and that king immediately intimated to them the gift that had been made him, in hopes that their interest would prevail with their countrymen to give over the siege of *Lucca*. But he was deceived; for the *Florentines* still continued their preparations; and the *French* king being informed by the king of *Naples*, that *John* had disposed of a territory in which he had no legal property, the claim was dropt. This year, viz. 1334, died pope *John XXII.* and his death gave a great turn to the affairs of *Italy*. He was succeeded by *Benedict XII.* who, like his predecessor, resided at *Avignon*. The *Florentines*, the better to succeed in their designs against *Lucca*, negotiated a treaty with *Peter*, the governor or prince of *Arezzo*, who had employed the great treasures, left him by his brother the bishop in dispossessing the neighbouring noblemen of their fiefs and castles. This drove them, particularly *Nerio Fagiolani*, the son of the *Fagiolani* who had been dispossessed by *Castruccio*, to league themselves with the *Perugians*, who hated *Peter*; and *Nerio* surprised *Burgo*, a town about fourteen miles from *Arezzo*; but the castle holding out, *Peter* prepared to march to

(A) This was his true name; and the two learned *Scaligers*, *Joseph* and *Julius*, pretended that he was their immediate ancestor. He was called the *Maftino*, or *Maftiff* of *Verona*, from a dream, concerning a mastiff dog, which his mother pretended she had when she was with child of him.

a its relief. The *Perugians* endeavoured to divert him, by invading the territories of *Arezzo*; but were defeated with great slaughter by *Peter*. The *Florentines*, upon this, mindful that the *Perugians* had been their ancient allies, took part with them, and broke off their treaty with *Peter*, who was supported by the *Genoese*. This attachment of the *Florentines* to their allies, was to them more honourable than advantageous. Scaliger was by this time in possession of *Parma*, as the duke of *Mantua* was of *Reggio*, and the *Ferrarese* of *Modena*. In short, all parties in the confederacy, *Florence* excepted, were in the quiet possession of the spoils allotted them. Honourable conduct of the Florentines.

When *John* king of *Bohemia* left *Italy*, he committed the government of *Parma* and *Lucca* to three brothers, called *Ruffo*, nobles of *Parma*. Two of them commanded in that city when it was taken by the *Veronese*; and it was agreed that the third brother should surrender *Lucca* to *Scaliger*, upon certain terms. The *Florentines*, far from opposing this convention, forwarded it, in hopes that *Scaliger* would make no other use of it than that of facilitating their taking possession of *Lucca*. *Scaliger*, accordingly, having promised to repay to the three brothers a large sum they had advanced to the king of *Bohemia*, took possession of *Lucca*; but when the *Florentines*, by their deputies demanded that the terms of the confederacy should be fulfilled, he required that the money he repaid should be refunded to him. The sum was no less than three hundred and sixty thousand crowns of gold (B), which may answer to about one hundred thousand pounds sterling. The cunning *Veronese* thought that the mention of so much money would deter the *Florentines* from prosecuting their demand; but as *Arctin*^a justly observes, it is almost incredible to what extremes their public spirit often drove them; for they, who, but twelve or fourteen months before, had refused to pay the fourth part of that sum to the *Germans* for the same end, offered to raise it for *Scaliger*; who thereupon invented other pretexts for delay; and the *Florentine* deputies, perceiving they were trifled with, returned home. *Scaliger* foresaw the consequences, and was the first to take the field: upon which the *Florentines* immediately declared war against *Scaliger*, the *Veronese*, and all the abettors of his injustice.

The reader is to observe, that *Scaliger* was at this time one of the richest and most powerful princes in *Lombardy*. Being in possession not only of *Verona*, but of *Parma* and *Lucca*, besides a vast number of other places along the *Appennines*, his dominions had a ready communication one with another, and he was sure of having the *Pisans* for his friends. Add to this, that his court and army were rendezvous for all the malcontents of *Italy*; and being naturally vain, as well as ambitious, he was in hopes of becoming master of all *Tuscany*. Power of Scaliger.

After the many expensive and bloody wars that the *Florentines*, for half a century past, had maintained by turns against almost all the states of *Italy*, and sometimes against the most powerful princes in *Europe*, it is astonishing to think with what spirit they entered upon hostilities with their new enemy of *Verona*. But we are to consider, that, by means of their foreign commerce, the encouragement they gave to all ingenious arts, the strictness of their discipline, and the regularity of their government, they were now prodigiously rich; but their riches, far from enervating them, inspired them with ideas of rivalling the old *Romans*, not only in their sentiments, but their power. They proceeded, however to war with the greatest œconomy, regularity, and resolution. They appointed twelve treasurers for raising the public money, and six managers for distributing it in the service of the field, and for attending the camp and councils of war. They sent deputies to *Milan*, and to all their confederates in *Lombardy*, to represent to them the falshood and treachery of *Scaliger*; and they renewed their alliance with *Perugia* and *Sienna*, in order to give a diversion to *Peter* of *Arezzo*, if he should join with *Scaliger*. The *Perugians*, animated by the *Florentines*, attacked the territory of *Arezzo*, and surprised *Citta di Castello*; which discouraged the *Arezzians* so greatly, that many of their forts fell into the hands of the *Florentines*. General reflection.

We are not to forget, for the honour of *Florence*, that while she was thus prosecuting an expensive war, she was cultivating the arts of peace, to more perfection than they were to be found in any other part of the world. Though the *Greeks* had not yet imported their literature into *Italy*, the *Florentines* had reformed themselves from that barbarous taste in the fine arts, that still continued to infect all the rest of *Europe*. *Giotto* at this time worked in *Florence*, where he was in great reputation; and though he cannot be said to have carried The marble tower built by Giotto.

^a ARETIN. p. 128.

(B) We have in this transaction followed *Manetti*, who wrote after *Arctin* (1):

(1) Vide *Manetti* apud *Murat.* tom. xix. p. 1055.

ried the arts of architecture and painting to the perfection they afterwards attained, yet the good manner he introduced in both had more merit over the barbarous state in which he found them, than any after-improvements had over him. This year, according to *Aretin*, viz. 1335, he founded, and afterwards brought to perfection, the famous quadrangular marble tower, said to be one hundred and forty-four ells in height ^b, which now stands near the cathedral of *Florence*.

Scaliger at-
tacks Flo-
rence.

Hostilities
continue.

THE war still continued; but *Scaliger* being obliged to go to *Verona*, the scene of action lay in the *Arezzian* territories, which the *Florentines* and *Perugians* ravaged with vast fury. Intelligence came, in the mean while, that *Scaliger* was advancing through the *Romagna*, against *Florence*, with eight hundred horse; upon which the *Florentines* sent an army to join their allies the *Bolognese*, and to intercept his march. This news encouraged the garrison of *Lucca* to make some incursions upon the *Florentine* territories, and the *Florentines* attempted to transfer the seat of the war to *Lombardy*; but *Scaliger* was so formidable there, that they could get no state to join them but that of *Venice*, which became now jealous of the neighbourhood of *Verona* to that of some of their territories. In consequence of this alliance, a body of *Florentine* troops marched to *Treviso*, where they were joined by some *Florentines*, and entered into hostilities against the *Veronese*. By this time, the brothers, the *Ruffi*, finding that *Scaliger* trifled with them, as he had done with the *Venetians*, and refused to pay the money he had promised them, were, for their representations on that head, expelled out of *Lucca*, and threw themselves into the town of *Pontremoli*, where they were besieged; but were, upon their application, taken into the alliance of the *Florentines* and *Venetians*. The siege of *Pontremoli* still continuing, *Peter Ruffo*, who was esteemed an excellent officer, repaired to *Florence*, and offered to the magistracy there to give them possession of *Lucca*, if they would put him at the head of a body of troops for that purpose. He accordingly received eight hundred horse, and marched against that place. His true design was to draw off, to the defence of *Lucca*, the troops that were employed at the siege of *Pontremoli*. The *Italians*, as yet, knew little of the art of besieging places, farther than blockading them, and forcing them to surrender by famine; so that the governor of *Lucca*, leaving a few to man the walls, fell with all the other troops he could assemble upon the *Florentine* territories. This obliged *Ruffo* to draw off from *Lucca*, and a battle soon followed; in which the *Florentines*, with great difficulty, came off conquerors, *Scaliger's* general being made prisoner, with many others, and a great number killed in the pursuit. Two days after this, the *Florentine* army returned in triumph to that city, where *Ruffo*, on the credit of his late victory, was appointed general of the combined army of the *Venetians* and *Florentines* serving against *Scaliger* in *Lombardy*. *Ruffo* behaved so well in his new command, that he gained a vast number of advantages over the enemy, and drove them to the walls of *Padua*, which was then in possession of *Scaliger*. *Ruffo* however could not bring the *Veronese*, though they were greatly superior to him in number, to a battle; and therefore he besieged *Bovolenta*, which lies within seven miles of *Padua*. His attacks were so furious, that *Scaliger* thought now of nothing but covering *Verona*. He found means, however, to bring over by the force of money, to his interest one thousand *German* horse, who served as mercenaries in *Ruffo's* army, who, setting fire to the camp of the confederates, marched off in the night-time. *Ruffo*, undaunted by this desertion, repaired the damage his camp had sustained, and continued his operations, being still at the head of a formidable army. The other states of *Lombardy*, now seeing the danger of *Scaliger*, whom they all hated, entered into a confederacy against him; and a great army of *Milanese*, *Ferrarese*, and *Mantuan*s, with *Lucino Visconti* at their head, rendezvoused at *Mantua*, intending to proceed against *Verona* itself. At the same time *Charles*, son of *John* king of *Bohemia*, took *Belluno* and *Feltri*.

The courage
and conduct
of Scaliger.

SCALIGER, though surrounded by so many powerful enemies, was not deficient in his conduct, either as a warrior or a statesman. As *Lucino*, who by this time had been joined by a detachment of two thousand four hundred horse, under *Marsilio*, *Ruffo's* brother, had marched within a few miles of *Verona*, he left that city at the head of three thousand horse and a body of foot, and offered battle to the confederates, which *Lucino* declined, though his army was greatly superior to that of *Scaliger*. This cowardice, or treachery of *Lucino*, so disgusted the troops under his command, that they immediately left the service. Upon this, *Scaliger*, to improve his good fortune, took post three miles below *Bovolenta*, where *Ruffo* was still encamped, with a view of intercepting *Marsilio* in his return to join his brother. *Aretin* tells us, *Ruffo* was at this time in such danger, that he ordered his soldiers to gather great quantities of bitter herbs, which grew in the neighbourhood, and to throw them into the waters of the *Brent*, which supplied *Scaliger's* army, and which thereby became so bitter as to be rendered unserviceable both to man and horse; ^g

^b BUSCHING'S New System of Geography, vol. iii. p. 122.

^c LEONARD. ARETIN, p. 134.

a so that *Scaliger* was obliged to decamp, and *Marfilio* rejoined his brother. *Ruffo*, without losing time, marched directly to *Padua*; where the citizens, instigated by *Ubertino Carra*, opened the gates to his army, and cut in pieces *Scaliger's* garrison, which was commanded by his brother *Alberto*, who was sent prisoner to *Venice*. But the joy which this important conquest occasioned at *Venice* and *Florence*, was quickly damped by the death of *Ruffo*, who in storming *Monfelice*, a place in the neighbourhood, received a wound in his thigh, which proved mortal upon his return to *Padua*. He was survived but a few days by his brother *Marfilio*, who died of grief at the loss of *Ruffo*. About this time the *Milanese* made themselves masters of *Brescia*.

b *PETER*, surnamed *Saco*, had still possession of *Arezzo*, and was strongly solicited by the *Arezzians* to make peace with the *Florentines* and their allies. This application served only to render *Peter* jealous of the *Arezzians*; and he resolved to make the best terms he could with the *Florentines*, having many reasons for not trusting the *Perugians*. The bargain was soon struck. *Peter* agreed to deliver up *Arezzo*, and all its dependencies, for ten years, into the hands of the *Florentines*, upon condition that he himself, whose mother was a *Florentine*, and his kinsmen, should from thenceforward, be deemed citizens of *Florence*; that they should remain in possession of all their private estates and effects; that *Peter* should receive forty thousand crowns; and that seventeen thousand more, which he had borrowed from the *Arezzians*, should be paid to his mercenaries for their arrears. This negotiation being finished, twelve *Florentine* noblemen immediately repaired to *Arezzo*, where, to the great joy of the people, they took possession of that government.

The Florentines purchase Arezzo;

c THE *Perugians* complained bitterly of this proceeding, at being expressly against the treaties subsisting between them; and sent deputies to *Florence*, who exclaimed in very harsh terms against the *Florentines*. The answer of the latter (for *Aretin* has given us the speeches of both, or rather has made speeches for them) recriminated in as sharp terms, by accusing the *Perugians* of insincerity, and telling them, that no terms ought to be kept with traitors. Upon cooler thoughts, however, both parties came to an accommodation, and the *Perugians* obtained possession of some towns of no great consequence in the *Arezzian* territory. *Scaliger* hearing of those transactions, reinforced his garrison of *Lucca* under *Accio*, one of his generals; upon which the *Florentines* again took the field, and ravaged the territories of *Lucca*. This term, however, occurs so often in the *Florentine* historians, and the practice is so often repeated, that we cannot believe that it means any more than a body of troops subsisting for a few months, on free quarter, amongst their enemies; and, in so fertile a country as *Italy*, the damage they did being generally repaired by next season, the like inroads were renewed.

which is reclaimed by the Perugians;

but without effect.

d NEXT year the *Florentines* and *Venetians* invaded the *Veronese*; and after insulting that city for some days, and gaining several advantages, they laid siege to *Vicenza*. This obliged *Scaliger* to send a deputation to *Venice* to treat of peace, which was so favourably received, that the terms were soon settled. The marquissate of *Treviso*, one of the most delightful countries in *Italy*, with that city and territory, was ceded by *Scaliger* to the *Venetians*; and a proviso was left in the treaty, that, if the *Florentines* should incline to come into the peace, they should be put into possession of *Pescia* and *Bugiani*, and remain masters of all their conquests in the *Lucquesse* territory. It was likewise stipulated, that all the *Lucquesse* exiles, who served in the combined army, should be readmitted to their estates and privileges in that city. The negotiation thus ended, the treaty was communicated to the *Florentines*, who, after long debates, disapproved of it; but sent three of their first noblemen to try if they could negotiate better terms at *Venice*. This was found impracticable; and the terms the *Venetians* had stipulated for them were agreed to, all parties being heartily tired of the war.

The Veronese invaded by the Florentines;

e f THE *Florentines*, after this, continued for some years in peace, and unmolested by any of their neighbours. This recess from the labours of the field, and a few seasons that were unfavourable for the productions of the earth, together with some accidental storms of thunder and lightning, filled the minds of the *Florentines*, who were naturally superstitious, with many dismal apprehensions. These perhaps were greatly increased by an adnumberment of all the citizens living within *Florence*, which took place in the year 1339, who were found to amount to ninety thousand, which is twenty thousand more (C) than it is supposed to contain at present. This adnumberment was occasioned by the magistrates wanting, in the time of scarcity, to ascertain the quantities of provisions which it might be necessary to import. Next year a plague broke out in *Florence*, which carried off six-

who enjoy some years of peace.

A. D. 1340.

(C) See *Busching*, tom. iii. p. 121. We are not, however, quite satisfied whether under the word *cives*, *Aretini*, from whom the above adnumberment is taken, comprehends all the inhabitants, men, women, children, and servants. That he does not, seems most probable; because of the vast

armies, sometimes amounting in the whole to above thirty thousand men, that we have mentioned to have marched out of *Florence*; a number of fighting men by far too great to be furnished by a city that contained no more than ninety thousand inhabitants.

Tumults in
Florence.

teen thousand people in its city and territories. About the same time intestine divisions a put the *Florentines* in arms, on account of a foreign magistrate who had been advanced to the government of the city, for two years, by the heads of the plebeians. His name is not mentioned by *Aretin*; but he tells us, that two great families, the *Bardi* and the *Frescobaldi*, put themselves at the head of the nobility, with an intention to overturn the magistracy; but they were disappointed by the spirit of the people, who immediately ran to arms, and obliged the nobility to abandon their undertaking. The people then returned peaceably home; but the chief of the nobility were impeached before the presidents, and none of them crossing the *Arno*, to appear in their own defence, sentence passed against them; in consequence of which their houses were demolished, and applications made to all the states confederated with *Florence* not to receive or protect them; so that b the exiles were obliged to take shelter in *Pisa*, the ancient and natural enemy of *Florence*.

The Floren-
tines pur-
chase Lucca.

Soon after this, the *Mantuan*s encouraged the people of *Parma* to throw off *Scaliger's* yoke; and he found himself so hardly beset by the *Mantuan*s cutting off all communication between *Verona* and *Lucca*, that it was plain he could not keep the latter. The *Florentines* and the *Pisans* immediately became competitors for the prize, which was fairly put up by *Scaliger* at public auction, to be carried by the best bidder. The *Florentines* outbid the *Pisans*, by offering for the place two hundred and fifty thousand crowns.

and invade
the Pisan ter-
ritories.

THE *Florentines* being thus in possession of *Arezzo*, and likely to be so of *Lucca*, by means of the wealth they had gained in commerce, began now to be dreaded all over c *Italy*. The *Pisans*, irritated by their disappointment of acquiring *Lucca*, set on foot a general confederacy against them, into which *Lucino*, who, by the death of *Azo*, was now viscount of *Milan*; and all *Scaliger's* enemies, who were very numerous, entered, as did the *Milanese*, the *Mantuan*s, the *Parmesans*, and the *Paduans*; all of whom sent their contingencies of troops to assist the *Pisans* in the siege of *Lucca*, which was now formed. The *Florentines*, upon this, having formally required of the *Pisans* to raise the siege, invaded the *Pisan* territories; but the siege was pressed more warmly than ever. *Lucca* was still in the possession of *Scaliger*, who now summoned the *Florentines* to fulfil their bargain; and the latter were so generous, that they agreed to pay all the sum they had bargained for, but seventy thousand crowns, and gave hostages for the payment. Still a difficulty remained of the *Florentines* taking possession, which at last was removed by their breaking d through the *Pisan* army; and no sooner were they masters of the city and citadel, than they relieved their hostages by paying the stipulated money.

They are ac-
tuated.

THIS event gave infinite joy and spirits to the *Florentines*, who saw the *Pisan* camp from the walls of *Lucca*. The garrison was so strong, and the place so well provided with every thing, that the *Pisan* army must have returned home without any farther attempt, had not the *Florentines* within the city precipitately resolved to attack them in their entrenchments. This attack was made within eight days after the *Florentines* became masters of *Lucca*. The *Pisans* were commanded by *Giovanni Visconti*, and *Enrico, Castruccio's* son, served under him; as did all the *Florentine* exiles, who formed the most considerable part of his army, which was drawn up in three lines, as that of the *Florentines* was in two. The first line of the e latter consisted of two hundred chosen knights on horseback, supported by three thousand cross-bow men; and they made so furious a charge, that they drove the first line of the *Pisans* back upon their second, where they took prisoners *Visconti* the *Pisan* general, and *Enrico, Castruccio's* son, with several other persons of great quality; but the third line of the *Pisans* supporting the disordered troops of their two first lines, victory was snatched from the *Florentines*, whose second line was so far from supporting their first, that they fled to *Pescia* without striking a stroke. The first line of the *Florentines*, being thus left exposed, suffered greatly, and victory declared herself in favour of the *Pisans*: the remains of the first line however bravely fought their way back to *Lucca*.

THE loss the *Florentines* received in this defeat was far less than was at first reported at f *Florence*. They remained in possession of all their standards, and their illustrious prisoners; and the government, having recovered its first consternation, applied, by deputies, to *Robert* king of *Sicily* for protection, offering at the same time to submit, as usual, to any prince of his blood whom he should send as his governor or viceroy at *Florence*. *Robert* received the deputies very coldly, and insisted upon the rendition of *Lucca* to him, as being his property, and torn from him by the treachery of *Fagiolani*. The *Florentines* had foreseen this demand, and they instructed their deputies to comply with it; but *Robert*, suspecting they would insist upon the payment of the money it had cost them, declined interesting himself farther than by sending an ambassador to dissuade the *Pisans* from continuing the siege of *Lucca*, which he affirmed to be his property. The *Pisans* returned g him good words, but continued the siege with greater vigour than ever.

- a THE *Florentine* affairs wearing thus a bad aspect, the people began to suspect, perhaps, *Their miserable situation,* without any grounds, that *Peter Saco* the late lord of *Arezzo*, would seize that opportunity to reinstate himself in that government. *Peter* was then living in one of his castles in the country; and the *Florentine* magistracy, as if they had been convinced of their danger, ordered the people to take arms and to surround the place. The madness of popular jealousy did not stop here. *Tarlatti*, brother to *Peter*, was then one of the most distinguished officers in the *Florentine* army; and it was chiefly by his means that the remains of their first line had made so noble a retreat, as they did, to *Lucca*. But his conduct being irreproachable, the people grew the more jealous of his credit in the army, and of the power he might thereby acquire to favour his brother. An order, therefore, was sent from *Florence* to put him under arrest at *Lucca*, which was obeyed without confining him in prison; and he was allowed to ride abroad in company with *Giacomo Medici*, the *Florentine* governor of *Lucca*. One day, as they were reconnoitring on horseback without the gates, *Tarlatti* put spurs to his horse, and fled to the *Pisan* camp. His escape confirmed the *Florentines* in their worst suspicions of *Peter's* designs; and after forcing him and all his relations to surrender themselves, they were brought to *Florence*, where they were committed to prison, while all their fine palaces in that city were demolished, and their castles in the country taken.

- b THE *Florentines* being disappointed of assistance from the king of *Naples*, were advised *and distressed* by *Scaliger* to apply to the emperor *Lewis*, who was about this time at *Trent*, and who was greatly exasperated against the *Pisans*, as well as a mortal enemy to the pope and the king of *Naples*. Though this advice was plausible, and supported by a great party in *Florence*, yet the people were so prepossessed against the emperor, that no progress was made in the negotiation. Upon this the *Florentines* took two thousand horse into their pay, besides six hundred they hired of the *Ferrarese*, and five hundred of *Scaliger*, all which joined to their own troops made a formidable army; and they preferred *Malatesta* of *Rimini*, a celebrated general of those times, to the command of it. Early in the spring he marched to the relief of *Lucca*, which continued still besieged by the *Pisans*; but the swelling of the rivers, and the badness of the roads by the rains, frustrated his expedition; and the *Florentines* were driven to their usual recourse of ravaging their enemy's country. Notwithstanding this the *Pisans* still continued the siege of *Lucca*, which being now reduced to the last extremity, the garrison capitulated to deliver up the place upon honourable terms for themselves in the ninth month of the siege. This, according to *Aretin*^d, is a shameful period in the *Florentine* history; and yet it is easy to account for, by reflecting upon the unreasonable jealousy the *Florentines* entertained of their nobles. This jealousy disqualified the nobles from the command of their armies, and led them to apply to the gainful arts of commerce, which seems, in fact, to have been their principal inducement to expend so much blood and treasure as they did in acquiring and maintaining the possession of *Lucca*.

- c THEIR resentments at the loss of that city hurried them into far greater calamities, by inspiring them with animosities amongst themselves, each party blaming the other for its *Their divisions.* misconduct, and all of them disagreeing about the means of recovering from their distresses (D), though all of them agreed upon the fatal expedient of preferring *Gualtieri*, the titular duke of *Athens*, to be their general. He was by birth a *Lombard*; and having served in their former wars under *Charles* prince of *Naples*, was well acquainted with their dispositions, the nature of their government, and the state of their parties. He was at *Naples* when the *Florentines* invited him to take upon him, not only the command of their army, but the government of their city. Their good opinion of him was greatly increased by *They chose the duke of Athens for their stadtholder.* the modesty of his retinue when he entered their capital. It soon appeared how much they were deceived. That age abounded with soldiers of fortune; and *Gualtieri* was one who erected vast projects upon a very moderate share of abilities to support them. He had long portioned out the dominion of *Florence* to himself, and his ambition being now gratified in part, he studied how to make himself absolute, and to ingross the whole of the government. His history, and that of his new subjects, on this occasion is instructive. The state of *Florence*, like almost all other states, consisted of three kinds of people. The first were the nobles, who by the constitution of the government, had been so long accustomed to the exercise of trade and other arts, that far from thinking it to be a disgrace to their nobility, they boasted of their industry, and began now to look upon wealth as the best nobility. Not only their fortunes, but their ideas, being raised above those of the vulgar, a kind of an antipathy subsisted between them, which was confirmed by the

^d ARETIN. p. 138.

(D) Upon this occasion *Manetti* quotes *Aretin* and his words, which fixes the priority in point of time to the latter; a circumstance which otherwise might have been doubtful.

democratical nature of their government. The next class was the middling sort, who with a plain strong sense and great industry, had acquired moderate fortunes, and who, in a regular state, ought properly to be termed the people. These affected no public changes or revolutions, but those that were absolutely indispensable to the security of their property. The last class was the plebeians, who hated the first class, and envied the second.

His tyranny
and cruelty.

GUALTIERI had sagacity enough to perceive that the second class would be the great obstacle to his ambition. The nobility had submitted to him, because they thought his power was but temporary, and that they had at any time interest enough to displace him as soon as he had answered their end, in abolishing the democratical part of the constitution, which they had never ceased to consider as an invasion of their rights. *Gualtieri* admitted them so far into the secret of his conduct, as to acquaint them that he intended to bend the chief force of his power against the middling citizens, which would enable him more effectually to serve the nobility, but that he could not succeed without making himself extremely popular amongst the lower ranks, and that, however he proceeded, the nobility must appear neutral. The reader is here to observe, that the *Arezzians*, the *Volterrans*, and the *Pistoians*, had followed the example of the *Florentines* in chusing *Gualtieri* for their stadtholder, which is the term that approaches nearest to his office. The titles he assumed were duke of *Athens*, lord of *Pistoia*, *Arezzo*, and *Volterra*. He governed *Florence* in person; but had his substitutes in the other three states.

GUALTIERI was sensible, that without peace abroad it must be impossible for him to succeed in his ambitious schemes at home. He was therefore no sooner formally invested with supreme power at *Florence*, than he made a most dishonourable peace with the *Pisans*, to whom he relinquished the possession of *Lucca* for fifteen years, on their engaging to re deliver it to the *Florentines* at the expiration of that term. He pretended that the situation of affairs rendered such a peace necessary, and that the misconduct of certain citizens in the purchase of *Lucca*, as well as in other transactions, ought to be punished with the utmost rigour. The citizens he hinted at were the most respectable in all the common wealth: most of them were noble, but without the pride too often attached to that honour, and all of them devoted to the constitution of their country, by endeavouring to keep up a balance between the first and second classes of their fellow-citizens. At the head of these was *Giacomo Medici*, who had been lately governor of *Lucca*, and a principal agent in the *Florentine* purchase of that city. This nobleman lost his head; and it was with great difficulty that the friends of *Oricella* and *Ricciardo Riccio*, who stood in a still greater degree of popularity, prevailed with the tyrant not to put them to death likewise; but *Altovita*, another nobleman, shared the fate of *Medici*.

The Florentine
presidents
oppose the tyrant.

THE populace at first applauded those acts of cruelty as examples of justice, and adored *Gualtieri* as a man who had no respect of persons. The nobility, though they perceived themselves to be mistaken in their measures and connections with the tyrant, durst not oppose him; but the wisdom of the *Florentine* constitution appeared now in its full lustre. The presidents, whose authority in judicial cases never had been abolished, manfully withstood all the terrors of the tyrant. When he summoned the people to a general meeting, in order to take upon himself the absolute government, the presidents privately told him that he had exceeded his powers, because, by their capitulation with him, none but they could issue such summonses. The tyrant's answer was, that he intended to give the people liberty to declare their sentiments, without which they could not be called free. After a good deal of altercation it was agreed, that next day, when the assembly was to be held, the presidents should move the government to be decreed to him for one year, under the same limitations that it had been yielded before to *Robert* prince of *Naples*. The tyrant, however, had taken his measures so well, that he was ushered into the assembly by some of the principal nobility, and his person was guarded by a number of plebeians, with arms concealed under their cloaths. One of the presidents rising from his seat, made the motion agreed upon the night before; but he was interrupted by a general cry, that they would have *Gualtieri* for their governor without any limitations. The presidents being thus deterred from farther opposition, the nobility carried the tyrant on their shoulders to the palace, where they placed him in the chair of state.

who is made
lord of Flo-
rence.

and seizes
Arezzo and
Pistoia.

AREZZO and *Pistoia* continued still to be under the *Florentines*; but *Gualtieri*, under the plausible pretence of abolishing that subjection, now received them under his own immediate dominion, and placed governors in both. He then made some alterations in the disgraceful peace with the *Pisans*. The terms were, that they should possess *Lucca* for fifteen years, and then restore it to its liberty; and that in the mean while the *Lucquesse* exiles should be restored, and the *Florentine* captives released; that the *Florentines* should keep the forts they had in the *Lucquesse* territories, and that the *Pisans* should pay them annually nine thousand crowns; but that all the friends of the *Pisans* who had been expelled from *Florence*, should be restored to their country and effects. To qualify those and some

a some other shameful conditions^d, it was agreed, that the *Florentines* should name the chief magistrate of *Lucca* during the fifteen years; but, as *Arctin* very justly observes, this was in reality next to nothing, as the *Pisans* were in possession of the citadel and the military power. The numbers of captive and other nobility which, by this peace, were restored to *Florence*, strengthened the tyrant's party, as they thought they owed their liberty to him. He then invited into his service all his countrymen who were in *Tuscany*, and out of them he formed a body-guard of about eight hundred horse. After that he entered into a league with the *Pisans*, the real intention of which was to bridle the *Florentines*.

b HAVING proceeded thus far, he turned the presidents out of the palace allotted for them, and took possession of it himself. He was too prudent to abolish their office; but he left them only a shadow of its power. He totally abrogated the institutions of the companies and their gonfaloniers. He deprived their citizens of their arms, and made himself the sole fountain of preferments and honours in the state. His avarice was insatiable: he appropriated all the public money to his own private use, and cancelled all pecuniary contracts that had been made by the public. The collectors and receivers of his taxes were all of them foreigners. Part of his great wealth he employed in fortifying his palace, so as to render it, to all intents and purposes, a citadel; and he was so shamefully neglectful of the public faith, that he suffered the hostages, who had been given to *Scaliger*, to be detained for non-payment of the money for which the state was engaged. His policy.

c IT may seem surprising how *Gualtieri* should succeed in this tyrannical proceeding with a people so quick-sighted, and so jealous of their power, as the *Florentines* were; but he was as artful as he was ambitious, and played off each party in *Florence* against the other, with so much dexterity, that he prevented their uniting in any common plan of opposition. His insolence and cruelty, however, got the better of his prudence. When any of the citizens complained of his officers, he ordered the complainants to be publicly whipped, without so much as enquiring into their grievances. He ordered a citizen's tongue to be pulled out by the roots; and having banished another upon suspicion, he seemingly pardoned him; but no sooner was he returned to *Florence* than he put him to death. At last despair and hatred got the better of fear amongst the *Florentines*. A conspiracy is formed against him.

d The tyrant seldom appeared abroad, and his guards always attended his own person. This gave the *Florentines* of all ranks opportunities of caballing against him; but the subject of their meeting being discovered to him by means of one *Burneletti*, a *Florentine* nobleman, several of the conspirators were seized, and, by the force of torments, discovered all they knew, before the other conspirators were aware that their plots were revealed. The depth of the conspiracy, and the quality and numbers of those concerned in it were so great, that the tyrant was astonished, and at a loss how to proceed. His first care was to call into *Florence* troops from all the neighbouring garrisons: he then summoned to his palace three hundred of the principal citizens, all or most of whom were conspirators, with a design to strike off their heads, but under the pretence of taking their advice concerning the conspiracy. All those proceedings took up six days, and upon the seventh, the citizens, instead of obeying the tyrant's summons, as one man, rose in arms. It then appeared that three several conspiracies had been formed, each without the knowledge of the other; but all now united against the tyrant, and, with what arms they could command, they besieged him in his palace or citadel. At first he endeavoured to make resistance; but finding them resolute, and that there was not in all *Florence* a family that had not entered into a general conspiracy, he proposed to treat. For this purpose he gave liberty to all whom he had imprisoned on account of the conspiracy, and particularly to *Antonio Adimari*, one of the greatest men in *Florence*, and to the presidents, whom he dismissed with unusual marks of regard, and sent from his palace the popular standards, as pledges of their recovered liberties.

f THE head of the conspirators was *Angelo Acciavioli*; and no popular conspiracy was, perhaps, ever so regularly carried on. The citizens laughed at the tyrant's compliances and offers; but, though they had no settled authority to guide them, they met in the great church, where they chose fourteen of their number, the bishop being their principal, for resettling the government of the state. Notwithstanding this, the siege went on with more fury than ever; and the tyrant, finding at last that he must yield, thrust out of the citadel those officers and guards whose cruelty had rendered them most obnoxious to the people, by whom they were instantly put to death. Their punishment somewhat softened the fury of the besiegers; and the bishop, with his assessors, soon brought them into such a temper, that, upon a parley, *Gualtieri* consented to deliver up the citadel into the hands of the fourteen, and to divest himself of all power over *Florence*. It was wisely, at the same time, He is besieged and expelled.

^d ARCTIN, p. 140.

stipulated by the fourteen, that he should ratify those articles as soon as he quitted the *Florentine* territories. All that he demanded in return was his life, which the fourteen with difficulty preserved, by keeping him for two days within the castle, under a strong guard, and sending him off in the night-time to *Casentino*, where he ratified the articles. His tyranny over *Florence* continued above nine months. It is remarkable that the *Arezzians*, the *Pistoians*, and the *Volterrans*, as if all had acted in concert, received their liberties, and expelled the tyrant's troops at the same time.

Difficulties and
oversights in
resettling
the Florentine
government.

THOUGH the *Florentines* had been beyond all example unanimous in expelling their late tyrant, they were far from being so as to the manner of resettling their government. Their city and state were at this time in the utmost confusion; nor could they be said to have any other magistracy than the fourteen they had chosen. To them was referred the care of resettling the government. Upon deliberation they agreed, that the power of the presidents, who had made so glorious a stand against the late tyrant, should be restored: thus far the government was to stand on its old foundation. Something new, however, was proposed to be introduced; and that the nobility who had been highly instrumental in expelling the tyrant, should, for that reason, as well as to prevent future dissensions, which had been so fatal to the state, be capacitated to act as presidents, and in other posts of the magistracy. This innovation was likewise agreed to: no measures, however, were taken for restoring the courts of justice, and the institution of companies, it being alleged that such precautions were now rendered useless, by the nobility being consolidated with the commonality in the government. The number of the city wards was reduced from six to four; of which the *Transarvine* ward was one. When the general election of presidents came on, four were chosen from the nobility, and eight from the commonalty; and they took possession of the palace, and all the badges of authority they had been deprived of by the tyrant. All those regulations took place by the sole authority of the fourteen; but they were more specious than lasting, and though well meant, they were impracticable.

Civil dissensions.

THE people, seeing four noblemen upon the bench of the presidents, exclaimed against adding to a power that was even too formidable before; and to tell the truth, says *Arelin*^c, they had some reason. Heats and animosities soon revived in *Florence*, where it was publicly said, that by driving out one tyrant they had admitted hundreds. The bishop saw, that civil commotions were again upon the point of breaking out. Though he himself was of one of the noblest families in *Florence*, he advised the fourteen to submit the modelling of the state to an assembly of the people, as being the only means of retaining somewhat, whereas by an obstinate perseverance they might forfeit all. This moderate counsel was rejected with great acrimony, and some marks of contempt for its author, whom they put in mind how scandalously the plebeians had supported the late tyrant. The prelate, who was a man of resolution, retorted on the nobility their conduct on the same occasion; and words grew so high, that they reached the ears of the people without doors, already ripe for an insurrection. In an instant they were in arms, broke into the palace, pulled the nobility from the bench of the presidents, and ordered them to return home in a private station. This attack was what the nobles had so little foreseen, that they could that night come to no general resolution. Next day, the people resolved to lose no time, and attacked, one by one, all the houses of the nobility, situated in the *Cisarine* *Florence*, which they easily reduced, but without offering any violence to their persons. The nobility being more powerful in the *Transarvine* *Florence*, the people found more resistance there; at last they prevailed, and, though they had plundered and destroyed a few palaces where they had met with the greatest opposition, yet they treated the nobles and their families with becoming respect, declaring that they fought from motives neither of hatred nor revenge, but of love to their country, the constitution of which was dearer to them than themselves.

The nobility
expelled from
the magistracy.

The Florentines
restore
Arezzo to its
independency.

THE people's conquest over the nobility was glorious, chiefly through the moderation with which they proceeded. Their first care was to restore the ancient forms of their constitution, with some immaterial variations; and the chief posts in their government were bestowed on such plebeians as affected the smallest pomp, and possessed the least power.

EVER since they had had the dominion of *Arezzo*, they had been embroiled on its account, as *Saco*, its former master, was still powerful enough to maintain his pretensions. The *Florentines*, therefore, with equal wisdom and magnanimity, came to a resolution of restoring to *Arezzo* its independency. For this purpose a solemn deputation was sent from *Florence*, to compliment the *Arezzians* upon having so nobly recovered their liberty, and to present them with a public instrument, by which the *Florentine* people resigned for ever all title to any right of dominion over that city. The deputies executed their commission

a in the most solemn manner, and the present was received by the *Arezzians* with the utmost raptures of joy and gratitude. Soon after a confederacy was formed between the *Perugians*, the *Siennese*, the *Arezzians*, and the *Florentines*, who were placed at the head of it.

THE *Florentines*, on farther consultation, considered themselves as being still in a state of war with the *Pisans*, because they did not think themselves bound by the peace the tyrant had made. As the *Pisans*, however, had concluded it upon the principles of good faith, the *Florentines* consented to renew it with very few alterations. All those and other less important transactions happened the same year the tyrant was expelled.

b NEXT year the *Florentines* passed some very severe laws against the nobility, particularly that such of them as were in foreign services should, on being summoned, repair to Florence, on pain of forfeiting all their estates and effects. The motive of this law obviously was, lest those noblemen should acquire such power and interest abroad, as might enable them to disturb the peace of the state at home. About the same time another severe act passed against them: for a prosecution was ordered against the governors of all forts and castles belonging to *Florence*, most of whom were nobles who had been appointed by the tyrant. History is silent as to the penalty inflicted upon them; but we are told that several, especially noblemen, were condemned on that account.

c IN the mean while, the expelled tyrant was soliciting his cause at the court of *France*, where he represented the *Florentines*, and the treatment he had received, in the most odious colours, insisting upon being indemnified for all his losses out of the estates of the *Florentines* who were settled in that kingdom. His complaints were so well received, that the latter sent advices of their danger to the magistracy of *Florence*, in the most affecting terms. This had no other effect on the *Florentines*, than to make them pass what we may call an act of attainder against the tyrant, and to publish a reward for any one who should bring in his head: at the same time he was publicly executed in effigy, with the utmost marks of infamy and detestation. Those proceedings, however, did not prevent the *Florentines* from sending an ambassador to vindicate their conduct at the court of *France*. Soon after his departure ambassadors came from the king of *France*, demanding restitution of what had been taken from the tyrant, to the amount of a prodigious sum. The *Florentines* received and treated them with all the respect due to their master; but exposed the cruelty, avarice, and ambition, and oppressions of the tyrant with such strength of eloquence and evidence, that the ambassadors had nothing to reply. They then shewed them his act of abdication, which he had ratified at a place where he could be under no apprehensions of danger. After their audience, the ambassadors were treated in the most elegant and sumptuous manner.

THIS year the *Florentine* government surmounted a difficulty which in that age would, perhaps, have been unsurmountable by any other people. The state had borrowed from its subjects a large sum of money, amounting, to the best of our calculation, to about sixty thousand pounds sterling. The low state of the public finances, at this time, did not admit of the government paying off the debt, yet the public credit must be supported. As a middle way, every creditor had assignments made to him, on the public revenue, at the rate of five per cent. the money itself being heaped up in the form of a mount or bank (both which terms are still in use). Those assignments were transferable like our stocks, and negotiated in the same manner, their value rising or falling according to the prosperity or distresses of the state. According to *Aretin*^f (E), from whom we have this curious account, the *Florentine* stock was negotiated in the same manner as bargains are for any other mercantile commodity. Here we, perhaps, have the first rise of paper credit. We have in the note given *Aretin*'s words, which, to those not acquainted with mercantile affairs, are not quite clear.

f IN the beginning of the following year, the *Florentine* people seem to have been so much intoxicated with their prosperous situation, that they forgot their usual moderation. Their historians exclaim against one law they then passed as being unjust, and against another as being ungrateful. By the former the clergy was abridged in all their privileges. The latter was a kind of an act of resumption, which cancelled all grants that had been made

^f ARETIN, p. 146.

(E) *Nominibus eorum, quibus debebatur, tributum descriptis annui redditus e publico constituti sunt, quina singulis centenis. Quantitates vero ipsas in unum coacervatas, a similitudine cumulandi, vulgo Montem vocavere; idque in civitate postea servatum. Quoties respublica indiget, cives tributa persolvunt: solutorum vero pensiones annuas percipiunt. Hi montes cumulationesque pecuniarum bellis*

quidem crescunt: pace minuuntur, propterea quod, abundante republica, dissolutio sit crebra atque peremptio. Quantitatum vero descriptarum et venditio est civibus inter se et permutatio, atque (ut in ceteris mercimoniis) pro tempore, pro spe, pro commodo, minuitur earum pretium atque augebit. In emptorem eadem commoda, quæ solutus ipse percepturus erat, transferuntur.

by the public to citizens for their past services, by which many were obliged to return a great part of their estates, to the ruin of their families.

Great bank-
ruptcy on ac-
count of En-
gland.

THE same year is noted for an event not much to the honour of *England*. The *Florentine* family of the *Bardi* were then the greatest bankers in *Europe*, and had partnerships in most trading nations. They had lent *Edward III.* king of *England*, about seven hundred thousand crowns of gold, to assist him in his *French* wars; and his majesty not being punctual in his remittances, the *Bardi* became insolvent. As they were in such high credit, that there was scarce a family in *Florence* that had not money in their hands, the calamity was general, and occasioned such distrusts between man and man, as amounted to a stagnation of public credit. It appeared, however, upon inspecting the bankrupts accounts, that the company owed about two hundred thousand crowns less than the king b owed them.

To add to the misfortunes of the *Florentines*, they understood that *Philip*, then king of *France*, had so far taken part with their late tyrant, that he had ordered all *Florentines* and their goods, to be seized, who should be found sixty days, after the date of the order, within his kingdom. He was induced, no doubt, to this severity by the vast support the *Florentines* had given to his enemy and rival the king of *England*.

A. D. 1346.
A famine.

NEXT year a general famine prevailed all over *Italy*, and the *Florentines* were obliged to buy up vast stocks of grain in *Africa*, *Sardinia*, and *Sicily*, which were imported into *Florence*. Their humanity on this occasion was as signal as their providence; for they gave bread to incredible numbers of women, children, and poor people, who flocked to their c city from the country and the neighbouring states, who had not been so provident. Their compassion for the poor extended still farther; for they limited the cafes and forms of arresting a poor debtor. All their precautions, however, could not hinder a pestilential disease from breaking out in the city, which is generally the consequence of famine, and of a place overstocked with numbers of strangers.

Charles of
Luxemburg
chosen emperor.

DURING this year the *Florentines* received a fresh mortification, by their hereditary enemy *Charles* of *Luxemburg*, son to *John* king of *Bohemia*, and grandson to the emperor *Henry*, being raised to the imperial dignity. This elevation, however, had no immediate ill consequence to the *Florentines*, who about this time acquired the sovereignty of the town of *St. Miniato*, which was delivered to them through the irreconcilable dissensions d that reigned in the place. Famine and pestilence still prevailed all over *Italy*, in the *Florentine* territories especially, which were this year visited by a new guest, *Lewis*, grandson to *Robert* king of *Naples*, their ancient friend and protector. It is not our intention to enter here into a description of this prince and his family's fortunes, which may be found in other parts of this work. The *Florentines* resolved not to intermeddle in the dispute between him and the king of *Hungary*, who had driven him out of *Naples*, and forbade his entering into their city. This year it is said, that no fewer than sixty thousand *Florentines* died; many of whom being men of the first rank in the state, there was for some time an almost total cessation of public business. All the *Florentines* could do, was to re- e press the incursions of some robbers, who came from the *Appennines* to make their advantage of the public distresses. Next year passed in almost the same inactivity, only the people of *Colle* and *Gemiani* submitted to the *Florentines*, their former masters, being impelled there- to by their domestic dissensions. Some strong places belonging to the *Ubaldi*, which shel- tered robbers upon the *Appennines*, were likewise taken.

A. D. 1350.

THE year 1350 produced great events in *Florence*. *Giovanni Visconti* was then bishop and master of *Milan*, and the most powerful prince then in *Lombardy*, having added *Bologna* to his other dominions. The *Florentines*, alarmed by the neighbourhood of so power- ful and arbitrary a prince, consulted how to oppose him if he should attempt to extend his territories, and for that purpose planned an alliance with *Scaliger*, and the other *Tuscan* f states, who were equally jealous of his power, and, amongst others, the pope himself. A general meeting of deputies from all the confederates, was held at *Arezzo*, where the pope's legate likewise assisted; but *Scaliger's* death and many difficulties intervening, the nego- tiations came to nothing. *Visconti*, to avail himself of a juncture so favourable to his am- bition, detached *Scaliger's* son and successor from the confederacy, as he did several others who had been invited into it, and made them his friends. All this while he affected to keep a good correspondence with *Florence*; and, that he might disguise his true designs, he ordered his general *Barnabo* to besiege *Imola*, a strong city in the *Romagna*, his army then lying at *Bologna*. Amongst his troops were many of the *Bolognese*, and others, who were over-awed or suspected by him, particularly the inhabitants of *Faenza* and *Friuli*, whom he obliged to serve in his army, lest they might excite commotions against him in g his absence. The troops, however, he chiefly depended upon were three thousand horse and four thousand foot, chiefly mercenaries, headed by *Barnabo*. The garrison of *Imola* made a vigorous defence, so that he was obliged to turn the siege into a kind of blockade.

Visconti's ar-
tifice.

While

- a While this lasted the *Florentines* had intelligence that the *Pisans* were about to declare for *Visconti*, and that he was concerting measures for making himself master of *Pistoia* and *Prato*. The last is a small city, but in those days well fortified, and of all others of the greatest importance to the *Florentines*, because of its neighbourhood to *Florence*. They knew that the inhabitants were torn into factions, which was the great encouragement *Visconti* had; and they resolved, if possible, to be before-hand with him. After a short consultation, a large body of troops were instantly in arms, and they marched to *Prato* with the greatest speed but regularity, and pitched their tents before the town, without offering the smallest hostility. The *Pratense* were equally surprised by their friendly, as they had been by their hostile appearance; and the *Florentines* reasoned with them so mildly, but effectually, that, opening their gates, they received them as their protectors.

- THIS important and unexpected success determined the *Florentines* next to attempt *Pistoia*, a city of much greater power and strength, likewise in the neighbourhood of *Florence*. A sedition that had lately happened there, gave the *Florentines* a pretext for offering its magistrates a body of troops for preserving the peace of their city. The offer was accepted of; but a very few of the *Florentines* were introduced into *Pistoia*, and these were bound by an oath of fidelity to the magistracy. Their numbers were one hundred horse, and one hundred and fifty foot. The *Florentines*, despairing thereby to gain their ends, resolved, if they could, to surprise their countrymen by a masterly exploit. They privately sent for the exiles, who had been driven from *Pistoia* in the late insurrection; and it was agreed, that they should surprise that city in the night-time by a scalade; and that one *Peter*, who was a commissary of the *Florentine* army, should be sent before to dispose the *Florentines* there to favour the attempt. *Peter* never discharged this commission. The exiles, however, thinking themselves sure of the *Florentines* within, performed their part with the utmost intrepidity; but after the greatest part of them had got over the wall, the *Pistoians* took the alarm, and a fierce encounter ensued, which was manfully sustained by the exiles, in a sure confidence of their being joined by the *Florentine* part of the garrison. The latter, however, knowing nothing of the conspiracy, fought as bravely against them as the *Pistoians* did; and, at last, the exiles were obliged to retreat by the same way they came in.
- d The *Pistoians*, at first, imagined the attempt to be the act of their own exiles; but coming to the truth, by examining their prisoners, they became doubly intent upon guarding their city and liberty: but, though they were exasperated to the highest degree, they gave an honourable dismissal to the *Florentine* part of their garrison, on account of their fidelity and courage.

- IT was perhaps this failure of success, chiefly, that opened the mouths of the *Florentines* against their presidents, as if they had by their treachery rendered the *Pistoians*, a people remarkably brave and resolute, their enemies; and had, as it were, driven them into the arms of *Visconti*. The wiser amongst the *Florentines*, however, reflecting that there was now no hopes of gaining over the *Pistoians* by fair means, counselled the people to lay aside all animosities, and to attempt to gain their point by force. This counsel was approved of, and in three days time *Pistoia* was besieged by fifteen thousand *Florentines*; a prodigious number, when we consider the havock of the late pestilence. The *Pistoians* prepared to make a brave defence; but the *Florentines* shewed such reluctance at hostilities, that daily conferences passed between the besiegers and the besieged. At last all difficulties were got over, by means of the friends the *Florentines* had in *Pistoia*, and the *Pistoians* unanimously received a *Florentine* garrison.

- BEFORE this event, *Visconti* and his chief officers had always mentioned the *Florentines* in terms of great respect and friendship; but he now summoned together his friends all over *Tuscany* and *Lombardy*. He acquainted them, that he had discovered a conspiracy that had been formed by some *Bolognese* lords, for betraying that city to the *Florentines*, whom he inveighed against with great bitterness. He then made a kind of a deduction of all that their several countries had suffered from the *Florentines*, and told them, that their only way to have reparation and revenge was for every state to exert itself all at once to fall upon them, and that he himself would lead them the way. His speech was received with vast applause, a great army was assembled, and the command of it given by him to *Olegiano*, one of his relations. His expedition was so great, that he passed the *Appennines*, and encamped near *Pistoia*, before his march from *Bologna* was heard of. All that the *Florentines*, under their great astonishment, could do, was to throw a strong reinforcement of horse and foot into the city, and to send a deputation to expostulate with *Olegiano*. His answer was, that he was come, by order of the bishop of *Milan*, to obtain satisfaction for the losses and outrages his friends and allies had received from the *Florentine* people; and that they must either take him for their arbiter, or expect the consequences. The deputies upon this left the camp, and he made dispositions for besieging *Pistoia*. His real intention, however, was to excite a revolt within the city in his favour; but being disappointed of that

which besieges
Pistoia, and
marches a-
gainst Flo-
rence in vain.

Siege of Scar-
peria.

Continuation
of the war.

Visconti
baffled at Pisa.

The Floren-
tines augment
their army,

and raise the
siege of Scar-
peria :

their gener-
osity.

Arezzo pre-
served.

that hope, and finding the garrison prepared for a vigorous resistance, he broke up the siege, and marched directly through the *Pratonese* towards *Florence*. His army, according to *Aretin*^b, consisted of above ten thousand horse and six thousand foot, besides a great number of auxiliary troops and volunteers. It soon appeared, that *Olegiano*, as he had done at *Pistoia*, depended more upon the *Florentine* dissensions than upon his own army, for the reduction of the city. All he did was taking a few inconsiderable places, and ravaging the open country; after his troops had paraded for some time before *Florence*, he drew them off towards the vale of *Mugelli*. Upon this the *Florentines* threw a reinforcement into *Scarperia*, a garrisoned place they had there, and a town now famous for its cutlery ware. Though this place was not fortified round, yet the inhabitants and the garrison b baffled all the attempts of their enemies, and made an incredible defence.

THIS unsuccessful expedition of *Visconti* against the *Florentines* occasioned commotions all over *Lombardy* and *Tuscany*. *Saco* made an irruption upon the towns of the *Upper Arno*, and attempted to take *Varico*. He was opposed by the people of those parts, and by three hundred *Florentine* horse, with some *Arezzians*, under the command of *Ricasolani*, who immediately prepared to fight *Saco*. The latter stood upon the defensive; and *Ricasolani*, knowing his troops were but raw, forbore to attack him, so that *Saco* in the night drew off his army. *Ricasolani*, after this, though the *Arezzians* had left him, took *Agnani*. *Visconti*, all this while, was not idle: he sent an ambassador to persuade the *Pisans* to break off their league with the *Florentines*, in which case he promised to assist them with a c strong body of troops under *Barnabo*. The *Gambacurti* were then the most powerful family in *Pisa*, friends to the *Florentines*, and no strangers to *Visconti's* ambition. By their advice and influence, his ambassadors were dismissed, without any other reply, than that the *Pisans* would send their answer by deputies of their own. *Visconti*, finding he was trifled with, sent other ambassadors to *Pisa* with more splendid retinues, and with instructions to address the people in a general assembly. Their discourse was artful, and adapted to the innate hatred the lower ranks of *Pisa* had against the *Florentines*. But *Franceschino Gambacurti*, the head of that family, in a very fine speech, shewed that the ruin of *Florence* would be but a prelude to that of *Pisa*. When he finished, the question was put, and it was unanimously carried, that the peace with *Florence* should be inviolably preserved on the part of *Pisa*. d

THE *Florentines*, perceiving the practices of *Visconti*, increased their domestic forces; and took into their pay two thousand five hundred *German* horse, who were joined by two hundred *Siennese*, and six hundred *Perugian* cavalry was hourly expected. The garrison of *Scarperia* still continued to hold bravely out, and the *Florentines* had resolved to employ all their power to raise the siege, when *Saco* defeated the *Perugians*, as they were marching to join their allies. The *Arezzians*, therefore, were obliged to detach themselves from the main army, and to return home, that they might baffle any attempts that might be made against them. This defeat obliged the *Florentines* to alter their measures, and damped the *Scarperians*, who were now reduced to the greatest distress. *Vicedomini*, a *Florentine* nobleman of great spirit, to set a generous example to his countrymen, broke through the be- e siegers camp in the night-time, and entered *Scarperia* with thirty horse. This was but a feeble reinforcement; and *Medici*, a *Florentine* of great courage, taking advantage of a stormy night, entered the enemy's camp, where it was weakest, with one hundred horse, and, with the loss of twenty, he carried the rest safe into the town. Those reinforcements, though but inconsiderable, gave such spirit to the besieged, that they baffled the most vi- gorous attempts of their enemies with unparalleled courage and perseverance; so that the besiegers were at last obliged to repass the *Appennines*, and return to the *Bolognese*.

THE *Florentines* made noble acknowledgements for the services performed them on this occasion. They doubled the pay of every common soldier of the garrison; they freed the townsmen from the payment of all taxes for ten years; they presented *John* and his brother f *Silvester Medici*, who were honoured with knighthood, with five hundred crowns of gold each, to be expended on their arms and equipages, and one hundred and fifty for their table: but some noblemen, who had likewise signalized themselves, particularly the *Donati*, the *Ruffi*, and the *Vicedomini*, were misrepresented to the people.

ABOUT this time the family of the *Brandali*, then the most powerful in *Arezzo*, entered into a correspondence with *Visconti*, and some other of their discontented countrymen, for seizing that city. One of the conspirators happened to be appointed to the custody of a tower, that commanded a gate leading into the country, which gave their fellow conspirators an assurance of success that they could not dissemble. As the magistrates were examin- g ing those they suspected, *Visconti's* troops appeared before the gate, and the conspirators stood to their arms within the city. The *Arezzians*, however, attacked their foreign ene- mies, who were in number six hundred foot and three hundred horse, so resolutely, that

a they obliged them to retreat, and give over their attempt. The tower and the houses of the conspirators continued, nevertheless, to make a resolute defence; and, after three days assault, it was agreed, that the conspirators should depart safe out of *Arezzo*. *Saco*, however, about the same time, succeeded in surprising *Burgo*, a town of some consequence belonging to the *Perugians*; and the town of *Anglari*, belonging to them, surrendered to him likewise.

It now drew towards winter, and it was agreed amongst the confederate states of *Tuscany*, The Tuscan confederacy renewed. who were the *Florentines*, the *Arezzians*, the *Perugians*, and the *Siennese*, that they should make the most vigorous preparations for continuing the war next year. The *Florentine* magistrates, on this occasion, are severely reprehended by their historian^c, for dismissing
b their native troops, and taking a body of foreigners into their pay. The confederates sent deputies to *Avignon*, where the pope then resided, to invite him into the confederacy against *Visconti*; but they returned fraught with promises, and nothing else. During those transactions, *Scarperia*, which had been so bravely defended, was surprised by a party of *Visconti's* troops, who had been encouraged to the attempt by the dissensions subsisting between the townsmen and the garrison; but the latter, forgetting all animosities, soon recovered the place, and drove the enemy out. During the same winter, *Saco*, having ravaged the *Perugian* territories, obliged, or engaged the people of *Cortona* to declare for *Visconti*.

It was now known at *Florence* that the pope and the *French* court had been prevailed
c upon by *Visconti*, not to intermeddle in the affairs of *Tuscany*; so that the confederates were obliged to throw their eyes for assistance towards a power, whom they had some time before considered as their capital enemy: this was the emperor *Charles IV.* He had no reason to be well satisfied with the *Visconti* family; and upon the confederates secretly applying to him, he agreed to send a private agent to *Florence*, to concert measures for their relief. About this time the *Florentines* besieged, but in vain, the fort of *Vertina*, a castle held by some exiles, chiefly of the *Ricasolani* family; and *Ruffo*, the *Florentine* governor of the valley of *Mugelli*, failed in an attempt to relieve the castle of *Lozola*, besieged by the *Ubalдини*: for this he was dismissed from his command, which was given to another, who relieved the place, and beat the enemy.

d THE *Florentine* deputies now renewed their solicitations at *Avignon*, as their last effort with the pope, who, far from complying, prevailed upon them to agree to his mediating a peace between *Visconti* and the emperor; and the former being excommunicated, his holiness took off from him all the ecclesiastical censures, and even remitted to him the possession of *Bologna* for twelve months; and all this in consideration of a vast sum of money paid^h him by *Visconti*. This done, all further talk of a peace vanished; by which the *Florentines* plainly saw that they had been deceived and over-reached by his holiness. As they themselves had been partly accessory to their own disappointment, they were almost ashamed to complain; but they rejected a truce for a year, proposed by the pope, between them and *Visconti*. The confederates then renewed their applications to *Charles*; and, after various negotiations, it was agreed, that he should march to their assistance with an army against *Visconti*,
e upon their paying him a subsidy, and acknowledging him to be the head of the *Roman* empire. The exiles in the castle of *Vertina*, who had before baffled the attempts of the *Florentines*, were now obliged to surrender upon a capitulation, and the place was levelled to the ground. During the summer of this year the *Florentines* prosecuted the war against *Saco*, whose estates they ravaged, and then defeated him in a pitched battle.

To counterballance those advantages, the allies of *Visconti* took some places in the *Perugian* territories; but the *Perugians* receiving a seasonable reinforcement of eight hundred horse from *Florence*, compleatly defeated their enemies, and retook the places. The *Arezzians* were not so successful: they distrusted all assistance offered them by the *Florentines*, and
f their territories were plundered by their enemies, especially by *Saco*. A great number of other flying actions happened the same year, of little importance, and endless to recount.

DURING those transactions, the reputation of the *Florentine* government gained ground. *Visconti* saw he had been misinformed; and that the riches brought them by foreign commerce were inexhaustible, and would always enable them to maintain powerful armies in the field. Add to all this, he was now infirm in his health, and had lost all hopes of gaining the *Pisans*: he therefore applied to *Francesino Gambacurti*, his former opposer at *Pisa*, to mediate a peace between him and the confederates. That nobleman readily undertook the office, and the *Florentines* as readily embraced the proposal. Deputies from all parts
g met at *Serezana*; and, after great altercations, it was agreed, that a peace should be concluded between the *Florentines* and their confederates, on the one part, and the bishop of
Terms of peace between the Florentines and Visconti.

^c ARETIN. pag. 159.

Milan, his adherents, and dependents, on the other; that the bishop should withdraw all his troops and garrisons from *Tuscany*, and never after make war upon any of the *Tuscan* states; that he should restore all he had taken from the *Pistoians*, and leave *Burgo* to its ancient freedom. If the *Florentines* should attack the *Pisans* or the *Lucchese*, the prelate might send them assistance; and the *Florentine* had the same liberty, if either of those states should be attacked by the prelate. All the *Florentines* and *Perugian* exiles, on account of the late war, were to be restored; but no other, unless expressly named in the treaty. *Saco* and his family were to be restored to all their possessions in the *Arezzian* territory; but none of them were to come nearer than the distance of four miles to that city. Such were the general terms of this treaty, which contained a great many other articles and precautions, with regard to the exiles. According to *Manetti*, the terms of this peace were inviolably kept on both sides, till the time of *Visconti's* death, which happened a few years after.

False musters
punished.

So honourable a peace gave the *Florentines* now some respite to look into their domestic concerns. Their first inquiry was into the state of their army, where they found the most scandalous abuses had been committed by their commissaries, and others, who had made false musters. Some of the delinquents were brought to condign punishment; and the *Florentines* honourably discharged all mercenaries from their service, and intirely betook themselves to the arts of peace, which they were allowed to cultivate only for a few months.

Original of
the Floren-
tine war
with the
German ban-
ditti.

THE discharge of the foreign mercenaries, though a measure wise and equitable in itself, brought great troubles upon all the *Tuscan* states. Most of the mercenaries finding now no employment in *Italy*, and consisting of outlaws from *Germany*, *France*, and other nations, united themselves under the command of one *Moriali*, a *Frenchman*, or a *Lombard*, (for the *Tuscan* historians use the same name for both) and resolved to lay all *Italy* under contribution. They were soon joined by many *Italians*, and their numbers amounted to above eight thousand horse and four thousand foot, all of them regular veteran troops, besides an immense number of servants and attendants upon their camp. They set out upon the principle of rapine; but each state was at liberty to redeem itself from their ravages, upon paying the contributions at which they were taxed. After ravaging some parts of *Italy*, they passed the *Appennines*, and invaded the territory of *Perugia*, which was obliged to pay them the contributions they demanded. The *Florentines* in vain endeavoured to form a confederacy against them; for the banditti, as they were called, came within eight miles of *Florence*; and the *Florentines*, as well as the *Siennese*, were obliged to satisfy their lawless demands. They met with the same success at *Arezzo*, and at *Citta di Castello*, where they divided their plunder; and about the beginning of *October* they went into winter-quarters, wherever they could make them good.

Conduct of
the emperor
Charles,

ABOUT this time the *Genoese*, who had for some time maintained an unequal war with the *Venetians*, and other enemies, submitted themselves to the protection of *Visconti*, and put him in possession of their city. Upon this the *Venetians*, the *Paduans*, the *Veronese*, and the *Ferrarese*, with all *Visconti's* ancient enemies, applied to the emperor *Charles*, who at their request entered *Italy*; but stopt at *Padua*, till he should see what turn affairs should take. In this critical conjuncture *Visconti* died, and was succeeded in his dominions by his brother's children. Their unanimity was so great, that *Charles*, despairing of any revolution in his favour, brought about a truce between the *Milanese* and their enemies; and, after remaining some days at *Milan*, he marched to *Pisa*, and was admitted into that city. While he remained there, the *Florentines*, the *Siennese*, and *Arezzians*, sent him a joint deputation; but it soon appeared that the *Siennese* had separate views, and intended to put themselves under the emperor's protection. The people of *Volterra* and *Miniato*, without the knowledge of their allies the *Florentines*, surrendered themselves and their territories to *Charles*; and at last it was found, that the *Florentines* and the *Arezzians* were the only states who remained firm in the principles of their confederacy. On the other hand, *Saco* and *Fagiolani* complained to the emperor of the hardship of the terms imposed upon them by the treaty of *Serazana*; but *Charles*, whose great aim was to get money, gave no satisfaction to either party, though he seemed rather to incline to the cause of the *Arezzians*. The *Florentines* applied to him with better success; and, by the assistance of a round sum of money, obtained all they requested. From *Pisa*, *Charles* marched to *Volterra*, and from thence to *Miniato*, and was received in both places. From thence he went to *Sienna*, where he was likewise received, but not without opposition. The *Florentines* at this time were, of all the *Italian* states, his favourites, for having, by a prudent compliance, furnished him with money, which carried him to *Rome*, where, with his empress, he was solemnly crowned.

ABOUT the beginning of the year 1355, *Charles* set out from *Rome* for *Germany*, and,

^d ARET. p. 162.

^e MANETTI ubi supra. pag. 1065.

- a passing through *Tuscany*, he indulged the *Florentines* and their allies in all their demands; for which he is blamed by the *German* historians, as having bartered all the imperial demesnes in *Italy* for money: This year the *Florentines* fortified *Cassiano*, which had proved a retreat for the banditti, who, during the emperor's abode in *Italy*, seemed to have been pretty quiet. About this time *Saco*, formerly lord of *Arezzo*, died, aged above eighty years, which he, almost without interruption, spent in the field. The day of his death was celebrated by the *Florentines* as that of their deliverance. The terrors of the banditti were again renewed, and the *Florentines* fortified some other places against them. But other dangers threatened the state. The emperor, in all his proceedings, had declared himself a *Guelph*; and that faction at *Florence* had power enough to carry an act against any
- b *Gibelin*, or the descendant of one, holding any place of trust or profit in the state. This renewed all the public distractions there, and fresh acts passed to strengthen the power of the plebeians.

Death of Saco.

- ABOUT this time the *Florentines*, whose trade was now arrived at a prodigious height, finding that the *Pisans* wanted to extort unreasonably for the liberty of landing goods in their ports, ordered their merchants to land them at *Telamone*, now a small fortified town in the *Stato de gli Presidii*. The *Pisans*, perceiving that they were deprived of that valuable intercourse, gave frequent interruptions to the *Florentine* traders, who were obliged to carry their commodities by a long land-carriage to *Florence*. But the *Florentines*, with a spirit becoming a free people, resolved not to be braved by the *Pisans*, even at sea; and hired of
- c the *Provençals* fifteen ships of war, with which they not only protected their own trade, but carried terror to *Pisa* itself.

The Florentine staple removed to Telamone.

- THE terror of the *German* banditti still hung over the heads of the *Florentines*. They now again appeared in the kingdom of *Naples*: from thence they proceeded to *Lombardy*; and, after ravaging the *Milanese*, they marched to the *Bolognese*, from whence they endeavoured to penetrate into the *Florentine* territories; but the *Florentines* had taken care to fortify the passes of the *Appennines* so well, that they found it impracticable to proceed. Upon this they promised to retire towards their own country, without scarcely touching on the *Florentine* grounds, by the *Casantin*. The *Florentines* either could not, or would not, oppose this proposal; but, after they had entered upon the mountains, the country people,
- d who had suffered so greatly by their depredations, fell upon the second division of them so furiously, with stones from the tops of the rocks, which every way surrounded them, that most of them were killed, without being able to make the smallest resistance; and all their booty fell into the hands of their conquerors, many of whom were women, who shared equally with the men in their spoils. As to the first division of the robbers, they reached *Decumani*, a small village belonging to the *Florentines*, carrying along with them the *Florentine* deputies, who had agreed to their march, and whom they threatened with destruction, as soon as they heard of the total discomfiture of their companions. Nothing could have saved them, had not the robbers been here surrounded in the same manner as their companions had been by the country people, equally intent upon revenge and plunder.
- e The deputies interposed, and by saving the robbers from their rage, they saved themselves, though with great difficulty, and without being thanked by either party. The country people were exasperated at being disappointed of their prey, and the banditti upbraided the *Florentines* with breach of faith.

Progress of the banditti.

part of whom are destroyed.

- ABOUT this time the *Florentines* effected an accommodation between the *Perugians* and the *Siennese*, and obliged both parties to stand to their award. The overthrow of one part of the banditti served but to inspire the other with thoughts of vengeance; and their rage was increased by *Conrade Lyndo*, their general, a *German* soldier of fortune. He had been taken prisoner, and stript of his all, when their second division was destroyed; but, finding means to escape, he now rejoined his followers. The late peace between the *Siennese* and
- f the *Perugians*, added three thousand *German* horse, who were then dismissed, to the banditti. By this junction they were so formidable, that they resolved no longer to hazard themselves in mountainous marches, but to force their way through the champaign country into *Tuscany*, which they proposed to invade by the way of *Perugia*, to save them the danger of passing the *Appennines*. The vast circuit which this obliged them to take was of little inconvenience to men who lived by plunder, and who were marching through the finest countries in *Europe*. They met with no interruption on their march, and before they arrived at *Perugia*, the inhabitants sent deputies, who paid them a sum of money for the indemnification of their city; and their example was followed by the *Siennese* and the *Pisans*. Thus the fairest and most populous provinces in *Italy* were laid under contribution by a set of lawless ruffians, whose progress increased their numbers, as their barbarity did the horror in which they were held. Wherever they met with the least resistance, ruin to the inhabitants was the certain consequence: they demolished towns, desolated countries, slaughtered people, and nothing but money could buy off their ravages.

Their rage increased.

Magnanimity
of the Floren-
tines.

It was upon this occasion that the wisdom and magnanimity of the *Florentines* shone out with a lustre equal to that of the greatest states of antiquity. Instead of being intimidated by the example of their neighbours, or the numbers of the banditti, they considered them as monsters, whose progress and crimes, far from being any inducements to submit to them, were the strongest motives for destroying them. After the banditti had carried all before them, they collected together all their force, and declared that *Florence* was the only object they had in their eye when they undertook their long march, and that she was to expect no favour. The most respectable citizens of the *Florentine* allies came to *Florence*, to persuade the people and magistrates that they had no way to avoid certain destruction, but to send deputies to treat with the ruffians; and that they might buy their peace cheaper than their quarters for a single day in their territories would cost their state. Those and many other specious arguments were disdained by the *Florentines*, who continued their warlike preparations, and chose *Pandolfo Malatesta* for their general. Instead of waiting within their walls, *Malatesta* led his troops to the field against the banditti, and arrived at the *Pesa* just at the time when they had begun to march from *Sienna* towards *Florence* with their full force. But when, contrary to their expectations, they understood that the *Florentines* had even imposed silence upon all advocates for an accommodation with them, and were waiting for them in order of battle, they were startled; and, after loitering for some time in the *Siennese*, they turned off towards the *Volterrane*, from thence to proceed to *Pisa*. The *Florentine* army followed them; and passing the *Alsa* at *St. Miniato*, they again offered battle to the banditti, who declined it, and marched off towards the *Lucchese*. They were pursued by the *Florentines*; and now it appeared, that no true courage can animate a lawless set of men; for the banditti still continued retreating.

Admired by
all Italy.

THE attention of all *Italy* had for some time been employed upon the firm conduct of the *Florentines*, and it now became their admiration. The most distant states interested themselves in the fate and support of so much magnanimity, and wanted to share in the glory. The king of *Sicily*, *Barnabo* duke of *Milan*, the *Paduans*, and the *Ferrarese*, sent troops to serve in the *Florentine* army. Those of *Barnabo* were headed by his son *Ambrosini*. The *Arezzians* sent them two hundred horse, and as many foot, all of them picked troops; and fifty of the greatest *Neapolitan* nobility served as volunteers in the campaign. The *Germans*, at last, drew up upon a high ground, where they thought it was impracticable for the *Florentines* to assault them; but while dispositions for attacking them next day were making, the banditti set fire to their camp in the night, and drew off with vast precipitation towards *Lucca*, from whence they fled into the *Genoese* territories in their march towards the duchy of *Montferrat*.

The banditti
repulsed.

Reflection.

THUS ended, to the immortal honour of *Florence*, a danger that threatened great calamity to her state. It is probable, that had the banditti prevailed against *Florence*, a new kingdom, such as that of the *Lombards*, would have been erected in *Italy*; and nothing but their want of a proper head, and some other colour to their cause than that of mere robbery, could have prevented their success. All *Europe* was then full of soldiers of fortune, who, in time of peace, had no means of subsisting but by rapine and plunder, as we shall soon have an opportunity of shewing more at large.

The banditti
invade Pavia.

THE *Florentine* general and his army, upon their return from the campaign, made a triumphal entry into *Florence*, where handsome presents were bestowed upon all the auxiliary troops; and never did the *Florentine* name appear with greater lustre, nor their state with more authority, than they did on that occasion. Perhaps their general was a little too delicate, in point of form, when he refused to pursue the banditti into the *Lucchese*, for fear of violating the peace with the *Pisans*, who then held *Lucca*. Soon after the army's return to *Florence*, intelligence came that the banditti had made their appearance near *Pavia*, then belonging to *Barnabo*. Upon this the *Florentines* immediately ordered a detachment of one thousand horse to *Barnabo's* assistance.

Bibienna
taken by the
Florentines.

BUT the banditti war was not the only war this year carried on by the *Florentines*. The *Ubertini* and *Tarlatti* continued still to be leading families in the *Arezzian* state; and the chief of the *Ubertini* had served the *Florentines* against the banditti, and had lost his son in the campaign. This ingratiated his family so much with the *Florentines*, that they gave the youth a most magnificent public burial, and bestowed the honour of knighthood on his surviving brother. Great animosities subsisting between the two families, the *Ubertini* persuaded the *Florentines* to declare war against *Bibienna*, then a strong place in the *Casentine*, held by the *Tarlatti*, but now an open market town. The siege continued for two months; but the place was at last taken, and delivered up to the *Florentines*. Its reduction was followed by the surrender of the neighbouring forts held by the *Tarlatti*, (of whom *Saco*, whose memory was so obnoxious to the *Florentines*, had been the head) which were given to the *Arezzians*, and his two sons carried prisoners to *Florence*.

NEXT year, differences broke out between *Barnabo* and *Olegiano*, *Visconti's* nephews and successors,

a successors, and *Olegiano* found himself obliged to make a surrender of *Bologna* to the pope's legate. Upon this *Barnabo* marched an army into the *Bolognese*, to dispute his taking possession of it. A desperate war ensued; in which, notwithstanding the recent connections between the *Florentines* and *Barnabo*, the former could not help wishing success to the legate, as being the less formidable neighbour. This war, however, did not divert their attention from their domestic concerns. One *Nicola Acciaiuoli*, who had been long first minister to the king and kingdom of *Naples*, and a man of great power and abilities, had for some time resided in *Florence*, on the part of the legate; and had acquired so much authority there, that the people imagined he aspired to a seat in their magistracy. Upon this suspicion they passed a law, that no man could be a magistrate of *Florence*, who was the governor of, or held a post in any other town. Next year *Volterra* was reduced to the obedience of the *Florentines*, through the dissensions of its own citizens. By this time, thro' the removal of the *Florentine* staple to *Telamone*, the *Pisan* state was rendered almost a desert, and their ports abandoned. They had, from time to time, interrupted the *Florentines* navigation into *Telamone*; and such heart-burnings arose between the two states, that it was plain an open breach must be the consequence; a colourable pretext now being only wanting, which soon presented itself. The castle of *Petrabona*, belonging to the *Pisans*, had been seized by some private persons, and was now besieged by their former masters. *Pietro Gambacurta*, being then an exile from *Pisa*, lived at *Florence*; from whence he made several incursions, at the head of his own followers, into the *Pisan* territory. His being protected by the *Florentines*, gave the *Pisans* a pretext for entering upon hostilities; and the *Florentines* undertook to raise the siege of *Petrabona*, which, however, was taken by the *Pisans* in their fight.

War in the Bolognese.

Law passed in Florence.

THE *Florentines* looked upon this event as a disgrace to their arms, and in a few days after fell into the *Pisan* territory with a great army, in which were eight hundred horse and four thousand foot, all of them mercenaries. They encamped near *Pacciole*, and reduced most of the neighbouring garrisons. Their general in this expedition was *Bonifacio Lupo* of *Parma*, who, being a regular bred soldier, seldom deigned to consult with the *Florentine* presidents, who always attended their generals in the nature of field-deputies, or any of the other *Florentines*. This haughtiness rendered him disagreeable to the state, and *Rodolfo Varanio* of *Camerino* took his command. The new general instantly led his troops to the walls of *Pisa*, and having forced his enemy's lines, which they thought impregnable, he found himself in an open plentiful country. Having wasted or burned all in the neighbourhood of *Pisa*, he intercepted letters from *Pacciole*, directed to the *Pisan* government, informing it of the weakness of the place, on account of the flower of the garrison and inhabitants having marched to plunder the territory of *Volterra*, and begging for a reinforcement. *Varanio*, upon this, marched directly to *Pacciole*, and arrived time enough to make such a disposition of his troops as to cut off the return of marauders to the town, which was reduced to such straits, that it was agreed, by a capitulation, the place should be given up, if it was not succoured by a certain day. The commandant of the citadel refused to agree to this capitulation; but a large breach being made in the walls, the *Florentines* entered the place sword in hand, in hopes of having the plunder of it. But upon the townsmen, who had made the capitulation, throwing themselves upon their knees before *Varanio* and the *Florentine* presidents, and laying the whole blame of the resistance upon the commandant, they were saved from plunder. This act of compassion ruined the authority of *Varanio* in the army, especially with the mercenaries; and though he took a few more places in the neighbourhood, yet two thousand horse deserted from him; and he was at last obliged to resign his command to *Pietro Farnetio*, who was esteemed one of the best officers in *Italy*.

War with Pisa.

Pacciole taken by the Florentines.

f THE war between the *Florentines* and the *Pisans* all this time went on briskly by sea. The former had hired two great galleys from the *Genoese*, commanded by *Perino Grimaldi*, and two others were sent them from the kingdom of *Naples*, through the credit of *Acciaiuoli*. Those four great vessels, as they were in those days thought, proved an overmatch for all the *Pisan* marine. They made descents all along the enemy's coasts, where they took some places of strength and importance; and at last they even entered the harbour of *Pisa*, by breaking through the great iron chain which secured it, and which, carrying it off with them, they hung up in the old temple of *Mars* at *Florence*, as a trophy of their maritime power, where it is laid to hang to this day.

The Florentines enter the port of Pisa.

g EARLY in the spring, after *Farnetio* received his command, he attempted to surprise *Lucca*, but miscarried; and five hundred *Florentines* were defeated by their enemies in the neighbourhood of *Barga*, then besieged by the *Pisans*. Those checks served only to excite *Farnetio* to do something that might more than counterbalance them. He entered the *Pisan* territory, and came to a general engagement with their whole force; in which he gave his enemies a total defeat, by taking prisoner their general, with a great number of their soldiers,

Exploits and death of Farnetio.

soldiers, and almost all their military ensigns, which he carried back in great triumph to *Florence*. His modesty was equal to his glory. The *Florentines*, who, in all affairs of government and war, affected to imitate the *Roman* republicans, in a full assembly offered him a crown of laurel; but he refused it, as being too great an honour, till he could perform some service of greater consequence to the state.

Soon after this, *Farnetio* again invaded the *Pisan* territory, and skirmished with his enemies at their very gates. We know not, however, that he made any dispositions for besieging the city: but it is certain, that, instead of celebrating, as was the custom of the *Italians* in those days, affrontive abusive games before the places they could not take, he struck under the walls of *Pisa* some coins, which carried his own device, that of a fox couchant^b. His successes delivered *Barga* from the long siege it had sustained; for no sooner were they made known to the besieged, by a detachment of horse thrown into it by *Farnetio*, than the garrison made so brisk a sally, that they drove their enemies out of their entrenchments, and forced them to abandon the siege. The *Pisans* must now have submitted to whatever terms the *Florentines* had pleased to impose upon them, had it not been for two events. The first was the death of the brave *Farnetio*, who was carried off by a pestilential disease, in the midst of his victories. The history of the next event has its rise in that of *England*; and *Aretin*^c has recounted so many curious particulars concerning the *English* adventurers of that time in *Italy*, unmixed with the fictions that prevailed concerning them, that an *English* reader must be pleased with an authentic information; the whole being hitherto justly deemed little better than a romance. We find ourselves, however, obliged to turn back to the *English* history to make our narrative clear.

Case of the
banditti, and
the English
mercenaries.

UPON the conclusion of the treaty of *Bretigny*, in 1360, between *Edward III.* of *England*, and king *John* of *France*, a peace succeeded between the two nations, which deprived a vast number of soldiers of their bread, both princes keeping few troops more than were sufficient for garrisons^d. It happened, that, during the war, numbers of *English* gentlemen and others had given leave to their retainers to build houses, which were generally fortified, upon lands conquered from the *French* king, and given by king *Edward* to his great lords, which lands now reverted to the *French* crown by the treaty of *Bretigny*. Many of the possessors of those castles, as they were called, refused to give them up, and were therefore proclaimed traitors by *Edward's* orders, though they pretended that they were in the pay of the king of *Navarre*, who disclaimed them; so that they were obliged to submit. Most of the owners of the castles were men who had seen a great deal of service, and were either gentlemen by birth, or had raised themselves by their merit. Being afraid to return to *England*, and unable to subsist in *France*, they consulted together how to make their fortunes by their swords, and *Italy* naturally presented itself first to their thoughts. All *France* at this time was filled with robberies by disbanded soldiers, who, in the spring of the year 1361, assembled at *Givry* in *Bresse*, to the number of sixteen thousand; many of them headed by the same leaders who had commanded them in time of war. Their first intention was to march to *Avignon*, to plunder the pope's immense treasures there. King *John* sent against them *James* of *Bourbon*, one of the most considerable noblemen in *France*; but the companions, or late-comers, (for they went by both names) soon beat his army with great slaughter, and he himself was killed, together with his son. It is hard to say what the consequence might have been, had not the *English*, to the number of four thousand horse and two thousand foot, detesting the cruelties and excesses of their companions, separated themselves from the main body, who soon after dispersed themselves into different parties, and were taken either into the pay of the pope, or of other princes.

Account of Sir
John Hawk-
wood,

THE *English* were commanded by Sir *John Hawkwood*. This extraordinary person was a native of *Heningham* in *Essex*. His father was a tanner, and he himself bound apprentice to a taylor, and by taking himself to the practice of arms, he distinguished himself so greatly, that he received the honour of knighthood, and probably before the peace of *Bretigny* he acquired a considerable property as well as rank. His first design, and that of his officers under him, was to offer their services to *Florence*, preferably to all other states, on account of the great losses the *Florentines* had suffered by the money they had so generously lent to the *English*. According to *Aretin*^e, they actually made the offer immediately upon the death of *Farnetio*; but their demands being too high, the *Florentines* rejected them, and they were obliged to enter into the service of *Pisa*. The same author gives another reason for their preferring the service of *Florence* (and it is confirmed by our histories and records) which is, that there was at that time so great a number of *Florentines* in *England*, that the *English* looked upon those in *Italy* as their own countrymen.

Hawk enters in-
to the Pisan
service.

FROM this it appears, that *Hawkwood* did not enter *Italy*, as is commonly thought, single and unattended, but at the head of a very respectable force, which soon turned the tide of success against the *Florentines*. The *Pisans*, without difficulty, granted them all

^b ARETIN. p. 173.

^c Ibid. p. 173.

^d BARNE'S Life of Edward III. p. 611.

^e ARETIN, p. 173.
their

- a their demands; and the *English* no sooner took the field, than they marched through *Lucca*, *Pistoia*, and *Prato*, and encamped at *Firetola*, within two miles of *Florence* itself. The manner in which the *English* made war was very different from what the *Florentines* had ever seen before, and incredible was the terror they spread wherever they came. They proceeded, it is true, with fire, sword, and rapine, in which they did no more than copy the practice of the *Italians* themselves, but returned to *Pisa* with a much greater booty than had ever been known there in such an expedition. The richness of it allured them to a second enterprize. They marched from *Pisa* to *Empoli*, which lies between the rivers *Elza* and *Pesa*; and leaving *Florence* on the left hand, they came to *Figline*, in the vale of *Arno*, so that they took it without much difficulty, and made there an incredible booty.
- b The boldness and rapidity of those expeditions struck the inhabitants with such consternation, that they abandoned many of their towns, and the *English*, almost without resistance, took others. The *Florentines* marched their army to *Ancisa*, in the same vale, where they entrenched themselves; but in so awkward a way, that the *English* forced their entrenchments, took their camp, and drove them into *Ancisa*. In this engagement the *Florentine* general *Pietro Farnetio*, brother to the former general of that name, was made prisoner, together with a great number of other officers and soldiers, and the *Florentines* lost all their carriages and baggage. Next day the *English* broke through a wall and ditch that reached from *Ancisa* to the *Arno*, which opened their way to *Florence* itself, where all were filled with amazement and dismay. Some blamed the generals, others the soldiers, and all agreed that they were betrayed, without allowing the valour of their enemies to have contributed to their misfortunes. Eight hundred *German* horse, who served in their camp, were immediately cashiered; and *Pandolfo Malatesta*, who happened to be at *Florence* during the late overthrow, was appointed to succeed the captive general. The *Pisans* gave out that they would come by the way of *Arezzo* to *Florence*, by a certain day which they named, and in a bravading manner desired the *Florentines* to be ready to receive them. Upon this the *Florentines*, who really believed them to be in earnest, fortified *St. Miniato* with five hundred soldiers, and threw up strong entrenchments for defending all the avenues to their city, waiting for their enemies with the utmost anxiety. But the *Pisan* soldiers having no stomach for the expedition, the *English* left them at *Figline*, and forcing all the *Florentine* entrenchments in the night time, they came by break of day to *Ripoli*, within two miles of *Florence*, before their march was heard of. The whole city was instantly filled with uproar and consternation, and every man who could carry arms drew out before the gate; so that, including the army which was then in *Florence*, their number could not be fewer than thirty thousand men, against six thousand *English*; but they never once thought of attacking the enemy; all their care was to defend themselves. From *Florence* the *English* returned to *Pigline*, with a great many captives, and a large booty; and from thence marched to *Arezzo*; so that, to use *Aretin's* own words, they knocked by turns at the gates of *Florence* and *Arezzo*, taking *Pigline* in the midway, and nothing, continues he, could be more terrible than the sound of their name.
- e By the close of the campaign, however, the captives the *English* had made were so numerous, and their booty so unwieldy, that they were at some loss in contriving how to carry them back to *Pisa*, especially as the way was encumbered and difficult. But this they effected by the following stratagem. They sent a formal message to *Florence*, inviting the presidents to assist in celebrating mass with them in *Salviano's* church at *Florence*, on the thirteenth of *November*. Were not the fact so well attested as it is by their own historian*, one could scarcely imagine that the *Florentines* were absurd enough to give implicit credit to the message, and instead of making dispositions for harrassing and preventing the retreat of their enemies, they thought of nothing but of preparing to defend themselves by the appointed day, while the *English*, setting fire to their camp at *Figline*, returned unmo-
- f lested to *Pisa* with all their plunder and prisoners.
- g It is astonishing that a people, who, but a few months before had behaved with such firmness and intrepidity as the *Florentines* did against a numerous *German* army, should tremble within their own walls at the sight of a handful of *English*, whose motives for fighting were much the same as those of the *Germans* had been: but it is impossible to account for the difference of dispositions, which the alteration of circumstances may make amongst a people. The *English* were received in triumph by the *Pisans*, and by them admitted to winter in their city. According to our author, they had no reason to be fond of their new guests; for they had nothing they could call their own; the *English* engrossing all both without and within doors. As to the *Florentines*, they no sooner heard that the *English* were gone into winter-quarters than they took the field, and totally defeated the *Pisans*, who were besieging *Barga*. The *Pisans* applied to the *English*, who refusing to make a winter campaign, the *Pisans* were every where worsted.

He defeats the
Florentines.

Stratagem of
the English.

The Floren-
tines defeat
the Pisans,

they hire
troops.

The English
bought off by
the Floren-
tines.

whose army
mutinies.

Magnanimity
of the Floren-
tines.

Their peace
with the
Pisans.

DURING the winter both parties prepared for a vigorous campaign. The *Florentines* hired troops in *France* and *Germany*, and the *Pisans* took into their pay three thousand *German* horse. The *Florentine* mercenaries did not arrive time enough to prevent the *Pisans* from opening the campaign with great advantages; but it does not appear that the *English* had ever been fond of acting in conjunction with the *Pisans*; for this year they crossed the river *Marina* in a separate body, and fell into the vale of *Mugelli*, where they got great booty, and made many prisoners. As to the *Pisans* and the *Germans*, they encamped between *Prato* and *Pistoia*. The *Florentines* were thus obliged to divide their troops; part were allotted for the defence of the city, and part to check the depredations of the *English*, who, however, returned to the *Pisan* camp, without seeing any enemy. The rest of the campaign consisted as usual of horrid depredations; and the *Florentines*, from their walls, had the mortification to see their territory all in flames around them, and to hear the voices of their enemies, while they were besieging their city. In the mean while, however, a *Florentine* body of horse scoured the country round *Pisa*, and attempted to take *Leghorn*; but were obliged to return home, lest their retreat should have been cut off.

It is probable that the *Pisans*, before the end of this campaign, would have made themselves masters of *Florence*, had not the *Florentines* tampered with the *English*, by offering them large sums to change their party. The *English* pleaded their honour, and refused to fight against the *Pisans*; but were prevailed upon not to fight against the *Florentines*, and offered to enter into their service against any other enemy than the *Pisans*. But the *English* general, *Hawkwood*, with a spirit far above his birth, rejected a neutrality of any kind, and at the head of one thousand of his countrymen, remained in the *Pisan* service. The defection of the *English* from the *Pisans*, gave the *Florentines* vast spirits, and they made *Galeoto Malatesta* general of their army, which now amounted to above ten thousand foot and four thousand horse, all regular troops. *Malatesta* was one of the best officers then in *Italy*, and he led his army without loss within four miles of *Pisa*. The *Pisans* of late had learned to despise the *Florentines*; and having an entire reliance on the valour and abilities of *Hawkwood*, they determined to give their enemies battle. *Hawkwood*, knowing how much his army had been weakened by the defection of the *English*, proceeded cautiously: he ordered a few squadrons of his horse to make frequent incursions towards the *Florentine* camp, and then to retire. This was repeated so often, that the *Florentines* at last disregarded their alarms, which *Hawkwood* observing, he ordered the assault to be renewed, and made dispositions for supporting his squadrons, who were then commanded to push on to the enemy's camp with their whole force. The *Pisans*, who made the attempt, were repelled by the valour of the *Arezzians* in the *Florentine* army, and, being seconded by the *Florentines*, eight hundred of them were killed, and two thousand taken prisoners. Upon this *Hawkwood* gave a signal for a retreat, which was performed in such good order to *Sabino*, where the main body lay, that *Malatesta* ordered no pursuit should be made. After this the *Florentines* returned home, and made a pompous exhibition of their prisoners along the streets of their city. *Malatesta* then again took the field; but he scarcely had entered the *Pisan* territory when his army refused to march farther, unless they were gratified with double pay. With great difficulty he appeased them; but in a day or two after the mutiny again broke out with such fury, that bloodshed ensued, and *Malatesta*, not chusing to proceed while his army was in such a temper, returned to *Florence*.

THE *Florentines* retained so much of the *Roman* republican spirit, that when defeated they refused to treat of peace; but now that they had gained the victory, great numbers amongst them began to talk of an accommodation, and some urged it in the strongest terms. Some political considerations intermingled with this desire of peace; for the more sensible of the *Florentine* magistracy became apprehensive, if the *Pisans* were too far pushed, that they would throw themselves under the protection of *Barnabo* duke of *Milan*, who only wanted such a pretext to make himself master of *Tuscany*. At last, by the mediation of the pope, the *Pisans* sent deputies to *Pescia*, where they conferred with those from *Florence*. During these conferences *Barnabo* prevailed with *John Agnelli*, a *Pisan*, a creature of his own, to make himself chief magistrate, and this hastened the conclusion of the peace, which was both honourable and advantageous for *Florence*. *Petrabona* was given up to the *Florentines*; some *Pisan* fortifications were erased, and the *Pisans* were readmitted to all their former immunities in *Florence*. Ten thousand ducats of gold were agreed to be paid in five years by the *Pisans* to the *Florentines*; and the latter had the glory of hearing the peace proclaimed at *Pescia*, in their own territory, while their army was in that of *Pisa*. The common people of *Florence*, however, were so far from being satisfied with those terms, that *Carlo Strozza*, who had mediated the peace under the pope, was in danger of his life from their rage. Soon after his holiness invited the emperor *Charles IV.* into *Italy*, to defend him against *Barnabo*, and persuaded the *Florentines* to send four of their principal citizens to attend him. His holiness was at great pains to

- a bring the *Florentines* to an immediate declaration against *Barnabo*; but they flatly declined it, and thereby highly incensed both the pope and the emperor. The latter, who had depended chiefly upon the *Florentines*, being so poor that he could not pay an army, was obliged to clap up a peace with *Barnabo*, disbanded his soldiers, and went with a very mean retinue to *Rome*. *Lombardy* being now at peace, *Charles* intimated a design he had of visiting *Florence*. The *Florentines* immediately guessed the truth, which was, that his visit would end in a demand of money, and they sent some deputies to him to sound his dispositions towards their republic. *Charles* received them with great sternness, and upbraided their government for having usurped upon the imperial authority. He at the same time demanded of the *Florentines*, that they should deliver up to him all the *Pratoline*, the
- b *Volterran*, and the *Lucquese* territories.

To give weight to this demand, he raised some troops and marched to *Lucca*, where he was honourably received; but his soldiers committing some hostilities at *St. Miniato*, the *Florentines* assembled their army, and repelled force by force. This and some other events that fell out, about the same time, at *Sienna* and *Pisa*, threw all *Tuscany* once more into war; but all united against the emperor, who was obliged to return to *Germany*. It is said, however, not without probability^a, that the *Florentines*, before *Charles* left *Italy*, made him a present of money for confirming their privileges. A quarrel at this time happened between the *Florentines* and the inhabitants of *St. Miniato*, which being besieged by the *Florentines*, *Barnabo* came to relieve, on pretence of being invited thereto by the *Minia-*

c *tese*. The *Florentines* upbraided him for the ungenerous return he had made to their not siding with the pope and the emperor against him; and understanding his army was set out to relieve the town, they pressed the siege with more vigour than ever. *Barnabo's* general on this occasion was the famous Sir *John Hawkwood*, a name still terrible to the *Florentines*, whose general was *Giovanni Regino*, reckoned likewise an able soldier. When *Hawkwood* approached the *Florentine* camp, he found it fortified in such a manner that it was unadvisable to attack it. He, therefore, drew off to the distance of about ten miles. This gave the *Florentine* magistrates and common soldiers such spirits, that they upbraided *Regino* with cowardice, for refusing to lead them against the enemy. Finding that all his remonstrances were vain, "Let us march then," said he, "since it must needs be so. Those

d "giddy-headed blunderers shall soon find that I am destitute neither of courage nor conduct." He then left a sufficient number for defending the camp, and began his march by break of day against *Hawkwood*, who no sooner saw the *Florentines* advance in order of battle, than he assured himself of victory. He ordered his regular troops to take a plentiful refreshment, and to contain themselves within their trenches; but sent out his irregulars of all kinds to skirmish with his enemies, and thereby to encrease their fatigue after so long a march, during a sultry day. This stratagem had the desired effect, and *Hawkwood*, at the critical minute, fell with his fresh troops upon the *Florentines* with so much fury, that he obtained a cheap and a complete victory. The *Florentine* general was taken prisoner: the number of the slain and captives was very great, and the rout was

e total.

NOTWITHSTANDING this victory, the *Florentines* before *St. Miniato* made so good a countenance, that *Hawkwood* durst not attempt to raise the siege, which after the *Florentine* manner of proceeding, was carried on with greater spirit after their defeat than it had been before. Even *Hawkwood's* falling in with his victorious army into their country did not shake their resolution; and at last the place being betrayed to them, the authors of the revolt were carried to *Florence*, and there put to death.

LUCCA was then possessed by an imperial governor, who had strengthened his garrison with some of *Barnabo's* troops. They were dismissed from that service upon the governor discovering that they designed to make themselves masters of the city. Upon their dismissal the governor offered to restore the *Lucquese* to full freedom upon paying him twenty-five thousand crowns of gold^b (A); but the *Lucquese*, having long lost their liberty, were consequently without property; and that noble city and fertile territory was not able to raise so poor a sum, though it was to purchase them the inestimable blessing of freedom. The *Florentines* generously and disinterestedly lent it to them, and lent it by some of their ablest citizens, who assisted the *Lucquese* in new-modelling their state, they having, during their long thralldom, forgotten all the original principles of their constitution and

^a Annales de l'Empire, par VOLTAIRE. Vie de Charles IV.

^b ARETIN, p. 179.

(A) There is no such coin as a crown of gold in *Tuscany*; but according to Mr. *Busching's* calculation (1), the sum here demanded seems to amount to eleven thousand and sixty-one pounds one shilling and three pence sterling, at the present rate of money.

(1) See *Busching's Geography*, vol. iii. pag. 8.

Great policy of
the Floren-
tines.

government. The first step the *Lucquesse* took to secure their recovered liberty, was to a
demolish the fort that *Castraccio* had built to bridle their city.

THE *Florentines* at this time held in their hands the balance of power in *Lombardy*, if
not all over *Italy*, and it is wonderful with what address and resolution they managed it.
In resentment of *Barnabo* having stirred up the revolt of *St. Miniato*, they entered into a
treaty with pope *Urban* at *Viterbo*, and sent eight hundred horse to the assistance of his
legate at *Bologna*. *Barnabo* was at that time besieging *Reggio*, in the *Bolognese*; and while
the *Florentine* horse were on their march some of his party appeared about *Pisa*. This
obliged the *Florentines* to recal their cavalry for some time; but *Barnabo's* troops declined
an engagement; and the *Florentines* resuming their march to *Lombardy*, came time enough
to assist in beating *Barnabo*, and in raising the siege of *Reggio*. The excessive heats and fa- b
tigue of this campaign cost *Donati*, the *Florentine* general, his life. Soon after a peace
succeeded between the pope and *Barnabo*; and the *Florentines*, having withdrawn their
troops from *Lombardy*, sent deputies to *Avignon*, to congratulate *Gregory XI.* upon his ac-
cession to the popedom. Those deputies found his holiness somewhat dissatisfied with re-
gard to the state of affairs in *Tuscany*; but matters were somewhat cleared up when the *Pe-
rugians*, for want of the necessaries of life, were obliged to submit themselves to his le-
gate, and that too without terms. A kind of an accommodation, however, was clapped
up between his holiness and the *Florentines*, in which were included the *Pisans* and *Siennese*,
the *Arezzians*, and the *Lucquesse*.

THE *Florentines* had now long preserved the face of domestic unanimity; they had met with c
no blows but what were easily recoverable, and the riches of their state at this time were beyond
belief. The democratical part of their government was in some respects perhaps too preva-
lent; but it had the effect of preserving unanimity amongst the noble or great families. Some
of those families, however, by accommodating themselves partly to the manners and partly to
the professions of the plebeians, had risen to prodigious wealth and credit with their fellow-
citizens. Of these the chief were the families of *Albicii* and *Ricci*, who having separate inte-
rests, split the whole state into factions. The *Florentine* plebeians, upon recollection, had
good sense enough to conclude that one or other of those families might invade their con-
stitution, and therefore a public act passed, that neither of them should be admitted into d
any post of trust or power in the state. This resolute but rational determination was suc-
ceeded by some years of so great tranquility, as to afford nothing material for history to
transmit during that period, farther than, that all the power of the *Ubaldi*, the ancient ene-
mies of the *Florentine* state, was then extinguished in the *Casentine*; and that many noble
edifices, though erected in that infant age of true taste, now arose, and still do credit to
Italy.

A. D. 1375.
Great spirits
of the Floren-
tines against
the pope.

WE are now arrived at the year 1375, which opens a new scene of history. Ever
since the time of *Clement VI.* the popes had generally been either *Frenchmen*, or in the
French interest; and, residing at *Avignon*, they had managed their *Italian* possessions by le-
gates, or governors, who of all mankind were the most execrable and oppressive. Under
the specious shew of papal authority, they extended their tyranny over free states; they e
took the banditti, with which *Italy* then swarmed, into their pay; and they justified the
most execrable of their actions, when unsuccessful, by their master's orders, and when suc-
cessful, by the plenitude of their own power, both which they knew to be indisputable.
Their excesses put the *Florentines* to great inconveniences. They had always professed
themselves *Guelphs*, and so artfully had they managed matters, that the popes had never
been able to dissolve their constitution. The papal court and legates, sensible of the *Flo-
rentine* system of policy, durst not break with their state, and depended upon accidents for
bending them to the pope's will. An accident of that kind presented itself this year. The
Florentine state was afflicted with famine, through the sterility of the season, and had ap-
plied again and again to the legate of *Bologna* for some relief, which he flatly refused them. f
The autumn promised well; but the legate, determined to impose the papal yoke on the
necks of the *Florentines*, sent a great army into their territories, to prevent their reaping
their harvest. The reader is here to observe, that all *Italy* continued still to be full of
mercenary soldiers, and such were they whom the legate employed on this occasion; the
Florentines, therefore, wisely resolved to see rather than fight their enemies, who, for mo-
ney, became their good friends, to the legate's great surprize and disappointment. About
the same time it was discovered, that the legate had practised with the inhabitants of *Prato*
to revolt from the *Florentines*, which might have been attended with the ruin of the *Flo-
rentine* state.

They engage
the Italian
states to assert
their liberties.

THE elevated genius of the *Florentine* government and people again manifested itself on g
this occasion. All orders and ranks united in a hearty detestation of the clergy; but at
the same time without any virulent expressions of their indignation. They chose eight of
the ablest and most unexceptionable men in their state as a council of war; and the plan
on which they proceeded, was the noblest that can be imagined, for it consisted in excit-
ing

a ing the neighbouring states to assert their liberties. Impelled and assisted by them, the inhabitants of *Citta di Castello* took arms against the garrison that bridled them, and expelled it. The pope's legate at *Perugia* sent a body of troops to reinforce the garrison, and the *Perugians* took that opportunity of taking arms, expelling the legate, and making themselves masters of the strong citadel built to overawe them; all which they did by the assistance of the *Florentines*. After this the people of *Spoletto*, *Gubio*, *Forli*, *Viterbo*, and a great many other places in the papal dominions, especially in the *Pescara*, declared themselves independent of the pope. In short, the flame that had been long smothered, now blazed forth in full fury. The *Italians* had long detested the pride and haughtiness of the legates, who, as our author ^c elegantly expresses himself, employed no
b arts of government but soldiers and citadels. The *Florentines*, sensible of this, did all they could to spread the conflagration wider, their fundamental policy consisting in having as few powerful neighbours as possible. The people of *Granavioli*, a place now so inconsiderable, that it is scarcely marked in the maps of *Italy*, took arms against the legate; and he sent *Hawkwood*, who, with his small band of *Englishmen*, was now in the pope's pay, from *Bologna*, to reduce them. Scarcely had *Hawkwood* left *Bologna*, when the *Bolognese*, having been before prepared by the *Florentine* council of war, took arms and asserted their own independency, which they had no sooner done than they received a powerful reinforcement from *Florence* to maintain it.

THE view we have exhibited of the states of *Tuscany*, and its neighbourhood, is taken
c from the most unquestionable *Italian* authorities before the reformation; and therefore we cannot doubt that *Hawkwood* and his *Englishmen*, though they had been hired for convenience by the pope or his legate, in their own hearts most sincerely detested the papal tyranny. *Hawkwood*, perceiving that *Granavioli* was irrecoverable, took up his quarters in *Faenza*, where, according to our author ^d, a great many acts of violence, and some of cruelty were committed; and at last *Hawkwood*, perhaps, because he was not paid by the legate, sold the place to the *Ferrarese*.

POPE Gregory was then at *Avignon*, but was minutely informed of every thing that had happened in *Italy*, and had thundered out his excommunications against *Florence*. Upon this the *Florentines*, who were always decent, appointed *Alessandro Antilla* and *Donato Barbadorio*, two of the most learned and eloquent men of their state, to go to *Avignon*, and to plead the cause of *Florence* before the pope; but though they did this in the most moving manner, the interdicts against *Florence* were confirmed, and their goods sentenced to be confiscated wherever found. The spirit which *Barbadorio* manifested on this occasion was great and memorable. As soon as the pope had pronounced the sentence against his country, he
d turned round to an image of God, and in the hearing of his holiness, he exclaimed, "Oh
" God! we the deputies of the *Florentines*, appeal to thy equity from this unjust sentence
" of thy vicar. Thou who art subject neither to deceit nor anger; Thou who lovest the
" liberty but not the slavery of thy people; Thou who hatest tyrants, and the lusts of ty-
" rants, defend at this time the liberty of the *Florentine* people, and become their auspi-
e cious guardian."

Courage of a
Florentine de-
puty.

THE pope in order to reduce the *Bolognese*, whose revolt he entirely imputed to the
f *Florentines*, hired a body of *Bretons*, who in autumn this year arrived in *Italy*; upon which the
Flornlines sent the greatest part of their own troops to defend *Bologna*, and blocked up all
the passes of the *Appennines*, to exclude the enemy from their territory. The legate of *Ge-
neva* headed the *Bretons*, who consisted of six thousand horse and three thousand foot;
but he affected to proceed with vast tenderness towards the *Bolognese*. He suffered no ra-
vages to be committed in their territory, and sent several messages, offering them pardon
and amnesty for all that had passed, which inclined a great number of the inhabitants to
submit; and at last a conspiracy was formed for that purpose, which was defeated by the
vigilance of *Varanio* of *Camerino*. The legate still continued to hover round the city.
About the same time another conspiracy, was discovered, for putting *Arezzo* into the hands
of *Saco's* sons; and the conspirators were brought to condign punishment. Towards the
end of the summer the *Bretons*, being baffled in all their attempts against *Florence*, retired
to *Cesena*, which opened its gates to them. The new guests, however, behaved with such
brutality in their quarters, that the inhabitants ran to their arms, and after killing about
four score of them upon the spot, drove the rest out of their city. The crafty legate seemed
to side with the townsmen, and at last persuaded the latter to lay down their arms, which
they had scarcely done when the legate again introduced his *Bretons* into the city, where
they massacred three thousand of the townsmen.

The pope takes
the Bretons
into pay,

g WHILE the flames of war were thus spreading all over *Italy*, the pope having taken
a fresh body of *English* into his pay, left *Avignon* and came to *Italy*, in hopes of restoring
the papal authority in that country. Being arrived at *Rome*, he invited the *Florentines* to
and comes to
Italy.

^c ARETIN. pag. 181.

^d Ibid.

treat of peace with him, and deputies were named accordingly ; but after a month's conferences the pope's demands were so high, that they returned to *Florence* without any thing being concluded ; upon which the *Florentines* made preparations for continuing the war with greater vigour than ever. In this they were secretly assisted by *Barnabo* of *Milan* ; and they found means to bring over to their service the *English* who were in the pope's pay. This defection gave his holiness vast uneasiness. The eight *Florentines*, who had hitherto acted as field deputies, had behaved so well, that their commissions were continued by the magistracy, to the great discontent of the people. The pope laid hold of this variance to widen the breach between them, and sent letters by his agents, directed not as usual to the magistracy, but to the people of *Florence*, loading the deputies with grievous accusations. But this expedient failed of success, and raised the people's indignation, not so much against the deputies as against the pope. The interdict still continued ; but by the authority of the magistracy and people, all religious ordinances were celebrated in the churches as usual. At last the pope, who was *Gregory XI.* intrigued with *John* the bishop of *Arezzo*, to bring that city over from its alliance with the *Florentines* ; but the *Arezzians* no sooner understood this than they ran to arms, and not only expelled the bishop and all his adherents, but burned down their houses, and put some of his relations, who had been engaged in the conspiracy, to death.

The Florentines seize
Fabriano.

THAT same year *Rodolfo* of *Camerino*, the *Florentine* general, seized *Fabriano*, by consent of the citizens, who wanted to put themselves under the *Florentine* protection ; but when the *Florentine* field-deputies demanded, on the part of the republic, possession of the place, he not only refused to give it up, but went into the service of their enemies, and received from the pope the command of five hundred horse. Perhaps the admission of the *English* into the *Florentine* service, was the true cause of his defection. The *Florentines* hung his effigies, with all the marks of infamy, through the most public parts of the city, and deprived him of *Fabriano*. Towards the end of the year, by the mediation of *Barnabo* of *Milan*, a treaty was set on foot between the *Florentines* and the pope, who had now recovered full possession of *Bologna*, and the conferences were held at *Serezana* ; but when both parties were on the point of an accommodation the pope died, and the negotiation was broken off.

S E C T. VI.

Two Popes elected ; Discord in France ; new Institutions there ; farther Exploits of Sir John Hawkwood in the Florentine Service ; Intrigues of the Emperor Charles IV. and his Journey to Rome ; Disturbances at Florence renewed ; the Duke of Anjou arrives in Italy ; Sir John Hawkwood enters into the Service of the Emperor ; Death of Lewis of Anjou ; the Florentines lose and recover Arezzo ; Revolutions of the Visconti Family in Lombardy ; Distractions of Italy ; great Power of Galeazzo Duke of Milan ; Death of Urban the Antipope ; the Florentines engaged in a War with the Milanese ; Successes of the Florentines ; Continuation of the History of the brave Sir John Hawkwood ; Peace between Galeazzo and the Florentines, who enter into a League with the French King in the Year 1395.

A schism in
the papedom.

UPON the death of pope *Gregory XI.* the cardinals being met to chuse his successor, the inhabitants of *Rome* beset the conclave, and demanded that he should be a *Roman*, or at least an *Italian*, and not a *Frenchman* or foreigner ; upon which *Bartholomew*, archbishop of *Bari*, a *Neapolitan*, was chosen. Being a proud intractable man, the cardinals pretended that they were under constraint when they chose him ; and retiring to *Fundi*, they proceeded to a new election, which fell upon the bishop of *Geneva* ; the same who had been the pope's legate in *Tuscany*, and had headed the *Bretons*. The first took the name of *Urban VI.* and the latter that of *Clement VII.* and thus the foundation of a schism was laid, which lasted from competitor to competitor to the year 1417. The *Florentines*, however acknowledged *Urban* for the true pope, and the schism so wholly engrossed the minds of the public, that all farther thoughts of war between the pope and the *Florentines* were dropt.

Civil dissensions
begin at
Florence.

A STATE of tranquility thus succeeding, civil commotions as usual arose amongst the *Florentines*. The power of the eight officers, whom we have called field-deputies, became now formidable to the nobility, who loaded them with the blame of all that the *Florentines* had suffered from the interdicts of the popes ; and their party being very powerful in the

a the state, they renewed an absurd ill-grounded law, by which the posterity of those who had been proscribed, were disqualified from any share in the magistracy. Their proceedings were attended with great rigour and injustice, and admonitions were sent round to all they disliked, discharging them from their posts in the public, or disqualifying them from entering upon any. This tyranny at last became intolerable, and *Silvester Medix*, or *Medici*, who was then the gonfalonier, resolving to restrain it, presented some proposals to the magistracy for that purpose, which meeting with opposition, a general insurrection of the people ensued, in which the houses of those who had been the most forward in exercising this admonitory law were burnt or destroyed, and their owners would have undergone the same fate, had they not saved themselves by flight. An end being thus put to the admonitory law, eighty citizens were chosen to form a kind of court of appeal, to redress the grievances of all who had suffered by it. But this triumph of the populace was attended with fatal effects to the state. The lowest of the rabble, and men of the most desperate fortunes, thought they had as good a right as the most creditable citizens to places in the magistracy, and began to form cabals and nightly meetings^a, each carving out the post he designed for himself in the government. The presidents having proof of those nightly meetings, four of the principals were ordered to be apprehended, that the bottom of their designs might be known. The mob upon this took arms, and demanded that their fellows should be released; but this not being immediately complied with, they burnt down the house of *Luigi Guicciardini*, who happened to be then gonfalonier, as they did the houses of a great many rich citizens; and they had even the insolence to hang, in the sight of the presidents themselves, one of the magistrates, who had been active in endeavouring to suppress them. They then proceeded to the palace of the presidents, and other public offices, which they broke open and plundered, and forced the presidents to resign their authority, and to return back as private men to their own houses. After this they entered the palace in triumph, and chose *Michael Landi*, one of the meanest amongst themselves, gonfalonier, and the rest of the magistracy out of their own order; but seemed still to have some regard for *Silvester Medix*, and another knight *Benedict Alberti*: but their authority could not prevent the goods of the rich from being plundered, the best of the citizens from being driven into exile, and the most horrid outrages from being perpetrated.

alterations of his government.

Michael Landi chosen gonfalonier.

d THE *Florentine* historian^b on this occasion indulges himself in many very sensible remarks upon the danger of magistrates taking part with the people in their attempts, forcibly to regulate even what is amiss in a state. He observes, that tho' *Medix* was one of the worthiest men in *Florence*, and tho' the admonitory law was detestable in itself, yet the manner in which it was repealed was the occasion of all the public calamities that immediately ensued, by giving the common people an opportunity of knowing their own strength. A kind of miracle, however, interposed at this disorderly juncture in favour of *Florence*.

His character,

MICHAEL LANDI (A), the rebels' gonfalonier, tho' chosen by them for the desperate state of his fortune, and the intrepidity of his conduct, happened to be a wise, worthy, and brave man. He had served long abroad; had studied the nature both of men and government; and he had somewhat noble and commanding in his manner and person. Had it not been for his virtue, there had now been an end of the constitution and government of *Florence*, as the ungovernable passion of the people for blood, rapine, revenge, and devastation, appeared every day to gather strength. *Landi* seems to have foreseen this, and endeavoured to stop its progress. Far from being daunted by the fury of his countrymen, he chastised it with so much dignity of behaviour, that, desperate as they were, they durst not resist him. The mob, however, resolved to wreak their rage upon the presidents, whose palace they beset, commanding them to come down to their tribunal, to pass such laws as should be proposed to them, and which were in themselves detestable. The presidents had foreseen this attack, and having barricaded their palace, they answered from a window, that they were resolved not to appear in public till the rioters had laid down their arms, and should attend them in a respectable manner, promising they would then pass such good laws as should be legally proposed. The rioters perceiving those presidents not to be of the same timid cast with their predecessors, departed, and in a few days after created eight presidents of their own, whom they invested with all the badges of public power. It is wonderful to consider the effects that even the appearance of public authority has upon the minds of men; for some of the most respectable citizens in *Florence* complied with the mock tribunal, which went on in the regu-

and magnanimity.

^a ARETIN, p. 190.

^b Id. ibid.

(A) *Machiavel*, who, for particular reasons of his own, is more minute in describing those tumults, than perhaps becomes the dignity of so great a writer as he was, tells us that this very extraordinary person, when

he was elected, happened to have the standard of justice in his hand; that by trade he was a comber of wool; that he was bare-footed, and had scarce a rag to cover him.

lar dispatch of business. This acquiescence gave the usurpers so much encouragement, that they ventured to send some of their officers, and of their clerks, to the legal presidents, demanding them to swear to the validity of their decrees and proceedings. The formality and solemnity with which this demand was made, startled the presidents so much, that they were inclined to comply, when the gonfalonier *Landi*, drawing his sword, cut one of the messengers across the face, ran another thro' the body, and drove the rest out of the house. He had gone too far to stop there; he snatched up the standard of justice, carried it into the street in one hand, with his drawn sword in the other, and being mounted on a very fine horse, he summoned all who wished well to their country to attend him. Being soon surrounded by a band of brave worthy citizens, he resolutely proceeded to the place where the mock tribunal was held, but found it abandoned: for the party, understanding what treatment their messengers had met with, had taken arms, and were then marching through other quarters of the town, with a design to attack the palace of the presidents on its weakest side. The gonfalonier upon this returned to the palace, but found the avenues to it beset by the faction. That magistrate had had the presence of mind to put every part of the palace in a state of defence against any popular attempt during his absence, and he attacked the rioters with so much intrepidity, that they were put to flight and totally dispersed.

He subdues the rabble.

THE peace of the city being thus restored, a new magistracy was regularly chosen at the stated time; but a law passed that from thenceforth no president should be chosen out of the lower ranks of the people; and even two, who had been elected, were on that account exauctorated, and their places supplied by two knights, one of whom was *Gregorio Scala*, one of the greatest citizens in *Florence*, and a professed enemy to the admonitory laws. Our historian informs us, that the peace of the city was greatly confirmed by pope *Urban* relieving it from the interdict under which his predecessor had laid it.

Reflection.

AN elegant writer observes, that the *Florentines* made the same figure at this time in *Italy* as the *Athenians* had done in *Greece*. The fine arts appeared in no part of *Europe* but amongst them: and they were by far the most respected people in *Italy*. Their civil dissensions, however unhappy, increased their courage, and added to their experience. In matters of religion, though they professed themselves votaries to the see of *Rome*, they exercised the independency that became a free people, and were, perhaps, the most void of superstition of any we read of in history. When the pope touched upon the string of sovereignty over them, they acted with the same spirit against him, as they had done against the emperors and their own tyrants; and what is most incredible in that bigotted age, his fulminations and interdicts served but to increase their unanimity in despising them, while in other countries they were dethroning princes, and subverting constitutions. Next to this the great character of the *Florentines* consisted in the good faith with which they fulfilled all their engagements, and in their passion for freeing all the other states of *Italy* from tyranny. We do not pretend to say that this passion was entirely disinterested, because, as the *Athenians* did amongst the states of *Greece*, the *Florentines* always took the lead amongst those of *Italy*; but it ought to be mentioned, to their honour, that we have not upon record any act of unprovoked oppression that they were guilty of towards their neighbours; nor do we know one instance of their infringing the terms upon which any people came into their alliance, or under their protection (B).

State of Florence.

FROM the foregoing part of this history, our readers will easily perceive that there existed at this time in *Florence* three different ranks of men, the nobles, the commons, or plebeians, and the rabble. The former excelled in dignity and riches, the second in spirit and integrity, and the latter were distinguished by brutal force and unsteady counsels. The commons beheld with horror the precipice from which they had lately escaped, and to which they had been led by their too violent aversion to the nobility. *Aretin* and *Machiavel* are very justly profuse in their commendations of *Micheal Landi*, who, had he not been proof against all ambition and dishonesty, might have erected at this time, over his country, a tyranny worse than any she had yet experienced, nay worse than what she was threatened with by the duke of *Athens*. His wisdom was equal to his integrity. By his influence the corporations of the meaner sort of people were annulled, as were all the offices

^c ARET. p. 191.

^d Annales de l'Empire, par VOLTAIRE ad An. 1375.

(B) We have hitherto chiefly followed *Aretin* in his history, both because he was prior in point of time, and most disinterested with regard to facts, not to mention the beauty of his style and manner. *Machiavel* after him wrote indeed the history of *Florence*, but he adapted it to the juncture of time in which he lived; a consideration to which we ought to have no regard, especially as there is no material difference in facts between him

and *Aretin*, or the other historians. But as we are now come to a period very near to that in which the family of *Medicis* began to make the chief figure in *Florence*, *Machiavel's* information, as to facts, must be supposed superior to that of any other historian of that age or country, and therefore we must consider his history as our chief directory to the year in which it is finished.

they

- a they had bestowed, his own and that of *Lewis Pucchio*, and some others of high quality, excepted. In other respects the distribution of public honours was wise and politic, being divided between the greater and the lesser trades, of whom five of the latter and four of the former were always to reside with the magistracy, who were now all nobility, in the palace, this preference of the lower trades had a wonderful effect in settling the minds of the poorer sort; but it laid the foundation of a new distinction in *Florence*, between the popular and the plebeian faction, the former, consisting of the rich citizens, and the latter of the poorer; but *Florence* at this time lay under another inconveniency, which may be said to have been inherent to its constitution. Placability and forgiveness
- b formed no part of that people's character; and during those civil dissensions, which lasted three years, a great number of citizens had been driven into exile.

- THOSE exiles naturally united in a body, and having a strong party within the city, they became very formidable to the magistracy. At first they rendezvoused near *Sienna*, and they attempted to make themselves masters of *Figbini*, but were disappointed. After this, part of them entered into the service of *Charles of Durazzo*, who, at the instigation of pope *Urban*, was then making preparations for a war against the unhappy *Joan* queen of *Naples*, because she adhered to his rival *Clement*. This increased the uneasiness of the *Florentine* government, as *Charles* was strongly supported by his kinsman the king of *Hungary*. The *Florentines*, however, without being disconcerted with the difficulties they
- c had to encounter, sent deputies to wait upon *Charles*, under pretence of mediating a peace between the *Venetians* and the *Genoise*; but, in reality, to discover his sentiments towards their state. The deputies were *Strozzi*, *Barbadorio*, and *Benevenuto*. Having discharged their commission, they returned to *Florence*, where they differed in their report. *Strozzi* made light of *Charles* and his power; but inveighed bitterly against the exiles. *Barbadorio* was of a different opinion as to *Charles* and his views; but said, he had not given himself the trouble to enquire aught about the exiles, which brought him into a suspicion of favouring them. *Gianazzo of Salerno* was then lieutenant-general to *Charles* in *Italy*, and, assembling all the *Florentine* exiles, he made dispositions for marching from *Bologna* to *Florence*. The magistracy there being informed of this fact, and that a great
- d party within the city was ready to receive him, the whole state was thrown into confusion. The informer was *Antonio* count of *Bruscoli*, a man of very bad principles; and he named amongst the conspirators some of the greatest nobility, particularly *Peter Albizi*, *Charles Strozzi*, *Capriani Maugion*, *Giacomo Sacchetti*, *Donato Barbadorio*, *Philip Strozzi*, and *John Anselmi*. *Albizi* was then the most respected citizen of *Florence*, and was living upon his own estate in the country, where the *Florentine* soldiers seized him. Though his tenants could easily have rescued him, yet so conscious was he of his own innocence, that he commanded them to desist, and went along with his guards. *Carlo Strozzi* alone escaped; and, to increase the terror of the citizens, new levies of troops were made; and four persons (A), of whom *Thomas Strozzi* and *Bennet Alberti* are only named, were appointed, with a
- e kind of dictatorial power, to command the army and militia, and to take care that the state should receive no prejudice. The trials of the illustrious prisoners then came on, and all the horrors of a too democratical government appeared in their strongest colours. The judge, whose name we know not, appointed to try them, acquitted them, even of the suspicion of treason; but such was the fury of the mob, that, besetting the tribunal, they would have torn him to pieces, had he not found them guilty; and they were accordingly put to death. The mob then laid down their arms, and each returned to his own home. But they soon resumed them, when the time for the election of new presidents approached. The *Florentine* historians very justly bewail the state of their country at this time. They who presided in the government were conscious that they had been guilty of murdering
- f the noblest and most innocent persons of the state, and trembled at the consequences. Then they added crime to crime for their own security. They admonished or banished all whom they suspected; and every law they could devise was passed for their indemnification, and the continuance of their power. At last, by the advice of the council of four, that has been already mentioned, forty-six magistrates were created, who, with the presidents, and the other magistrates, were to purge the state of all disaffected persons, and to settle the government as they thought proper. This new council made full use of their powers. They admonished, that is, they disqualified thirty-six citizens: they reduced twenty noble families to the rank of plebeians, and raised twenty plebeian to that of nobility; besides enacting many severe laws against the unfortunate exiles; and, to render their power
- g as stable as possible, they made *Sir John Hawkwood* general of all the troops of the republic.

c MACHIAVEL, book iii.

(A) *Machiavel* says only two; but *Aretin* mentions four, though two of them were of the dregs of the people.

Charles of
Durazzo pa-
tronizes the
exiles.

ABOUT this time *Gianazzo* of *Salerno* enrolled in the service of his master *Charles* of *Durazzo*, all the *Florentine* exiles; and seemed to make dispositions for besieging *Florence* itself with a great army of *Italians*, *Germans*, and *Hungarians*. He fell first into the *Siennese*, and then into the *Pisan* territory, and both gave him a sum of money to prevent their being ravaged. *Gianazzo* then approached *Florence*, which likewise sought to buy its peace, *Hawkwood* being not yet arrived; but *Gianazzo* rejected all pecuniary offers, and insisted upon the exiles re-admission into the city. This demand was not complied with; and the *Florentines*, having sent an express for *Hawkwood*, put their city in a posture of defence. It appears, that neither *Charles* nor his lieutenant-general had any real design upon the *Florentines*, farther than to keep them neutral in the quarrel between him and *Joan* queen of *Naples*, whom he intended to dethrone. *Gianazzo*, however, marched within nine miles of *Florence*; but *Hawkwood*, by this time having entered upon his command, soon checked his progress, and obliged him to retire. *Charles* of *Durazzo* was now returned from *Hungary* to *Italy*, and was very earnest in soliciting the friendship of the *Florentines*, who declined taking any concern in the quarrel between him and the queen of *Naples*. *Charles* knew the vast influence the *Florentines* had in the affairs of *Italy*; and taking advantage of some domestic dissensions at *Arezzo*, he made himself master of that city. This near neighbourhood to *Florence*, occasioned many hostilities between his troops and the *Florentines*, and he continued to take into his pay all the *Florentine* exiles, who were so insolent, that they put to death one of the deputies sent from *Florence* to *Charles*. This increased the resentment of the *Florentines* both against the exiles and *Charles*.

Hawkwood
takes the field.

A. D. 1381.

At last *Hawkwood* was ordered to take the field, which he did with so much spirit, that he checked the progress of *Charles*, who sent ambassadors to *Florence* to solicit its friendship. He even pretended that the *Florentines* had made him a promise of assistance. The *Florentines* received the embassy with great politeness; but observed, that their promise was upon a condition which had been rejected by his cousin the king of *Hungary*, and was therefore no longer binding: they, however, made him a present of forty thousand ducats, on condition that their territory should not be molested by his troops. Upon this, *Charles* returned to *Arezzo*, where he made an apology to the *Florentine* exiles for being at that time obliged to drop their cause, on account of his expedition against *Naples*. From thence he moved to *Rome*, where he was most kindly received by pope *Urban*; and at last he made himself master of the kingdom of *Naples*, and the person of the unhappy queen *Joan*, whom he put to death.

New troubles
in Florence.

THE *Florentines* were the more alarmed at his success, as they knew that all the hopes of their exiles depended upon him. They resolved, however, if possible, to keep well with him, and sent him a deputation, at the head of which were *Roberto Aldobrandini* and *Bettino Covonio*, to congratulate him on his accession to his kingdom. He received them with seeming friendship; and, upon their return to *Florence*, the jealousy of the state towards *Charles* was somewhat allayed. About this time the *Gibelin* faction regained their ascendancy at *Arezzo*; but were soon dispossessed, and all that territory was for six or seven months filled with commotions.

Scali put to
death.

FLORENCE had now, in fact, nothing to fear but faction, and that soon blasted all the benefits she enjoyed from peace. Every day produced new plots against the government; and the wiser and nobler part of the citizens chose to live retired and private, rather than to enjoy the highest preferments in the state. Two noblemen of great rank and family, *George Scali*, and *Thomas Strozzi*, had discovered a new path to power, by declaring themselves the patrons of the plebeians. They were attended by guards, and their proceedings against their fellow citizens were unjust and arbitrary; nor was any subject in the state safe, if they had conceived umbrage against him. One *John Cambio*, a citizen of note, was by one of their spies or guards accused of designs against the state. The charge was found to be malicious and groundless; and the judge, who had cognizance of it, was inclined to have put the accuser to death, when the two demagogues, his patrons, rescued him out of custody, and would have killed the judge, could they have found him; but he (B) retired to the palace of the presidents, where he laid open the danger of the city from the excessive power of those tyrants, and offered to resign his office.

THE magistrates, sensible of the public danger, instantly resolved to seize that opportunity, and to free their country from the power of its two tyrants. The house of the judge, or gonfalonier, had been plundered. They counselled him to remain in his office, and promised to indemnify him for all his losses. After this they fell into serious con-

^f ARETIN. pag. 179.

(B) The whole of this incident is misrepresented in the *English* translation of *Machiavel's History of Florence*.

- a sultations amongst themselves, and determined to act up to the dignity of government. They placed guards about their palace, and sent a party to arrest *George Scali*, who had been the most active in the late rescue. His insolence, and that of *Strozzi*, had by this time made both of them obnoxious, even to the citizens whom they patronized; and so fickle is popular favour, that *Scali* was apprehended without the least resistance, none of his numerous attendants daring to oppose, and *Strozzi* made his escape. All of a sudden the people demanded justice upon their late tyrants, whom they execrated. *Scali*, the very day after his apprehension, was publicly put to death, and some of his dependants were torn in pieces by the enraged multitude. The state of *Florence* was now in a critical situation; for the commonalty, always in extremes, proceeded to violences which threatened the destruction of the city. The admirable wisdom of the presidents interposed. They knew their countrymen would cool, if they had but leisure; and they summoned several public conventions, or assemblies, to give them time for recollection. The event was, that after some of the instruments of the late democracy had been brought to condign punishment, one hundred citizens were chosen for reforming or obviating all the maladies of the state. The standard of justice was then produced, and a perambulation was performed by the new magistrates, with it in front, all over the city, which passed with great tranquility and public approbation. After this, many of the popular laws against the nobles were rescinded, and great numbers of captives were freed from prison; so that there was a general expectation that all the exiles would be restored. In the mean-
c while, two new companies of trades, which had been erected out of the scum of the people, were abolished, by which all the others were reduced to the number of twenty-one.

- THE *Neapolitan* party of *Charles of Durazzo* took advantage of the unsettled situation of affairs in *Florence*, and moved from *Arezzo* to *Marziali*, to the number of three thousand five hundred. Upon this, *Hawkwood* was dispatched with some troops to observe their motions, and he encamped in their sight; but, not standing a battle, they were pursued by *Hawkwood* into the *Arezzian* territory. All this while, matters were in so violent an agitation in *Florence*, that it can scarcely be said, with propriety, that any form of government existed there. Every day produced skirmishes, sometimes between the old and new nobility; sometimes between the plebeians and the more wealthy citizens. The exiles, without leave, returned, being sure of protection from one or the other party. At last, the party of the nobility prevailed. All the upstart corporations were disenfranchised; the *Guelphs* were restored to all their honours and dignities; the plebeians were reduced to a third share of the government, and rendered incapable of succeeding to certain high posts, particularly to that of gonfalonier; and all who had been exiled since the time that *Silvester Medici* was in that post, were readmitted into the state.

Hawkwood
opposes the
Neapolitans
and exiles.

- It is often the misfortune of popular governments, that they carry every thing to extremes. The nobles of *Florence*, now prevailing, carried matters with as high a hand as the plebeians had done before. All the friends of the ancient constitution, that is, of the most creditable commons, now suffered a kind of proscription; and even the great services which *Michael Landi* had done his country, could not screen him from the rage of his enemies. The wiser and better part of the citizens disliked this sudden revolution of power; and some, amongst whom was *George Alberti*, a great nobleman, exclaimed against it; which made the ruling party resolve, if possible, to ruin him. While matters were in this untowardly situation at home, the *Florentines* received an alarm from abroad; that *Lewis of Anjou* was marching, as the adopted son of queen *Joan of Naples*, to drive *Charles of Durazzo* out of *Italy*. The *Florentines*, having no reason to expect any favour from the *French*, stood on their guard, and invited all the states of *Tuscany* to unite with them against *Lewis*, in case he should make any attempt in his march on their liberties. Perhaps their precautions at this time saved them. All that *Lewis* did was to require them to observe a strict neutrality; and *Charles of Durazzo*, now king of *Naples*, did the same. The *Florentines* at this time held the balance of power in *Italy*, being courted by four great princes, to wit, pope *Urban*, the duke of *Anjou*, the king of *Naples*, and the king of *Hungary*. Their own inclinations led them to side with pope *Urban* and the king of *Naples*; but they prudently stuck to their neutrality; and having prevailed on the other *Tuscan* states to join in the proposed confederacy, they gave good words to all, but declared for none. The *Bolognese*, who had come into the general alliance, were apprehensive that *Lewis* designed to seize their city; but the *Florentines* acted towards them with so much honour and firmness, that they remained unmolested. *Lewis* had entered *Italy* at the head of a vast army; and being joined by all the friends of queen *Joan*, his party was very powerful. Pope *Urban*, next to the king of *Naples*, had the most to fear from the *French*; and he earnestly applied to the *Florentines* for money to defend himself, his solicitation being backed by the king of *Naples*. This request could not be granted con-

Tyranny of the
nobles.

A. D. 1382.

sistently with the neutrality the *Florentines* had embraced; and yet they thought it necessary to prevent the *French* from getting footing in *Italy*. They therefore privately supplied *Hawkwood* with the money the pope had requested; and he, paying his soldiers with it, went into the service of his holiness, to the great joy of *Charles*, and the displeasure of *Lewis*.

The *Florentines* join *Charles* of *Durazzo*.

THE *French* now saw that the real sentiments of the *Florentines* were bent against them, and *Lewis* applied to the *French* king for a confiscation of all the effects of the *Florentines* in his country. This served only to unite them more strictly with *Charles*, who was still in possession of *Arezzo*. The *Florentines*, disliking such a neighbourhood, would willingly have regained that city; and some steps were concerted for that purpose, but not executed, the *Neapolitan* governor's instructions not being sufficiently clear on that head. The *Florentines*, however, took possession of many fortresses in the *Arezzian* territory; but avoided giving the smallest umbrage to *Charles*, who about this time succeeded to the kingdom of *Hungary*.

Their difference with the *Venetians* and *Genoese*.

THIS year the *Florentines* had a difference at once with the *Genoese* and the *Venetians*; but upon very different accounts. At the close of the last war between those two states, the *Florentines* became sureties for the payment of one hundred and fifty thousand ducats, in case the island of *Tenedos* was not delivered to the *Genoese*; and no such delivery being performed, the *Genoese* made a demand upon the *Florentines* for the money, which obliged the latter to apply to the *Venetians* for their indemnification. The *Venetians* pretended, that the governor of the island alone was to blame, and that they were ready to deliver it up. We are not told in what manner this affair was compromised; but it is probable the prudence of the *Florentines* extricated them from the difficulty; for they lived in harmony with both states.

Siege of *Arezzo*.

A SEVERE pestilence now broke out in *Florence*, which drove most of the inhabitants into the country. The government became apprehensive, that the plebeian faction might take advantage of this depopulation to resume its power, and many laws were passed for detaining the inhabitants within the city: but the pestilence being more dreadful than the penalty of the law, it was in a manner abandoned; and all public offices being shut up, scarcely any thing was transacted worthy of mention in history. Next year a strong reinforcement came to the duke of *Anjou* from *France*; and, in their passage to *Naples*, they endeavoured to make themselves masters of *Arezzo*, by the assistance of some of the banished *Arezzians*. They succeeded so far as to seize the city; but could not master the citadel. This news spread consternation amongst the *Florentines*; but they were somewhat comforted by receiving certain intelligence of the death of *Lewis* of *Anjou*, which they communicated to the *French* without being believed. The siege of the citadel of *Arezzo* was continued with more fury than ever; but the *French* being convinced that the duke of *Anjou* was dead, intirely changed their system, and, after some negotiating, they sold *Arezzo* to the *Florentines*; upon which the garrison gladly capitulated, and thus *Florence* again became mistress of that city. This acquisition occasioned such joy in *Florence*, that public diversions were celebrated on that account. The *Florentines* then possessed themselves of the *Arezzian* territory, and of the fortresses which were held by the sons of *Saco*, their ancient tyrant. But a great revolution now took place in *Italy*.

Great power of the duke of *Milan*.

JOHN VISCONTI, the son of *Galeazzo*, a young man of disguised ambition, had now thrown off the mask, and had deprived his uncle *Barnabo* of his life and the principality of *Milan*. The *Florentines*, who had rather dreaded than loved *Barnabo*, at first beheld his fate with indifference; but afterwards they began to think that the young *Galeazzo's* power was too formidable. In order to check him, the *Florentines* did all they could to renew their union with the other states of *Tuscany*. In the mean while, *Charles* king of *Naples* and *Hungary*, died, to the great mortification of *Florence*. A difference arose between the prince of *Urbino* and the duke of *Gaeta*, which the *Florentines* endeavoured to make up; but the prince of *Urbino* having, in defiance of the *Florentine* mediation, made himself master of his antagonist's person, the *Florentines* declared war against him; and carried it on with so much success, that he was at last reduced to reason. This year the *Florentines* likewise recovered *Liciano*, a town in the *Arezzian* territory, that had for some time been in possession of the *Siennese*. About the year 1386, pope *Urban* came from *Genoa* to *Lucca*, where he began to raise soldiers, to the vast terror of the *Tuscan* states, who held the papal tyranny in the utmost detestation: all but *Perugia* submitted itself to his power. The *Florentines* in vain exhorted the *Perugians* to stand by their liberties, and demolished a great number of fortresses towards the foot of the *Appennines*, which they could not maintain, lest they should be seized by their enemies. Those fortresses belonged to the family of *Ubalдини*, the head of whom, *John Azzo*, began now to make a great figure in *Italy*, and was dreaded by the *Florentines*. Those commotions did not divert the attention of the *Florentines* from their domestic concerns; for we are told, that this year the area before their public palace was enlarged and beautified.

A. D. 1386.

CIVIL

- a CIVIL dissensions succeeded. The *Alberti* family was now the most powerful in *Flo-* *Alberti ban-*
rence, and *Benedict Alberti* was its head. He had been elected gonfalonier of the city com-
panies; and his son *Magalotti*, a sprightly young nobleman, had been chosen gonfalonier
of justice; so that the two principal posts in the state were vested in one family. The
other magistrates voted *Magalotti* incapable of the office to which he had been chosen, on
account of his youth; and substituted *Bardo Mancini* in his place. Not contented with
this, they banished *Benedict Alberti* out of *Florence*; a disgrace which he bore with vast
magnanimity. His banishment was followed by numberless acts of injustice inflicted up-
on his friends and family. The fear of *Galeazzo* of *Milan* now engrossed the attention of
Florence. He was encouraged by the civil dissensions of the citizens, and by his own
b good fortune, which had already rendered him master of *Verona* and *Vicenza*, to attempt
the mastery likewise of all *Tuscany*. The *Florentines* opposed him; but the *Siennese* were
inclined to submit to his power. The people of *Cortona* were then under the protection
of the *Siennese*; but perceiving their inclinations for *Galeazzo*, they applied to the *Florentines*,
who were so generous as to refuse the government of their city; but sent them some
troops to protect their independency. This exasperated the *Siennese* so much, that they
privately treated with *Galeazzo*, about the surrender of their city to him. *Giovanni Ricci*, *Danger of*
a noble *Florentine*, endeavoured to rouse his countrymen to a sense of their danger, by *Florence.*
painting *Galeazzo* in his true colours, and laying open at once his power and ambition.
He then advised them to enter into a league with the *Bolognese*, and as many of the *Tuf-*
c *can* states as they could bring over to the party of freedom and independency, and even
to solicit assistance from the *French*, who, he said, were undoubtedly uneasy at the great
power of *Galeazzo* in *Italy*. Above all, he counselled them to make new levies, and to
be upon their guard at home. *Ricci's* speech was approved of, and his countrymen fol-
lowed his advice, as far as it was practicable. Even the *Siennese* now made some over-
tures for renewing their ancient league with *Florence*; and some measures were taken for
carrying the war into *Lombardy*, and for rescuing *Pavia*, then besieged by *Galeazzo*. But
that scheme was too great for the power of the confederates, and came to nothing; so that
Pavia fell into *Galeazzo's* hands.
- THIS did not prevent the negotiation from going forward between the *Florentines* and
d the *Siennese*; but it was thwarted by *Galeazzo*, who sought to make himself master of *Pol-*
lenza. The *Polenzans* were then under the protection of the *Siennese*; but having an insu-
perable aversion to *Galeazzo*, they offered to admit a *Florentine* garrison into their city.
The *Florentines* did not readily comply with this proposal, being afraid of disobliging the
Siennese; but the *Polenzan* deputies formally came before the magistrates of *Florence*,
when they were assembled in their town-house, and demanded that *Polenza* should be en-
rolled in their public inventory, as part of the *Florentine* property, which was accordingly
done; and thereby *Polenza* being annexed to the dominion of *Florence*, could not be se-
parated from it without consent of the people. This enrolment highly disgusted the *Si-*
e *ennese*, who now courted the friendship of *Galeazzo*, and complained that the *Florentines*
had cheated them out of a city.
- THIS neither discouraged nor disconcerted the *Florentines*. They entered into an alli- *Courage and*
ance with *Barnabo's* son, and *Antonio* prince of *Verona*, who had both of them been dis- *constancy of*
possessed by *Galeazzo*. He, on the other hand, complained that the *Florentines* fostered *the Floren-*
and supported his enemies, and drove all the natives of *Florence* out of his dominions; *tines.*
while the *Florentines*, with a magnanimity peculiar to a free state, made open proclama-
tion inviting all *Galeazzo's* subjects to reside in their city and territory. At the same
time they sent ambassadors to *France*, to make a league with the *French* king; and or-
dered their general *Hawkwood* to march to *Lombardy*, to the assistance of *Barnabo's* son and
his party.
- f PETER GAMBACURTA was then the leading man at *Pisa*, but a strong advocate *Peace con-*
for peace. His authority in *Tuscany* was so great, that the states of *Milan*, *Florence*, *Sienna*, and *Perugia*, entered into a league at *Pisa*. It was at this time that pope *Urban VI.*
died, and was succeeded by *Boniface*, though the schism in the popedom still continued. It
soon appeared that *Galeazzo* had entered into the *Pisan* league, which was to last three
years, for private ends of his own. His great view was against *Florence*; but to keep the
other parties of the confederacy either upon his side or neutral, he took occasion to up-
braid the *Florentines* with a design against his life, and mentioned the public speech of
Ricci as a proof of his allegation. He then drove all the *Florentines* out of his do-
minions. They, on the other hand, not bearing to be branded with such a calumny;
g wrote to the states of *Venice*, *Genoa*, and *Pisa*, to clear themselves, and to lay open *Gale-*
azzo's wicked purposes. This incident disconcerted the league, and the *Siennese* and *Pe-* *but broken.*
rugians refused to ratify it. The *Florentines*, upon this, applied to *Gambacurta*, who hav-
ing been sincere in all his proceedings, offered to go in person to *Galeazzo*; but was dis-
suaded

suaded by the *Florentines*, for fear the latter should take advantage of *Gambacurta's* absence to seize *Pisa*. The *Florentines* strove to renew their league with the *Siennese* and the *Perugians*, and offered even to resign *Polenza* to the former; but they proved quite intractable, complaining, that their deputies had been forced by Sir *John Hawkwood* to enter into the *Pisan* confederacy. The *Perugians*, in like manner, complained that the *Florentines* had harboured and entertained their exiles, and that they had endeavoured to seduce some of their towns.

THE *Florentines* had ordered deputies to repair to *France*, as *Ricci* had advised them; but they were intercepted, and detained by *Galeazzo*. The *French* king, however, hearing of this, sent ambassadors to the *Florentines*, offering to take them into his protection upon two conditions. The first was, that they should acknowledge the authority of pope *Clement*; and the other, that they should pay him an annual sum for his protection.

The French demands and mediation rejected.

THOUGH the *Florentines* were upon the eve of a war with the most ambitious and powerful prince in *Italy*, though they were surrounded by open or secret enemies, and though they had not an ally whom they could trust, yet they magnanimously rejected those terms, as inconsistent with the good faith and dignity of their state. They even carried their resentment so far, that they refused to accept the mediation of *France* for a peace, when her ambassadors proposed it. This negotiation being at an end, *Galeazzo* sent a letter to *Florence*, containing a formal denunciation of war against the *Florentines*, who, he said, were held in subjection by a pragmatial *Guelph* faction. The *Florentines* recriminated upon him in a most severe manifesto they published, laying open all his crimes and ambition; and thus the war, which was the greatest the *Florentines* had ever undertaken, commenced in the year 1390.

S E C T. VII.

Containing the History and Progress of the War between Milan and Florence.

Hawkwood recalled out of *Naples*, and again made the *Florentine* General. The *Florentines* raise Men in *France*. Negotiation between them and the Duke of *Bavaria*, and several States of *Italy*. The noble Actions of Sir *John Hawkwood*. The *Florentines* victorious. A Truce concluded, which was soon broken. The *Florentines* renew their Confederacy with other States. Death of *Peter Gambacurta*, and of the famous Sir *John Hawkwood*. Ten Field-Deputies or Presidents of War, chosen at *Florence* for continuing the War. The *Florentines* assist the *Lucquese*. *Milan* erected into a Dukedom. The *Milanese* repulsed at *Segni*. Conspiracy at *Florence*. The *Venetians* confederate with the *Florentines*. The State of *Italy* in the Year 1400.

Flourishing state of Florence.

THE *Florentine* historian observes, that at the time we now treat of, the republic of *Florence* was in a most flourishing condition, both as to the state of her finances and the abilities of her subjects. Before the war was proclaimed, the *Milanese*, the *Siennese*, and the other enemies of *Florence*, rendezvoused near *Sienna*, to the number of three thousand horse and fifteen hundred foot, under the command of *Giovanni Azzo*, of the family of *Ubal dini*, and *Fantedesco*, a grandson of *Saco*, both of them determined enemies of *Florence*. Having for some time disguised their intentions by marches and counter-marches, they all of a sudden passed *Monte Luco*, with a design to seize upon *San Giovanni*, within which they had some confederates. Being disappointed in their attempt, they marched towards *Arezzo*, ravaging the country all the way. The *Florentines* sent what forces they could spare to protect *Arezzo*; but the descendants of *Saco* were so powerful in that territory, that they became masters of *Liciano*, a place now scarcely to be met with in maps.

Stedfastness of the Bolognese.

THE *Bolognese* continued faithful in their alliance with the *Florentines*; and *Galeazzo* marched an army against them, under the command of *Giacomo Vermi* of *Verona*, who took some places in the *Bolognese*. The people of *Bologna* immediately advertised the *Florentines* of their danger; and though the latter were in equal danger themselves, they ordered Sir *John Hawkwood*, who commanded their troops in *Naples*, to their assistance. At the same time, they invited *Rainoldo Urfini*, a general of great renown, to take the command of their troops in *Tuscany*; and ordered new levies to be made in the *Campagna di Roma*, also in the territories of the church, and all over *Italy*, where men would enlist in their service. In the mean while, *Galeazzo*, who by *Machiavel*, is called *John Galeazzo Visconti*, count of

a *Virtue*, died at *Sienna*, of a disease he had contracted in the field. His death introduced a new face of affairs all over *Italy*. *Reinaldo Urfini* accepted of the invitation of the *Florentines*; but while he was upon his march to take upon him the command of their troops, he was treacherously killed at *Aquila*; so that the chief command devolved upon *Hawkwood*. He had marched with great expedition from *Naples* to *Bologna*, and found himself at the head of four thousand horse and two thousand foot, *Florentines* and *Bolognese*. He immediately marched against the enemy, who were besieging *Frœmalcore*; but, upon his approach, they retired into the *Modenese* with precipitation. They were pursued by *Hawkwood*, who retook the places which the *Bolognese* had lost.

b THE *Florentines* at this time meditated a far greater enterprize than any they had ever yet undertaken. *Charles Visconti*, the son of *Barnabo*, who thought himself the lawful heir of *Milan*, and *Lucino*, a prince of the same family, served under *Hawkwood*; and the *Florentines* apprehended that it would not be impracticable to form a party against the reigning family at *Milan*. This project flattered the high ideas they entertained of their own power and dignity; but they prudently sought to strengthen themselves by foreign alliances. They therefore sent a splendid deputation to *Stephen* duke of *Bavaria*, inviting him to march into *Italy*, and tempting him with a promise of a vast subsidy, and other advantages. They likewise invited the prince of *Carrara*, whose father had been imprisoned by *Galeazzo*, and who himself was then in exile in *Germany*, to return and assert his family rights in *Italy*; and applied to several other foreign princes for assistance. The Florentines attempt the conquest of Milan.

c THE war was all this time raging with great fury in *Tuscany*, where the *Siennese* and their allies became masters, by treachery, of a strong place called *Battifolle*, within three miles of *Arezzo*. By this they were rendered very formidable to that city. It happened, luckily for the *Florentines*, that the *Arezzians* themselves had an invincible aversion to the family of the *Tarlatti*, or *Saco*; and therefore, without putting the *Florentines* to great expence, they made a most admirable defence, though they were surrounded on all hands by their enemies, who had found means to possess themselves of their fortresses. The *Florentines* themselves acted with as much spirit, in expectation of the assistances they had solicited from *Germany* and *France*; so that all *Tuscany* was at this time engaged in a war, so expensive to the *Florentines*, that few sovereign states could have defrayed it, they having subsidies to pay to almost all the neighbouring princes. Arezzo invaded.

d and their success was therefore the greatest in that country. The prince of *Carrara* arrived in *Italy* at the head of a large body of *German* horse, and marched with such dispatch, that he surprised *Padua*; but the citadel held out for *John* duke of *Milan*, the eldest son of *Galeazzo*. At the same time *Hawkwood*, having secured the state of *Bologna*, marched through the *Modenese*, and laid siege to *Reggio* and *Parma*, while the duke of *Bavaria* arrived with a fresh army of *Germans*; so that the family of *Galeazzo* was in danger of losing all its possessions in *Lombardy*, excepting *Milan*. It appears, from the concurring testimony of all historians, that the scheme the *Florentines* had now laid for the conquest of *Lombardy* must have succeeded, had they not unfortunately been obliged to commit the execution of it to the *German* mercenaries. The *Veronese* had taken arms for the infant son of *Antonio*, their late prince; but not being supported, as they expected to be, by the duke of *Bavaria*, the *Galeazzo* party had regained the ascendant: and the *Vicenza* was well disposed to revolt; but was obliged to submit to the same power, for want of a head. The prince of Carrara comes to the aid of the Florentines; as does the duke of Bavaria.

e THE duke of *Bavaria*, on the other hand, in an embassy he sent to *Florence*, laid all the blame of his failure upon the obstructions he received from the duke of *Austria*, the bishop of *Aquileia*, and the *Venetians*; but pretended that he had come time enough to save *Padua*, where the citadel still held out. He counselled the *Florentines* at the same time, to order *Hawkwood*, who was still in *Lombardy* with his army, to join him; but the drift of his whole message was for a fresh supply of money. The *Florentines* replied, that his advice was ridiculous and impracticable, and his demand unreasonable: that the citadel of *Padua* was no object for two great armies, such as his and *Hawkwood*'s, to be employed against: that the prince of *Carrara* was at the head of a force sufficient to reduce it: that the swelling of the two great rivers, the *Po* and the *Adige*, rendered it impracticable for *Hawkwood* to join him: that, if he intended to do them any service, he ought immediately to march against *Verona* and *Vicenza*; in which case they would take his demand into consideration, though he knew that they had paid him already all the money they had promised, which was sufficient for defraying the expence of a far greater army than he had brought with him. Apology and demands of the latter.

f THIS answer disoblged and disconcerted the needy *German* so much, that he refused to remove from *Padua*; while the *Bolognese* horse mutinying for want of pay, *Hawkwood* was obliged to carry them and his *Florentine* troops back to the *Bolognese*; and thus fell to the ground. Difficulties of the Florentines.

ground the vast and well-concerted project of the *Florentines* for the conquest of *Lombardy*.^a His retreat revived the spirits of the *Galeazzo* party there; and they assembled a great force to relieve the castle of *Padua*, and retake the town. The *Bavarian* foresaw the difficulties of the *Florentines*, and pretended to make preparations for returning home. At last the *Florentines* submitted to pay him some money, provided he would remain at *Padua*. Their perplexities were great on this occasion. They plainly saw that the *Bavarian* was not to be trusted, and that *Padua* could be saved only by their own troops. They had an army on foot; but the duke of *Ferrara* refused to let it pass through his territories, and it being in no condition to force its way, the *Florentines* applied for shipping to the *Venetians*, who denied them, on account of their connections with the *Galeazzo* family.^b

War in Tuscany.

Embassy from the Bolognese.

THE affairs of the *Florentines* wore a better aspect in *Tuscany*, where the *Milanese* had now few or no troops. Their generals were *Donati Azarolo*, a *Florentine* nobleman, and *Biliotto Biliotti*; and they gained several advantages over the *Siennese*. This brought many of the latter to think of departing from their league with the *Galeazzo* family. *Hawkwood*, all this time, lay with his army amongst the *Bolognese*, who were now heartily tired of the war. They therefore sent ambassadors to *Florence*, pleading their inability to continue it, on account of its expence; and demanding either a loan of money, or leave to make a separate peace. The *Florentines* reproached the ambassadors with the pusillanimity of their countrymen; represented the prodigious sums they had expended in the war, the near prospect they had of success; and concluded by telling them, the peace they talked of could be no other than a bargain for slavery. This magnanimous answer so much stung the *Bolognese*, that they resolved to continue the war with more vigour than ever. The effect of this resolution was soon seen, by a peace that was concluded between them and *Alberti* of *Ferrara*; by which the latter agreed to give the *Florentine* army a free passage to *Padua*, which was now in the most imminent danger.^c

The high worth of Sir John Hawkwood.

THE great merit of Sir *John Hawkwood* appears from the following consideration, that though he was a foreigner, and now very aged; and though the *Florentine* nobility had all, in their turns, aspired to be generals, and many of them had been intrusted with the command of armies; yet *Hawkwood* was always, as it were, the sheet-anchor of their state in all junctures of difficulty and danger, and the greatest of their nobility then submitted to his command. He was, on this occasion, sent to relieve *Padua*, the duke of *Bavaria* being now returned to *Germany*. *Hawkwood* arrived but just in time to save the city; for his enemies, though very numerous, would not stand a battle. This service being performed, he marched towards *Verona* and *Vicenza*, in hopes of being favoured by some commotions in those cities; but the duke of *Milan* had taken his measures so well, by bridling them with strong garrisons, that he was disappointed, and obliged to take up his winter-quarters in the *Paduan*. Such were the transactions of the year 1391.^d

The French assist the Florentines.

THE return of the duke of *Bavaria* to *Germany*, induced the *Florentines* to apply to the *French* (who may then be said to be a free people) with more eagerness than ever for assistance. The *French* nobility were at this time very independent of their king, and had been long practised in war. The count *de Armignac* was one of the most illustrious amongst them, and to him the *Florentines* particularly applied. He readily listened to their proposals, and the fate of *Lombardy* was once more rendered doubtful. It was agreed, that the count should penetrate into *Lombardy*, with a great army, by the way of *Alessandria*, while *Hawkwood* should maintain his ground in the *Paduan*; and that, both armies being joined, they should attack *Milan*. *Giovanni Ricci* and *Rainoldo Janfiliacci* were at this time the *Florentine* deputies with the count, who met with great difficulties in his undertaking. *Galeazzo* had spared neither money nor pains to raise a party against his expedition at the court of *Rome*, and a mutiny in his army. The count, however, surmounting all opposition, began his march at the head of a very fine army, which soon passed the *Alps*, keeping the *Appennines* on the right hand, and the *Po* on the left. The *Florentine* deputies, during this march, which was undertaken to avoid the uncertain passages over the *Tessino*, the *Po*, and several other rivers, were at great pains to curb the natural impetuosity of the *French*, who were perpetually falling out amongst themselves, and undertaking dangerous but useless expeditions.^e

Hawkwood master of the Milanese.

GALEAZZO, more terrified at the *French* than the *Florentines*, having provided for the defence of *Milan*, moved to *Pavia*, where he took up his head-quarters, and sent the flower of his troops to oppose the *French*, and to garrison *Alessandria*. By this time *Hawkwood* became master of all the open country of the *Milanese*, which he laid under severe contributions; but being unprovided of engines, or artillery, it is probable that he took no strong places, and he was obliged to stop at the river *Adda*, which he could not pass. This was within sixteen miles of *Milan*.^f

^a ARETIN, p. 213.

a *GALEAZZO*, being thus beset by the *French* and *Florentine* armies, was about to have abandoned *Pavia*, when he was encouraged to stand on the defensive by the prodigious heats of the season, it being then the middle of *July*, and the great imprudence of the *French*. For, after taking *Castelati*, which is within six miles of *Alessandria*, they dismounted from their horses, which were almost rendered unserviceable by the intense heats, and advanced in a square battalia of foot against the city, which had an army for its garrison. The *Florentine* historian^b justly observes, that this disposition would have been successful, had the *French* been to meet their enemies in the field; but the *Milanese* kept within their walls and entrenchments; and observing that the *French* had left their horses at a great distance behind them, they sallied out at a different gate from that which the *French* were to attack, and took the horses. This frantic conduct proved the utter ruin of the *French*. *Galeazzo* mounted his troops on horseback, and attacked them on all sides. Their valour proved of no service to them, as they could not pursue their enemies, who attacked and retired at pleasure; while the *French*, through their own weakness, occasioned by the heats of the weather and their fatigues, were unable to pursue. In short, scarcely a *Frenchman* escaped. Many of them were killed, more of them perished through heat and fatigue, and those who survived were made prisoners. Amongst the latter were the *Florentine* deputies. As to the count of *Armignac*, being disabled and made prisoner, he died in a few hours, rather from the anguish of his mind than the severity of his wound. *Aretin* says, that, by the public accounts of *Florence*, it appears that this expedition cost the *Florentines*, in a very few months, one million two hundred and sixty thousand ducats.

The French, thro' their own imprudence, are totally defeated.

GALEAZZO, having gained so compleat and unexpected a victory, marched now against *Hawkwood*, who, not being certain of the truth, did no more than fall back to a little distance from the *Adda*, and encamped at *Paterno*, a village in the *Cremonese*. The *Milanese* advanced with all the confidence of a sure victory, while *Hawkwood* ordered his troops to lie in their camp upon the defensive. The *Milanese* imputed this caution to fear, and for four days insulted his camp; but *Hawkwood*, taking advantage of their security and want of discipline, at last gave them battle, and defeated them; a great number being killed in the field, and above twelve hundred of their cavalry, with some of their chief officers, taken prisoners. Notwithstanding this defeat, the *Milanese* were greatly superior to him in strength, and hung upon his rear in his retreat, till he came to the river *Oglio*, which was difficult to pass in sight of a superior army; but he surmounted even this difficulty, by the help of four hundred *English* archers he had under him, who passed the river, and covered the rest of the *Florentine* army, in passing it, under the discharge of their arrows. This retreat was, in those days, justly thought to be a master-piece of generalship; and *Hawkwood*, without any further interruption, passed the *Mincio*.

Hawkwood defeats the victors.

His admirable retreat.

His difficulties, however, were greatly increased when he came to the banks of the *Adige*, which the enemy had broken down, and thereby laid the adjacent country under water; but *Hawkwood* relieved his army, even in this dreadful situation. He marched through the shoal waters, and came to a rising ground, where he pitched his tents; which leaving standing, to deceive the enemy, he marched forward to *Montagnana*, a friendly town, where he passed the *Adige* in boats. *Aretin* observes, that no general but *Hawkwood* could have performed such a retreat, which proved him to be the ablest commander of that age.

The prodigious losses and difficulties the *Florentines* had sustained, during this campaign, was far from abating their military ardour; for, during their expedition into *Lombardy*, they sent *Ludovico Campano*, with an army of four thousand horse and two thousand foot, amongst whom were twelve hundred *Genoise* cross-bowmen, against *Sienna*. They began their march towards the end of autumn, when the *Siennese*, who were perishing by famine, expected to get in their harvest. This induced the *Florentines* to prolong their march as much as possible, that they might render the neighbourhood of *Sienna* a desert; so inveterate was their hatred towards the *Siennese*. In the mean while, they took several places in that territory, and made many of the principal *Siennese* prisoners. But while they now thought themselves secure of subduing all their enemies, they received intelligence that the *French* had been totally defeated at *Alessandria*, and *Hawkwood* surrounded on the banks of the *Adda*, without a possibility of retreating. Those dismal accounts checked all the towering hopes of the *Florentines*, who imagined that *Galeazzo* was already in the heart of *Tuscany*. They recovered, however, from their consternation, when they heard that *Hawkwood* and his army were safe, and they sent him orders to march directly to *Tuscany*. While he was upon his march, *Galeazzo* sent *Vermi* of *Verona*, at the head of his army, to the assistance of the *Siennese*, and he arrived at *Pisa* about the time that *Hawkwood* reached *Bologna*. The *Florentine* army which remained in the *Siennese* must have been destroyed,

edition Expst Siennagai

^b ARETIN, pag. 216.

Hawkwood
saves Flo-
rence.

The Floren-
tines recover

and beat their
enemies.

A negotiation
for peace.

and *Florence* itself perhaps taken, had it not been for the courage and activity of the old *Eng-
lish* general, who hearing of *Vermi's* expedition, immediately passed the mountains, march-
ed to *Pistoia*, and from thence to *San Miniato*, in the neighbourhood of the *Milanese* army,
and offered them battle. *Vermi* at that time declined it, and marched from *Pisa* to *Vol-
terra*, and from thence to *Sienna*, both to cover that city and to join the *Siennese* troops,
which were still in the field. This junction being effected, the whole of his army
amounted to ten thousand horse and three thousand mercenary foot, besides a great body of
Pisan and *Siennese* volunteers; and with this formidable force he entered the *Florentine* territory.

THE *Florentine* generals and officers, upon this, held a great council of war in *Boneti*.
They had two generals, Sir *John Hawkwood* and *Luigi Campano*, who had commanded
their army in *Tuscany*. Their troops, in point of discipline and courage, were equal if not
superior to those of the enemy; but their numbers were far inferior. It was therefore re-
solved in a council of war to act upon the defensive, and in detached parties, and to keep
their strong places always at their backs. This was a wise resolution. They knew their
allies were on their march to join them, and that the *Siennese* territory could not long sup-
port their enemy. After many marches and countermarches on both sides, both armies
encamped within two miles of each other on the banks of the *Tessino*. While they lay in
this situation, the *Florentines* were joined by count *Barbiansi*, at the head of three thousand
Bolognese horse and four hundred archers, and by several other auxiliary troops. This ac-
cession of strength, and the numbers daily flocking to them from *Arezzo*, and the neigh-
bouring country, rendered the *Florentines* equal to their enemies, and both sides seemed to
prepare in good earnest for a general engagement.

THIS, however, was only a feint on the part of the *Milanese*, who had already resolved
upon a retreat, which they performed in the night towards *Viçtolini*. Passing the moun-
tains in the neighbourhood, they left troops to guard the passes in case of a pursuit, while
the main body held on their march. The *Florentines* no sooner heard of their enemy's re-
treat, than their camp was in an uproar, from the eagerness of the soldiers for a pursuit, all
of them calling out that not a man of the run-a-ways ought to be suffered to escape. No-
thing but *Hawkwood's* great authority could have diverted them from this pernicious reso-
lution. He strenuously insisted on their enemy's being suffered to retreat, and of the dan-
ger and folly of pursuing them through a country so fit for ambuscades. It was with the
utmost difficulty his advice at last prevailed; and sending out parties to reconnoitre, it was
discovered that part of the enemy was embarked on the banks of the *Novola*, and that part
were still in possession of the mountains. *Hawkwood* immediately gave orders that the lat-
ter should be attacked, which, notwithstanding their strong situation, was performed with
such vigour, that they were driven from the passes into the plain, with the loss of three
hundred killed, and two hundred horsemen made prisoners, amongst whom were some of-
ficers of the highest distinction, particularly *Taddeo Vermi*, brother to the *Milanese* general;
a great number of foot were made prisoners at the same time. This victory served only to
render the *Florentines* more presumptuous; and descending from the hill, against the ex-
press command of *Hawkwood*, they attacked the rear of the enemy in the plain; but were
repulsed with some loss, which rendered them a little more tractable.

AFTER this, the *Milanese* army proceeded on their march, and the *Florentines* took pos-
session of the camp they left, greatly exulting at the cowardly flight, as they called it, of
their enemies. The latter, however, far from flying, proceeded no farther than *Serezana*,
in the *Lucchese*; and, turning short, they marched to *Cascino*, in the territory of *Pisa*, in
the neighbourhood of which they encamped, and gave out that they were returned to
fight the *Florentines*. The latter had thought themselves so secure, that their auxiliaries
were on their march homewards, but were soon recalled. Many of them, however, did
not return; so that both armies, after lying some weeks within sight of one another, de-
parted, without fighting, into winter-quarters. During this campaign the *Florentines*
besieged *Ranco*, a strong fortress in the *Arezzian* territory, belonging to *Saco's* family. But
the place proving impregnable, both parties grew tired of the war and inclined to peace.
Friends interposing for that purpose, *Genoa* was pitched upon for the place of negotiation;
and the *Florentines* sent thither their plenipotentiaries, as *Galeazzo* and the pope, who was
greatly for peace, did theirs. The chief difficulty regarded the captive prince of *Carrara*,
whose deliverance his son *Francisco* insisted upon; as *Galeazzo* did upon the rendition of
Padua. Some difficulties likewise occurred with regard to the *Siennese* exiles, who had
taken refuge at *Florence*, and the town of *Liciano*. At last, after various altercations, the
matter was referred to the arbitration of the pope's legate, and the doge of *Genoa*, and, by
way of compliment, a deputy from the people of *Genoa*. Those referrees having agreed
upon their award, demanded who was to be guarantee of the peace. "The sword,"
"briskly replied *Tomassi*, one of the *Florentine* deputies; *Galeazzo* and *Florence* now know
"each

a "each other's strength." This gallant speech was approved of by Galeazzo's party, and award was then pronounced to the following effect :

THAT the town of *Padua*, with all the places taken by *Francisco* prince of *Carrara*, *Its terms* should remain to him, upon his paying to Galeazzo fifty thousand ducats in five years time. Hope were likewise given him, though nothing on that head was expressly stipulated, that Galeazzo would, of his own accord, restore the old prince to his liberty. All the places which the *Florentines* and the *Siennese* had taken from each other, were to be restored to their original owners, except *Liciano*, which was referred to a future negotiation ; and the *Siennese*, as well as the *Paduan*, exiles were to be restored to their estates. It was likewise stipulated, that Galeazzo's army should not pass a certain boundary towards *Florence*, unless the *Siennese* or the *Perugians* should invite them as auxiliaries against the unjust attacks of the *Florentines*.

NOTHING in this treaty was so much found fault with as the money which was to be paid for *Padua*, and which the *Florentines*, it seems, were to advance. *Arétin*^a observes, that, during the whole negotiation, the *Genoese* discovered a visible partiality for Galeazzo ; and even forced the grand master of *Rhodes*, who was the pope's legate, to yield some points in his favour. The *Florentines* in the main, however, were well satisfied with the terms. *Partiality of the Genoese.*

THE war between *Milan* and *Florence* had, immediately or remotely, affected the tranquillity of all *Italy*, and every state in it earnestly wished for not only the return but the continuance of peace. For this reason it had been stipulated, in the late negotiation at *Genoa*, that, when the *Milanese* and *Florentine* armies were disbanded, effectual means should be pursued to prevent the soldiers from forming themselves into companies of banditti, or robbers ; an evil which had often been fatal to the repose of *Italy*. This was proposed to be done by not disbanding the troops all at once, but gradually ; and by the respective parties keeping in their service such leaders as were most capable of heading and conducting such bands. The *Florentine* historian^b tells us, that his countrymen and their allies were sincere in performing this engagement ; but that Galeazzo's mercenaries formed themselves into a body, and demanded a passage through the *Bolognese* and the *Ferrarese*. The *Florentines*, who perhaps refined a little too much upon events, suspected that Galeazzo had connived at this demand, and sent some troops to the assistance of the *Bolognese*, who had refused to comply with it. Upon this, the companies marched through the *Parmesan* towards *Tuscany*, and advanced to the *Siennese*, their strength every day increasing. They then began to harass and lay under contribution the inhabitants of *Tuscany*. *Galeazzo's insincerity.*

THE *Florentines* were extremely uneasy at those proceedings, especially as it now appeared that neither the *Siennese* nor Galeazzo were their cordial friends. The former took every opportunity to express their rancour against *Florence*, and the latter behaved in a manner that was equally mean and brutal. *Giovanni Ricci*, who had made the famous speech against Galeazzo, and one of the *Florentine* deputies who had attended the count *de Armignac*, had been made prisoner at *Alessandria* ; and, after the peace of *Genoa*, Galeazzo not only raised his demand of four thousand florins for his ransom to thirty thousand, but put him in irons ; and sent two of his courtiers to tell him, that though he deserved death, yet he would remit that punishment upon the payment of the money. This was a sum so impossible for *Ricci* to raise, that his punishment amounted to perpetual imprisonment. Galeazzo, at the same time, refused to restore the old prince of *Carrara* to his freedom, and omitted no means to make the young one uneasy in his possession of *Padua*, by entertaining and succouring the *Paduan* exiles. *and injustice.*

SUCH a variety of suspicious circumstances put the *Florentines* upon their renewing their ancient league with their neighbouring states, which they did at *Bologna*. The parties who came into the confederacy were, besides the *Florentines* and the *Bolognese*, the *Paduans* and the *Ferrarese* ; but a liberty was reserved for any other state to enter into the confederacy, which the *Mantuan*s soon after did. This confederacy is a fresh proof of the passion for liberty, which the *Italian* states cherished in those days, and the wise measures they pursued to preserve it. It however gave great umbrage to Galeazzo, who, in his turn, publicly complained that the *Florentines* never had been sincere in the peace they had concluded with him, and he accordingly made preparations for renewing the war with more vigour than ever ; but, to gain time, he named ambassadors previously to treat with the *Florentines*. *The Florentines renew their league.*

EVERY page of the *Florentine* history produces instances of the glory attending the encouragement of commerce amongst a free people. *Florence* had in a manner supported, on her own shoulders, the liberty of *Tuscany* ; and had just finished, with honour, a most expensive and ruinous war with the greatest prince in *Italy*. She had paid immense subsidies *Their great riches and magnificence.*

^a Pag. 221.

^b ARÉTIN, *ibid*.

to the princes both of *Germany* and *France*, without being benefited by them, and irreproachably fulfilled all the engagements she had entered into: she was dreaded, hated, and envied by many of the neighbouring states, against whom she was obliged to keep armies on foot to guard against their surprizes; and yet she continued so immensely rich, that her citizens, at this time, outvied those of all *Europe*, in the splendor and elegance of their equipages, in their manner of living, in their buildings and public exhibitions. While they every day expected to re-enter into a bloody and expensive war with *Galeazzo*, they were celebrating tilts and tournaments, in honour of the birth of the *French* king's eldest son, with a magnificence that amazed all *Europe*. From the description their historian^c has given us of those diversions, it is plain that they were intended as an imitation of the *Trojan* games, so finely described by *Virgil*, and common amongst the *Romans*, who were the patterns of the *Florentine* policy, both in peace and war; but with this advantage in favour of the latter, that they were a commercial state.

Negotiation
with Galeazzo,

AFTER this magnificent exhibition, *Galeazzo's* ambassadors came to *Florence*, where, in a public audience, they highly extolled their prince's good faith and good will towards the *Florentines*, who answered them in terms equally polite and general. The ambassadors had expected that the *Florentines* would have entered upon the subject of their complaints against their master; but being disappointed, they told the *Florentines* plainly, that their instructions were to enter upon particulars on three heads: that of the banditti, of the behaviour of the *Siennese*, and the detention of the old prince of *Carrara* and *Ricci* in prison. As to the first, they pretended that their master had done all that was in his power to prevent such illegal associations. With regard to the second, he said, he was so far from encouraging the *Siennese*, that he had withdrawn his protection from them, to render them more tractable. With regard to the last head, they said, it was no just subject of complaint, as nothing had been stipulated by the peace of *Genoa*: that the misbehaviour of the young prince of *Carrara* was the reason of his father's detention; and that *Ricci* was the property of an officer, whom *Galeazzo* could not force to deliver him up.

to whom they
send deputies.

THE *Florentines* affected great surprize at this speech, and denied they had given authority to any one to say, that they had entertained any suspicions of *Galeazzo's* friendship. It appeared, however, afterwards, that the discovery had been made to him by the imprudence of a *Florentine* priest, who had been employed at his court. The *Florentines*, therefore, declined making any reply; and the ambassadors upbraided them with their having received the *Mantuan*, which lay, as it were, in the bosom of their master's dominions, into their confederacy. To this last charge the *Florentines* replied, that the *Mantuan*s were their ancient allies; and that, by admitting them into their league, they did no more than renew their former alliance with them; and that the whole of their confederacy was no other than defensive. As to the other parts of their commission, the *Florentines* informed them that they would send a satisfactory answer to *Galeazzo* by deputies of their own. Three accordingly were chosen, *Felippo Adimar*, *Rinaldo Gianfigliazzo*, and *Guido Tommasi*; but an incident happened at this time very alarming to the *Florentines*.

Death of
Gambacurta.

WE have, on several occasions, mentioned *Peter Gambacurta*, who had long the chief sway at *Pisa*, and, by all accounts, was one of the worthiest men in his time. He had a secretary, *Giacomo di Appiano*, who had served him so long that he was let into all his affairs and secrets; and being employed and trusted by his master in his most important concerns, he privately formed a faction against *Gambacurta* in favour of *Galeazzo*, who supported him. In the late war *Appiano* had sent his son *Vannes* to serve under *Galeazzo*; and the youth being taken prisoner, *Galeazzo* valued him so much, that he exchanged *Ricci* for him. On the return of *Vannes* to *Pisa*, their party openly declared themselves; and tho' *Gambacurta* was often forewarned of his fate, *Appiano* found means to put him to death, and to seize upon the government. This resolution, so unfavourable for the *Florentines*, happened on the second of *October*, 1392, according to the *Siennese* annals, and retarded the departure of the *Florentine* deputies. It was now plain, that the whole had been schemed and effected by *Galeazzo*, whose partizan *Appiano* professed himself to be. At last the deputies departed, and two or three years passed in a state of neither war nor peace between *Galeazzo* and the *Florentines*; each was civil to the other, and each endeavoured to betray and outwit one another. We shall, therefore, lay hold of this interval to mention some particulars, which, though of importance to history, cannot properly be interwoven with the narrative of wars or civil transactions.

Extraordi-
nary fit of
enthusiasm.

THE historian *Leonard of Arezzo*, whom we have all along mentioned by the name of *Aretin*, informs us^b, that he was at this time a young man studying the civil law, and therefore we may look upon him in some sense as a cotemporary author. From him we learn, that the *Italians*, and the *Florentines* in particular, had for some time, laid aside the

^c ARETIN, pag. 222. ^d Annali Senesi apud MURATOR. tom. xix. ad ann. 1392.

^b Vide LE O-

NARD ARETINI rerum suo tempore in Italia gestarum commentarius.

- a use of arms, from the great conveniency they found in hiring and employing foreign troops, and that those foreigners were all of them cavalry. We mention this circumstance to account for the extraordinary exceeding of the cavalry over the infantry in all the *Italian* armies, which the reader meets with in almost every page of this history. He tells us, however, that at this time the practice of hiring foreign horsemen was entirely disused in *Italy*, and the *Italian* cavalry was every where preferred to the foreign. There might, notwithstanding, be a reason for this, which *Aretin* does not mention; we mean the other wars in which the other princes of *Europe* were now involved, by which they found employment in their own armies for all their men. This sudden change of character seems to have affected
- b the common people of *Tuscany* in a most extraordinary manner. According to *Aretin*, nothing was to be seen all over the towns but long solemn processions of the inhabitants dressed in white. All were wrapt up in the fervours of devotion. All animosities between one place and another were now forgot. Two full months were spent in those mutual peregrinations from town to town. They who before had been sworn enemies, now embraced each other as friends. All gates flew open, and all places were accessible at the approach of the white robed processionists. Love and friendship seemed to possess every breast, and the universal chorus was peace and pity. They who were the most forward in deriding the accounts of those extraordinary appearances, no sooner saw them than they seemed to be smitten with the contagion, and were the foremost in putting on white garments (A).
- c The *Florentines* shared deep in the common infection; and no fewer than four processions went out of their city, which was thereby left uninhabited. At last the contagion spread all over *Italy*; and, according to *Aretin*, no certain account could be given of its rise.

THE revival of *Greek* learning at this period, after lying dead in *Italy*, according to *Aretin*, seven hundred years, does honour to the *Florentine* name. The emperor of *Constantinople* had come to *Italy*, to solicit assistance against the *Turks*, and had in his train a noble *Byzantine* called *Chrysoloras*, renowned for his knowledge of *Greek* learning. The *Florentines*, by a solemn deputation, invited this illustrious scholar to their city, where he was received with all the honours due to his rank and merit, and a salary was allowed him for opening a school for *Greek* lectures. Thus, to the immortal credit of the *Florentines*, *Europe* owes that valuable acquisition to them. *Aretin* preferred the lectures of *Chrysoloras* to those of his law masters, and has given us a particular list of his noble school fellows. *Chrysoloras* kept his school open for above two years; but was obliged to attend his master at *Milan*, being upon his return to *Constantinople*. While we are upon this subject, it is but justice to *Florence*, and the memory of *Aretin*, who was a subject of *Florence*, to mention that he may be considered as the great reviver of classical *Latin* in *Europe*, and that no writer since that time has exceeded his style in purity and precision; nor were his countrymen ungrateful to his merit, for they raised him to the greatest employments in their state.

The *Florentines* the revivers of learning.

- e THE *Florentines*, during the cessation of their war with *Galeazzo*, admitted into the confederacy, of which they were the head, the inhabitants of *Rimini*, *Faenza*, *Ravenna*, *Imola*, and *Citta di Castello*. This enlargement of the confederacy was the more necessary, as the banditti, privately encouraged by *Galeazzo*, grew daily more and more formidable. But the *Florentines*, at this time, received an irrecoverable blow by the death of the great Sir *John Hawkwood*, which happened in the year 1394. All the *Italian* writers of this age, of whatever country or faction they were, agree, that he was, at the time of his death, incomparably the greatest general in *Italy*, if not in *Europe*. He married the natural daughter of *Barnabo* duke of *Milan*, by whom he is said to have received in portion a million of florins. Notwithstanding his foreign services, he never forgot that he was an *Englishman*; and it was through his means that the marriage between *Galeazzo's* daughter and prince *Lionel* of *England* took place. Historians observe, that though *Hawkwood* died in extreme old age, it did not at all abate the vigour of his youth; for he shewed greater spirit, as well as generalship, in his last campaign, than he had done in any of his preceding. We cannot take leave of this great man without one observation, which is, that though he served various states, and in different interests, yet no imputation lies on his memory of being either mercenary or ungrateful; so that his conduct is as irreproachable as a man, as it was great as a hero (B). After being the scourge he became the saviour of the *Florentines*.

Death and character of Hawkwood.

A. D. 1394.

c Vide PAUL JOVIUS in Barnab. pag. 159. And BARNES's Life of Edward III. p. 718.

(A) In the printed copies of *Aretin's* commentary notice is taken of a remarkable different reading on this occasion. Some reading it *Et quasi Deo correpti*, as if they had been seized by God. Other copies read it, *Et quasi astra, ut dicitur, correpti*, which signifies as if they had been seized by what we may call a fit of madness.

(B) He had a son named *John*, born in *Italy*, made knight and naturalized in the 7th year of king *Henry IV.* as appeareth by the record (1) *Johannes, filius Johannis Hawkewood, miles, natus in partibus Italia factus indigena. ann. 8. Hen. IV. mater ejus nata in partibus transmarinis.*

(1) In Bib. Cot. & in Arch. Turris Lond. Baker ad An. 8. Hen. IV. m. 20.

time

tine liberty ; and after his death he was, at the public expence, honoured with a noble funeral, and a magnificent monument.

Civil factions
in Florence.

AFTER the banishment of *Alberti*, factions prevailed in *Florence*, and many of his friends and party were either exiled, admonished, or put to death, by what *Machiavel* calls the *Balia*, which was an extraordinary power delegated, upon certain occasions, to the lords, the colleges, the eight, the captains of the wards, and the syndics of the trades. *Maso Albizi* was an enemy to the house of *Alberti*, on account of the death of *Pietro Albizi*; and being gonfalonier of justice, he procured *Alberto* and *Andrea Alberti*, to be accused of holding a correspondence with the enemies of the state. This brought on a fresh prosecution of the *Alberti* party, in which such numbers of the lower ranks of the people were either admonished or put to death, that the multitude took arms. Part of them ran to the great square, where the magistrates were assembled, and forced them to give them for their leaders *Rinaldo Gianfigliazzo*, and *Donato Acciaivoli*, with the ensigns of the *Guelphs* and the people in their hands. Others ran to the house of *Veri di Medici* (C), and besought him to take upon him the government of the state, which he nobly refused; but told the people at the same time he would do them all the service he could. He accordingly repaired to the palace of the presidents, whom, after clearing himself of all ambitious views, he exhorted to moderation. The magistrates, on their part, made so many fair professions, that *Veri*, upon his return to the people, persuaded them to lay down their arms. This gave time to the magistrates to arm two thousand citizens, who they knew would stand by them; and they proceeded with the utmost severity against the late insurgents, many of whom they put to death, and admonished others. They were opposed by *Donato Acciaivoli*, who, being too precipitate in pushing for the recal of the exiles, was convicted of practices against the state, and confined in prison. Many of the family of *Medici*, and their friends, were banished at the same time. The chief exiles, most of whom were sprightly young men, retired to *Bologna*; but we are now to attend the military affairs of *Florence*, which *Machiavel* has scarcely mentioned.

Affairs of
Ferrara.

UPON the death of *Alberto*, prince of *Ferrara*, whose son *Nicholas* at that time was very young, *Azzo*, who was nearly related to the family, was obliged by the tutors of the young prince to abandon *Ferrara*, and, after spending some time at *Venice*, he came to *Florence*, where he made a splendid appearance. Leaving *Florence* at the head of some followers, and being privately supported by *Galeazzo*, he marched to the *Romagna*, where his party grew so strong, that *Nicholas* was in danger of being deposed. The *Florentines* mediated between them; but finding *Azzo* intractable, they declared themselves guardians to *Nicholas*. *Azzo* was backed by the inhabitants of *Ravenna* and *Forli*, and above all by count *Barbiansi*, and continued to be underhand assisted by *Galeazzo*. Upon this the *Florentines*, perceiving a war was unavoidable, raised an army, but before it could take the field, *Broglia* and *Brandolino*, at the head of some of the banditti in *Azzo's* pay, surprised the castle of *Gargonza* near *Arezzo*. This obliged the *Florentines* to divide their army. One part of it was detached to recover *Gargonza*, and another under a foreign count called *Conrad*, was sent into the *Ferrarese*, and twelve field deputies, (an office which had lain dormant ever since the last peace) were appointed to attend their army. The *Bolognese* had some connections with *Azzo*, which kept them neutral in this dispute.

These Florentines
jealousy
of the emperor.

WHILE those great preparations were in dependence, ambassadors came from the emperor *Winceslaus*, son of the emperor *Charles IV.* offering the *Florentines* his assistance against *Galeazzo*, and to march in person into *Italy* for that purpose. Some of the *Florentine* allies, such as the *Paduans* and *Mantuan*s, were eager for embracing the proposal; but the *Florentines*, ever true to the maxims of independency, were shy of giving an emperor of *Germany* any footing in *Italy*. They therefore prevailed with their allies to decline the emperor's offer, under the pretext that they were then negotiating a peace with the *Milanese*, and that if it should not succeed, they would accept of his generous assistance. In the mean time they entered into a negotiation with the *French* king, as being the less dangerous ally, in order to secure their independency against *Galeazzo*.

A. D. 1395.

WE now arrive at the year 1395, when the *Ferrarese* and *Arezzian* wars were still continued by the *Florentines*, and both of them underhand fed and supported by *Galeazzo*. But all of a sudden he recalled the troops serving in the *Arezzian* territories, and very politically prevailed with those who had surprised *Gargonza* to render it back to the *Florentines*. As to the *Ferrarese* war, *Aretin* informs us of an extraordinary incident, which, was it not attested by so great an authority as his is, we should not have inserted. He tells, that count *Barbiansi*, the great protector and support of *Azzo*, the pretender to the dukedom of *Ferrara*, was prevailed upon by the promise of a vast sum of money, and the surrender of two or three important places, to murder *Azzo*. But it

b Vide MACHIAVEL's History of Florence, book iii. c Id. ibid.

(C) *Aretin* is silent as to the noble behaviour of *Veri* on this occasion; but *Machiavel*, whose authority at this period is unquestionable, has mentioned it.

a seems he dressed up a person, who nearly resembled *Azzo*, in his cloaths; and having killed him, he received the reward. Soon after the real *Azzo* appeared to the great merriment of the public. The foul attempt upon *Azzo's* life did some service to his cause; but *Astorgi* of *Faenza* joining the *Florentines* against him, count *Conrad*, the *Florentine* general, took him prisoner, and he was confined at *Faenza*.

AZZO being no longer dreaded, the *Florentines*, who had been greatly provoked by the insolence of *Barbiansi*, besieged him in one of his own castles. But the prosperous state of the *Florentine* affairs had, by this time, excited the jealousy of their allies. The inhabitants of *Bologna*, *Ravenna*, and *Imola*, openly threatened to renounce their alliance, if they proceeded to farther conquests in their neighbourhood, or to assist either *Astorgi* or *Nicholas* of *Ferrara*. The siege of *Luco*, however, a place belonging to *Barbiansi*, still went on, when *Alberico Barbiansi*, his relation, and *Galeazzo's* general, undertook to relieve the place. *Galeazzo* made a polite apology to the *Florentines* for his general's conduct, and they procured the siege to be discontinued. They, however, laid siege to *Castrocari*, a town which had belonged to the *Roman* see, and had been sold to the *Florentines* by the pope's general (a traffic not uncommon in those days) but treacherously detained by him after receiving the money. The *Bolognese* again interposed, as did the inhabitants of *Forli*, and indeed all the *Romagna* and the neighbouring states, where the *Florentines* had now no friends but *Astorgi* of *Faenza*. The *Florentine* historian himself seems to give up the *Florentines* on this occasion, and to condemn their undertaking the siege of *Castrocari*, which made all the states of *Italy*, even the *Venetians*, their enemies. At last, by friendly interpositions, matters were compromised, and left to the arbitration of *Francisco* of *Carrara*.

In the mean while *Appiano*, who was now the governing man in *Pisa*, attempted to reduce *Lucca* to his obedience; upon which the *Florentines* sent a body of troops to *Pescia*, which is but ten miles from *Lucca*, and a deputy to the *Lucquese*, to exhort them to maintain their independency. The *Lucquese*, sensible of this generous interposition, admitted the *Florentine* troops into their city, and drove the besiegers from their works; upon which the friendship was renewed between the *Florentines* and the *Lucquese*, and the *Pisans* were detested by both.

ACCIAIUVOLI, a noble *Florentine*, after various revolutions of power in that city, was now at its head. He had long concurred in the general maxims of the state, but all of a sudden he favoured the exiles and the admonished, and joined with *Angelo*, the gonfalonier's son, in a project to restore and recapitulate them to enjoy public honours. Their schemes being made known to the magistrates, all of them as one man joined to defeat them; and *Acciaiuoli*, with his accomplices, were sent into exile. This amazing reverse of fortune, with regard to a man who, but a few days before, was little less than sovereign of the *Florentine* state, is a strong proof how tenacious the *Florentines* were then of their liberties. Their severity was the more remarkable, as *Acciaiuoli* was a citizen of irreproachable morals, both in public and private life; and no charge was brought against him but the great credit he had in the state, which his fellow-citizens thought incompatible with the name of a free government. Along with him were banished many other popular citizens, both noble and ignoble, so that at least one half of the *Florentine* people were at this time deemed exiles.

This year *Galeazzo* obtained from the emperor of *Germany*, who pretended to be lord paramount of *Milan*, the title of duke, having before that time been designed only count of *Virtue*, which was his patrimonial inheritance. He formally signified to the *Florentines* his new accessions of honours, and they in complaisance celebrated festivities upon it. But those appearances of joy were checked in the beginning of the year 1396, when the exiles and the banditti invaded the *Arezzian* territory with fire and sword. They were soon joined by *Barbiansi*, the sworn enemy of the *Florentines*, with a great force. The *Florentines* knew that *Barbiansi's* troops were mercenaries, and wisely resolved to deal with them as such. They offered money to their two leaders, *Cantelli* and *Filippo* of *Pisa*, and thereby prevailed with them to leave *Barbiansi's* service, and to enter into theirs. We are not authorized upon the face of history to say what the secret views of the *Florentine* government were at this time; but it is certain that the *Italian* states thought them to be dangerous. The generals and troops that the *Florentines* bought off from *Barbiansi*, to the number of fifteen hundred horse, joined their army, which was in *Modena*, under *Bartolomeo* of *Prato* and *Antonio Obizi*, and made excursions upon the inhabitants of *Reggio* and *Parma*, by which all *Barbiansi's* schemes fell to the ground. *Galeazzo* complained bitterly of those disorders. The *Florentines* answered, that *Cantelli's* men (for *Pietro* of *Pisa* had been detained by *Barbiansi*) were not in the service of *Florence*, they having received only as it were a retaining fee, in case their services should be required; a practice they had learned from *Galeazzo*

The Florentines give umbrage to their neighbours.

They support Lucca.

Commutations in Florence.

Milan erected into a duchy.

A. D. 1396.

himself. This apology, however, seems to be very evasive, it being notorious that they were in the *Florentine* pay; for after re-establishing *Nicholas of Ferrara* in his government, they marched to *Tuscany*, where they were employed by the *Lucques* against the *Pisans* of *Appiano's* party, whom the *Florentines* secretly hated. *Appiano* upon this applied to *Barbani*, who marched with his remaining forces to his assistance; upon which the *Florentine* mercenaries retired to *Lucca*, and the rest of the season was spent in mutual skirmishes of no great importance.

Galeazzo assists the Pisans.

MEAN while, the *Florentine* deputies at *Milan* sent advice of a large body of troops, who were marching under the counts of *Alberigo* and *Malespino*, by *Galeazzo's* order, to the assistance of the *Pisans*. The *Florentines*, affecting great moderation, not knowing where the storm might fall, mediated a peace, which with some difficulty they at last effected, and *Tuscany* was evacuated of all those mercenaries. *Barbani* marched into *Lombardy*, where he harassed the *Ferrarese* and the *Mantuan*. The *Florentines* understanding that in this he was instigated by *Galeazzo*, protected and encouraged the *Pisan* exiles against *Appiano*. Thus, matters for some time stood neither in a state of peace nor war, till *Appiano* at last persuaded *Galeazzo* to enter upon hostilities, and to order all his troops and generals to rendezvous at *Pisa*, which they did in such numbers as struck terror into *Florence*.

Preparations of the Florentines.

NOTWITHSTANDING this the *Florentine* magistrates behaved with great intrepidity. They now openly took *Bartholomew* of *Prato* into their pay, and gave the chief command of their troops to *Bernard*, a *French* nobleman of great reputation, who brought along with him six hundred choice horse and two hundred foot, which were quartered about *St. Miniato* and *Fucetti*: they likewise applied to the *Bolognese*, and their other allies; though the assistance received from them was but slow and insignificant. The first storm of war fell upon the *Lucques*, who were succoured by *Bernard*. *Appiano* laid hold of this opportunity to attempt to surprize *St. Miniato*, a strong place, and of the last importance to *Florence*. For this purpose he tampered with *Benedetto Marigliadori*, one of the chief inhabitants of the town, who entered it by twilight, with no more than seventeen accomplices, and killed the first president, expecting, as he had concerted with *Appiano*, to be supported by a strong detachment from *Pisa*. This detachment happened, by mere accident, to fall in with a party of *Florentine* troops; and, imagining the whole conspiracy to be discovered, it returned to *Pisa*. The townsmen of *St. Miniato*, perceiving the conspirators were not supported, took arms and drove them out of the place; and the *Florentines*, who, on the first account they received, thought that their liberties were ruined, took care to guard against future surprizes. This disappointment served but the more to exasperate *Galeazzo* and his generals, whose troops now rendezvoused at *Sienna* in such numbers, that the *Florentine* army, unable to keep the field, were obliged to take shelter in the fortified places.

Their danger.

It was generally thought at *Florence*, that the first operations of the enemy would be against *Arezzo*, which is at the same distance as *Florence* is from *Sienna*; but, contrary to expectation, they directed their march against *Florence* itself, their force being ten thousand cavalry, and a proportionable number of infantry. As no war had been formally declared, the country people not being upon their guard, were in a most miserable situation, being pursued half naked into *Florence*, and the neighbouring towns, by the enemy, who proceeded, wherever they came, with fire and sword, so that the whole country about *Florence* was in a blaze. The *Florentines*, perceiving their danger, ordered *Bernard* and their army to draw near their city, whilst, happily for them, their enemies undertook the siege of *Segni*, a strong town near *Florence*. Not being able to take it, their generals began to differ amongst themselves, and their army to moulder away; so that the whole expedition returned to *Sienna*.

A. D. 1397.

FLORENCE being thus delivered from one of the greatest dangers that had ever threatened her, was in danger of being ruined by the rigorous discipline of her general. *Galeazzo* was at this time entirely intent upon reducing *Mantua*, which he besieged by land and water; and dissensions increasing among his generals, *Paolo Ursini* and *Biordi*, with several other general officers, entered with their troops into the service of the *Florentines*. As most of them were soldiers of fortune, the subjects of *Florence* sometimes suffered equally from them as from their enemies. *Bartholomew* of *Prato* was next in command to *Bernard* in the *Florentine* army; but not brooking the other's superiority, he plundered some magazines which the general had erected for the use of his army; upon which *Bernard* put him to death. This punishment inflicted on a general officer, who, in his military capacity, was esteemed to be equal if not superior to *Bernard* himself, highly disgusted the *Florentine* auxiliaries and mercenaries. *Paolo Ursini* and *Felippo* of *Pisa*, who was now in the *Florentine* service, separated from *Bernard*; and it was with the greatest difficulty that the field-deputies kept the rest of the army together; but they acted with so much prudence and resolution, that their country suffered but little in the end, by the example of justice that had been made.

Bartholomew of Prato put to death.

a THIS was the more wonderful, as the enemy was still very powerful in *Tuscany* and *Mantua*, a state in alliance with *Florence*. Count *Alberigo* commanded the *Pisan* army at *Sienna*; and a great body of the *Pisan* troops were encamped about *Policiano* and *Cortona*. *The Florentines succour Mantua.* Notwithstanding all the difficulties and dangers that then surrounded the *Florentines*, they resolved to succour *Mantua*, and for that purpose gave the command of a body of troops to count *Hugues de Monfort*, who was soon superseded in his command by *Carlo Malatesta*, a much abler general. All this while the war was carried very briskly on in *Tuscany*, but generally to the advantage of the *Florentines*, whose incursions reached to the very gates of *Sienna* and *Pisa*.

b THE more glorious the conduct of the *Florentines* was abroad, the greater was their danger at home. *Maso de Albizi*, ever since the banishment of *Acciaiuoli*, had held the chief sway in *Florence*, where he was hated by a great part of the citizens. *Conspiracy in Florence;* The chief of the exiles resided at this time at *Bologna*, and they held a private correspondence with *Piggiello* and *Baronio Cavicciulli*, two citizens who lived admonished and sequestered from the government of *Florence*. Those two persons invited six young noblemen of great quality, and two citizens of meaner degree, to return secretly to the city, and to begin an insurrection in favour of the exiled citizens, by assassinating *Albizi*. The names of the conspirators were *Pachio Cavicciulli*, *Thomas de Ricci*, *Antonio de Medici*, *Benedetto Spini*, *Antonio Girolami*, and *Cristoforo Carlone*. Those thoughtless young noblemen met with the fate their rashness merited. Being admitted into the city, one of their spies watched *Albizi's* house; and upon his coming abroad they ran to kill him, but either casually or advisedly he slipped into an apothecary's shop, and escaped the danger. This disappointment did not daunt the conspirators. Flourishing their swords they called out, "Liberty and destruction to the tyrants," and killed two persons of the opposite party. This proceeding struck the citizens with horror, so that not a man joined the conspirators, who retired to the church of *St. Reparata*, determined to sell their lives as dear as they could. *discovered and punished.* The church doors, however, were broken open, and the conspirators either killed or seized, and after trial put to death.

c *MACHIAVEL* informs us, that when this insurrection was suppressed, *Florence* escaped another conspiracy, formed by *Galeazzo* against her liberty. *Another conspiracy.* His plot was to introduce a company of resolute banditti into the city, where they were to be admitted by accomplices of their own party, and to murder all the magistrates and ministers of state. One *Sammiato* was *Galeazzo's* chief agent in this conspiracy, which he opened to *Silvester Cavicciulli*, who discovered the whole to the magistrates. *Sammiato* was taken, and being put to the rack disclosed all the particulars; but only he and another conspirator *Davisi* were put to death. Though it is probable that this conspiracy was more imaginary than real, yet a *Balia*, or a court of enquiry, was immediately erected for punishing all concerned in it, and they proceeded with such rigour, that, besides a great number of mechanics, six of the family of *Ricci*, six of the *Alberti*, two of the *Medici*, three of the *Scali*, two of the *Strozzi*, together with *Bindi Altoviti*, and *Bernardo Admiari*, were found guilty, and the families of **e** *Alberti Ricci* and *Medici*, were admonished for ten years. Not contented with this, they condemned *Antonio Alberti*, though one of the most harmless men in *Florence*, to the payment of a large fine, and to be banished three hundred miles distance from the city; and they afterwards banished all the descendants of the *Alberti* family who were above fifteen years of age.

f DURING those domestic occasions, the *Florentines* were making a great figure in *Lombardy*, where their general *Carlo Malatesta* raised the siege of *Mantua*, with the entire defeat of *Galeazzo's* army. *The Florentines defend Galeazzo;* His camp was taken, as were about two thousand of his cavalry, and about one hundred and twenty small shipping, which had been employed in the siege. *Galeazzo* upon this sent orders for count *Alberigo* to leave *Tuscany*, and to march to his assistance. His departure left the *Florentines* at liberty to revenge themselves to the full upon the *Pisans* and the *Siennese*, for the dreadful calamities they had lately inflicted on their state. Their successes in *Tuscany*, however, were somewhat abated by the unfavourable turn their affairs took in *Lombardy*, where their troops had neglected to pursue the great advantage they had obtained over *Galeazzo*. This remissness, together with many of them leaving the service, gave the latter an opportunity of recovering all his shipping, and of shutting up the few *Florentines* that remained within their entrenchments. *but lose their advantage.* To complete the misfortunes of the *Florentines*, their general *Malatesta* was absent at this time, and their allies were extremely backward in assisting them, because the pope and the *Venetians* had undertaken to mediate a peace at *Imola*.

g THOUGH *Alberigo* had left *Lombardy*, yet a body of *Milanese* troops still remained at *Pisa*. *Resolution at Pisa.* Their behaviour was so insupportable to the inhabitants, that a formal battle ensued, in which most of the soldiers were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners, and they who escaped

^a MACHIAVEL, book iii. ARETIN, pag. 233.

were forced to fly out of the city. Amongst the wounded was *Paolo Savelli* their general; and amongst the prisoners were several officers of great rank. The townsmen made themselves masters of all the arms, horses, and baggage that had belonged to the soldiers, who, as they gave out, intended to seize upon and plunder their city. This event gave vast pleasure to the *Florentines*, who immediately sent a deputation with offers of assistance and support to the *Pisans*, whom they congratulated upon their recovered liberty. The deputies were received with great civility; but the address of *Galeazzo* frustrated their scheme. He laid the blame of what had happened entirely upon the rapaciousness and imprudence of his own soldiers, and highly commended the *Pisans* for what they had done. By this means, and by the management of *Appiano*, still the implacable enemy of the *Florentines*, the war between the two states was renewed; and the *Florentines* plundering all the tract of coast between *Pisa* and *Leghorn*, returned to *Florence* loaded with plunder.

A negotiation
for peace.

THE negotiation for peace still went on at *Imola*; but *Galeazzo*, having now recovered his affairs, insisted upon such unreasonable terms as gave umbrage to the *Venetians*, who had for some time been jealous of his power. He was still carrying on the siege of *Mantua*; but the *Venetians* now sent a formal embassy, requiring him to raise it, or to expect them for his enemies. This denunciation so greatly alarmed *Galeazzo*, that he began to treat of peace in good earnest, and the conferences were removed to *Pavia*. This negotiation did not, however, slacken the preparations of the *Florentines* for war; for while the negotiations were depending, they sent deputies to hire troops both in *France* and *Germany*.

A. D. 1398.

ABOUT the beginning of the year 1398, *Biordi*, a soldier of fortune, who had by turns served *Galeazzo* and the *Florentines*, was killed by a private inhabitant of *Perugia*, where he had for some time domineered. The townsmen, however, did not approve of the manner of his death, which *Biordi*'s friends and followers revenged upon the murderer's family, he himself escaping. The *Florentines* offered the *Perugians* a body of troops for their protection, which was accepted of; but soon after the family of the *Ubertini*, and several noblemen of great interest in *Tuscany*, declared for *Galeazzo*, and put themselves and their possessions under his protection. This defection alarmed the *Florentines* the more, as he had found means to surprise *Civitella*, a strong castle in the neighbourhood of *Arezzo*. All those events seemed to indicate a continuance of the war; but the *Florentines*, being now joined by the *Venetians*, were encouraged to hope for assistance from several powerful princes, both in *France* and *Italy*. In the mean while they regained possession of *Civitella*; and it was agreed between them and *Galeazzo*, that as it was next to impossible for them to settle the terms of a definitive peace, that they should conclude a truce for ten years. This measure being determined upon, the *Florentines* countermanded the troops that were preparing to march to their assistance; but that was far from restoring the tranquillity of *Tuscany*. *Galeazzo*, and the enemies of the *Florentines*, soon perceived that all the view of the *Venetians* was to keep the war out of *Lombardy*, and that the *Florentines* were to expect no assistance from them in *Tuscany*. The troops, therefore, who had been dismissed by *Galeazzo*, by his connivance broke into *Tuscany*, and took quarters in the *Siennese*, while the *Ubertini*, and the other noblemen in the *Casentin*, finding that they were surrounded by the *Florentine* fortresses and territories, took arms to open themselves a free egress and regress to and from their estates, which were refused them by the *Florentines*.

A truce con-
cluded.

Revolution
at Pisa.

By this time *Appiano* of *Pisa*, and his eldest son *Vannes*, being dead, his second son *Gerardo* succeeded to his power. Pretending to be well affected towards the *Florentines*, and jealous of *Galeazzo*, he sent *Grassolini*, one of his friends, privately to *Florence*, to confer with some of the chief men there about entering into a league with them. The terms he demanded was, that the *Florentines* should, at their own expence, furnish him with and pay six hundred horse and two hundred foot; but the *Florentines* thinking the demand mercenary and dishonourable, rejected it, tho' they offered to become the hearty allies of the *Pisans* upon an equal and honourable footing.

A. D. 1399.
State of
Tuscany.

In the year 1399 the war again raged in *Tuscany*, and *Galeazzo*'s party in *Pisa* coming to the knowledge of the late negotiation with the *Florentines*, prevailed with *Gerardo*, who was unequal to the post he held, partly by force and partly by persuasions, to resign to him the government of *Pisa*. The *Florentines* considered this acquisition as a threatening blow to the independency of their state, and the rather, as he made no secret that he would likewise soon render himself master both of *Sienna* and *Perugia*. As to the *Siennese*, they had been long his allies, but never his subjects; and they still retained an appearance of independency. The *Perugians* were in a worse situation. The pope claimed the sovereignty of their state, as having been formerly annexed to the see of *Rome*, and gave his orders to reduce it. The *Perugians* upon this applied for protection to the *Florentines*, who unwilling to embroil themselves with his holiness, declined being concerned in the affair. The

Perugians,

a *Perugians* who mortally hated all subjection to the pope, were then forced to apply for protection to *Galeazzo*, which he readily granted them, before the *Florentines*, by the persuasion of some of their best patriots, could repair the false step they had made when they rejected the offers of the *Perugians*. The consequence of those great acquisitions made by *Galeazzo*, was, that the *Bolognese* renounced their league with *Florence*, and entered into his alliance, and the *Siennese* submitted to him. Thus he became more powerful than ever in *Tuscany*, without giving the *Florentines* any handle for complaining that he had violated the truce.

b S E C T. VIII.

c Containing the Distresses of the *Florentines*. Their Country ravaged by a Plague. A Conspiracy discovered. Revolutions in the Empire. The *Florentines* invite the Emperor into Italy. His Arrival there. He disagrees with the *Florentines*, and returns to Germany. The Duke of Milan complains of the *Florentines*. War in the *Bolognese*. Death of *Galeazzo*. The Adventures of *Aretin* the Historian. Conquest of *Pisa* by the *Florentines*. Revolutions in the Papedom. The Council of *Constance* is held. An Account of *Braccio* the *Perugian*. War between the *Florentines* and the *Milanese*. Peace concluded. The Emperor *Sigismund* arrives in Italy; returns, and dies. Distresses of the *Florentines*. A general Council held at *Ferrara*. The Duke of *Savoy* chosen Pope. *Tuscany* invaded by *Nicholas* of *Picino*, who is conquered in the Year 1440.

d THE year 1400 opened with a very gloomy prospect to the *Florentines*, through the growing power of *Galeazzo*, on the one hand, and that of the *Ubertini* and the *Casantin* lords on the other. To add to their distresses, *Uguccio*, who was then the leading man or lord of *Cortona*, seemed disposed to favour *Galeazzo*, by prohibiting provisions or goods of any kind to be carried through his dominions to *Florence*, unless the *Florentines* would grant him most unreasonable terms. To oblige them to comply, he prevailed with some of the *Arezzians* to surprise *Montagnana*, a strong place extremely convenient for either party, when at war with the other. This act of hostility brought on others from the *Florentines*. They sent one of their generals, with a party of horse, to open the passages of the lakes and the rivers that *Uguccio* had dammed up, which was done without any opposition from him. In the mean while, *Galeazzo* sent four hundred horse into the *Casantin*, to act as an opportunity should present, and fostered a war between the *Bolognese* and *Astorgi* of *Faenza*.

e d DURING those commotions, so terrible a pestilence broke out at *Florence*, that it threatened to depopulate the city. It swept off equally the old and young of both sexes; nor was there any avoiding it, but by flight. All the principal inhabitants retired to the *Bolognese*; and of those whose circumstances did not permit them to fly, no fewer than thirty thousand died in a few weeks. This pestilence ceasing in other places of *Italy*, as well as *Florence*, the war raged with more violence than ever. *Paolo Guinifi* seized the government of *Lucca*. *Uguccio* lord of *Cortona*, and *Robert* count of *Pupio*, one of the *Casantin* lords, died. Both of them had been enemies to *Florence*; but the latter, upon his death-bed, had made the *Florentines* the guardians of his infant son, who was accordingly bred up at *Florence*. *Francisco de Casali* had succeeded his kinsman *Uguccio* in the government of *Cortona*, and seemed better inclined towards the *Florentines* than his predecessor had been. f *Guinifi*, the new lord of *Lucca*, affected a neutrality; but being tampered with by *Galeazzo*, he civilly declined entering into a league with the *Florentines*.

THE late pestilence had given the disaffected *Florentines* an opportunity of caballing against the government; and a party of them, who had fled to the *Bolognese*, had entered into a conspiracy for murdering the magistrates, and placing themselves in their seats; and, in short, for altering the whole system of the civil government. The conspiracy was discovered by *Silvestro Adimari*, who had been solicited to enter into it by *Ricci*, one of the faction, and who disclosing the whole to the government, they seized and put to death the ringleaders of the conspiracy, and sentenced to banishment many of their confederates, who had not yet returned to *Florence*.

g TOWARDS the end of the year *Giovanni Bentivoglio* seized upon the government of *Bologna*. This was an event of so great importance to the *Florentines*, that they sent an extraordinary deputation composed of the ablest and greatest men of their state, to congratulate him upon his accession to that government, and to offer him the friendship and assistance

assistance of *Florence*. *Galeazzo* was not behind them in the same professions; and his deputies seemed to vie with those of *Florence* in courting *Bentivoglio's* friendship; but he leaned towards the former. The affairs of *Italy* were now about to assume a new face.

German affairs.

THE emperor *Charles IV.* was succeeded in the empire by his son *Winceslaus*, whose wicked disposition was heightened by an insanity of mind, contracted through intemperance; and, after various revolutions of fortune, he was deposed from the empire, the electors having chosen *Robert* count palatine of the *Rhine*, and duke of *Bavaria* to succeed him. Amongst the other marks of misgovernment *Winceslaus* was charged with, one was, that he had, to the prejudice of the imperial dignity, sold the rights of the empire over *Lombardy* to *Galeazzo* for one hundred and fifty thousand crowns of gold, and given him the title of duke of *Milan*. The deposition of *Winceslaus* gave the *Florentines* hopes of assistance from the new emperor, who sent ambassadors to *Rome* to signify his election to *Benedict*, one of the popes; for there were two then in *Europe*. The *Florentines* hearing his ambassadors were on the road, treated them with extraordinary civilities, and sent deputies of their own into *Germany* to invite the emperor into *Italy*. He heard them with great complacency; but, like his predecessors, all his answers implied that he expected they were to give him money.

A. D. 1401.

The *Florentines* assist *Bentivoglio*,

and invites the emperor into *Italy*.

Soon after *Bentivoglio* continued the war that had been entered into between *Astorgi* of *Faenza* and the *Bolognese*, and both *Galeazzo* and the *Florentines* sent him auxiliaries; but *Astorgi* being well supported, a peace was concluded between him and *Bentivoglio*, to the great dislike of count *Alberigo*, who commanded a separate body of twelve hundred horse, and was *Astorgi's* bitter enemy. His resentment went so far, that he brought *Galeazzo* to take part against *Bentivoglio*, whose chief dependence now was upon the *Florentines*, as theirs was upon the emperor. They, therefore, being every day apprehensive that all *Tuscany*, if not all *Italy*, would fall under the power of *Galeazzo*, pressed him more than ever, to come to their relief, and a bargain between them was at last struck. The *Florentines* obliged themselves to pay to the emperor two hundred thousand golden ducats, part in hand, and part as soon as he entered *Galeazzo's* dominions in a hostile manner. The payment of this vast sum was agreed to be made at *Venice* by the hands of *Bicci*, a *Florentine* merchant of great credit and reputation. The emperor, that he might touch the money, filled all *Italy* with the news of his preparations; but, after the first payment, they were somewhat slackened. He arrived, however, at *Trent*; and, in order to be intitled to the residue of the money, he advanced against *Brescia*, a town belonging to *Galeazzo*. There the latter opposed him with a strong body of *Italian* cavalry; and though the emperor's army, having been joined by *Leopold* duke of *Austria*, and other *German* princes, was very numerous, yet it was entirely defeated by *Galeazzo's* generals, and obliged to retire to *Trent* with vast loss. Ashamed to return to *Germany*, without doing something worthy his great name and preparations, he was persuaded by the *Florentine* deputies, and *Francisco* of *Carrara*, to march to *Padua*; where a new deputation, consisting of the four greatest men in *Florence*, attended him with six hundred *Italian* horse commanded by the famous *Sforza*. Those deputies, in conferring with him, found that he had nothing really in view but to get the remainder of the money, and that he was so miserably poor he could not keep his army together, without depending on the *Florentines*.

He deceives them;

THIS inability of the emperor was a tender point for the *Florentines*, and therefore *Albizi* and *Vittori*, who were at the head of the deputation, returned to *Florence*, where they gave a verbal account of their negociation. The *Florentines*, unwilling that the emperor's indigence should be publicly known, sent fresh instructions to their deputies, who remained with him at *Padua*, promising to gratify all his demands, provided he would continue with his army in *Italy* all the winter, and enter upon hostilities against *Galeazzo* early in the spring. But he insisted not only upon the residue of the money being immediately paid, but that they should enter upon a new subsidiary treaty with him, if he remained in *Italy*. The *Florentines*, foreseeing his drift, refused to comply with his terms; and, after spending a month in mutual altercations, he ordered his army to retreat towards *Germany*; while he himself went to *Venice*, where he complained most bitterly of the insincerity of the *Florentines*, and their breach of good faith. The *Florentines*, who greatly depended on the *Venetians*, took care to send two deputies to undeceive them. In a public audience they obtained, they complained, though with great decency in their turn, that the emperor had not fulfilled his engagements. They insisted, that he had received more than half the money that had been promised him; and that the remainder was to be paid only after he had begun hostilities against *Galeazzo* with a powerful army; that his army was weak, and that he had retreated from their enemy upon the first appearance of danger. The *Venetians* seemed to take part with the *Florentines*; but strenuously endeavoured to make up matters between them. All their mediation was fruitless, and the emperor left their city.

^a NOTHING but the imminent danger of the *Florentines* could have prevailed with them to have continued this negotiation. The event was, that the emperor, upon his receiving the money he demanded, countermanded the march of his troops, and returned to *Padua*, where he passed the winter. *but returns to Padua.*

It is evident, that at this time the *Florentines* were the only people of spirit in *Italy*. Neither the pope nor the *Venetians* could be brought to declare against *Galeazzo*; and the emperor, pretending he could not work impossibilities, returned to *Germany*. All this time *Galeazzo's* ambassadors, and the *Florentine* deputies were pleading the cause of their principals at *Venice*; but the *Venetians*, though they appeared on all occasions to side with the *Florentines*, could not be prevailed upon to depart from their neutrality. The emperor's expedition into *Italy*, however, at the invitation of the *Florentines*, was of service to them, as it encouraged several states, *Pistoia* particularly, to oppose *Galeazzo*. *Great spirit of the Florentines;*

^b It was no sooner known that the emperor and his army were on their return to *Germany*, than *Galeazzo* declared open war against *Bentivoglio* of *Bologna*, with whom he had hitherto kept some measures. He was now reconciled to the prince of *Mantua*, whom he sent into the *Bolognese* at the head of a powerful army commanded, under him, by some of the best general officers in *Italy*. The *Florentines*, as usual, were faithful to their allies; and sent their general *Bernard*, whom they still retained in their service, to the assistance of the *Bolognese*. Some other states, the allies of *Florence*, followed their example, till the *Bolognese* auxiliaries grew so powerful, that the *Florentines* seemed to rest the fate of *Tuscany* and of *Italy* upon that of *Bologna*. The *Florentines*, and their allies, took post at the village of *Casaleci*, about four miles from *Bologna*, as being the most proper for covering that city from the attempts of the enemy. But there was no comparison as to the goodness and discipline of the troops. The *Florentines* and their allies were attacked with such fury by their enemies, that they were entirely defeated, and all of them, except a very few who escaped to *Bologna*, were cut in pieces. *Bernard* and some of the chief *Florentine* generals were made prisoners. The consequence of this great defeat was, that the enemies of *Bentivoglio* within *Bologna* took arms, and, after killing him, opened their gates to *Galeazzo's* party, who now made themselves masters of *Bologna*. *but they are totally defeated.*

^c THE *Florentines* were struck with the greatest consternation at the news of the defeat of an army, on which was all their dependence. But their enemies were commanded by so many leaders of different interests, that, far from pursuing their blow, they gave the *Florentines* leisure to provide for their own safety. The first thing they did was to quell the attempts of the *Ubalдини* and the *Casantine* lords, who had taken arms after they heard the *Florentines* had been defeated. They next resumed their old system of politics, in applying for assistance to the pope and the *Venetians*, who, they knew, were very uneasy at the vast growth of *Galeazzo's* power; but though the friendship of both was sought with extreme earnestness by the *Florentines*, both of them seemed to dread the horrors of a war. The pope's strength lay chiefly in his spiritual arms, and he had seen both *Bologna* and *Perugia* wrested from the papacy. The *Venetians*, pretending they had suffered greatly by their late wars with *Genoa*, and the checks their trade had received, declined entering into any engagements with the *Florentines* against *Galeazzo*, unless the latter were at almost all the expence of the war. The *Florentines* thought it ignominious to submit to such conditions, and dreading the infidelity of so mercenary a people, rejected the terms. *They recover from their consternation.*

^d WHILE the *Florentines* were in this state of disappointment and anxiety, *Galeazzo* sent ambassadors to *Venice* with the proposals for peace, in which the *Florentines* were to be included. This news was at first discredited at *Florence*, and *Galeazzo's* intention distrusted. At last the *Florentines* ordered their deputies at *Venice* to enter upon a negotiation with *Galeazzo* and the *Venetians* at the same time. But a great event now happened, which rid them of their anxieties. This was the death of *Galeazzo*, who survived the taking of *Bologna* but a few weeks. According to *Aretin*^a, he was sincere in his proposals for an accommodation with *Florence*; that he might leave his sons, who were very young, in peaceable possession of his great and opulent dominions. *Bilius*^b, a *Milanese* contemporary historian, is silent as to his sincerity; and, to the glory of *Florence*, he tells us, that they were the only people in *Italy* whom *Galeazzo* had not made either his subjects or his friends; and that, had he lived but a few days longer, *Florence*, now deserted by all her allies, must have been conquered, as sixteen thousand horse, and an equal number of foot, were on their march against it as far as *Sienna*, when they received orders to halt. The *Florentines* found means to come at the certainty of *Galeazzo's* death, though it was kept very private; and they dispatched orders to their deputies at *Venice* to proceed no farther in the negotiations, either with the *Venetians* or the *Milanese*. *Galeazzo proposes a peace;* *His death;*

^a Ibid. pag. 248.

^b BILIUS apud MURAT. tom. XIX. p. II.

and the disor-
der of his court.

BUT the safety of *Florence* must have still been precarious, had it not been for the dissensions that prevailed amongst the generals and grandees of *Milan*. *Galeazzo* had left to his eldest son, *John*, the greatest part of his dominions; and to his second son *Philip*, *Pavia*, *Novarra*, *Vercelli*, *Alessandria*, and other places in the neighbourhood; and had made his natural son, *Gabriel*, lord of *Piza*, *Luna*, *Seranza*, and other places on that coast. He left the tutelage of his sons to *Peter* archbishop of *Milan*, *Carlo Malatesta* lord of *Rimini*, and *Giacomo Vermi*. It appears by *Bilius*, that the court of *Milan*, notwithstanding its power, was at this time little better than barbarous, which must have been occasioned by their long wars; and that the education of the young princes was neglected, merely for want of persons capable to instruct them. The relations of *Galeazzo*, who were numerous and ambitious, took amiss that they had been excluded from all share in the government; and no regard was paid to *Galeazzo's* widow, the mother of the princes, who were at last put under the tutelage of *Giovanni Cassati*, a soldier, but a man of virtue: but this *Cassati* was soon murdered by the factious nobility, and the *Florentines* are accused of having fomented rebellions amongst the *Milanese* subjects.

The Floren-
tines make war
on Milan.

THIS charge, however, redounds to their honour, as they looked upon the *Tuscan* acquisitions of *Galeazzo* to have been made by treachery as much as force; and in effect, all they did was to invite the neighbouring states, who had been thereby dismembered from their alliance, to recover their liberty. Being well acquainted with the dissensions that prevailed at *Milan*, they at last entered into a league with pope *Boniface*, and took the field against the *Milanese*, naming *Nicholas* of *Ferrara* for their general. Their first attempt was on the *Parmesan*, where they were stoutly opposed by *Otto*, the *Milanese* governor. At last a negotiation was proposed; and it was managed between *Malatesta*, on the part of the *Milanese*, and *Gianelli*, brother to the pope, on that of the allies. The *Florentines* had demanded the rendition of *Bologna* and *Perugia*. *Malatesta* acted so artfully, that he persuaded *Gianelli* that it could be by no means for the interest of his holiness to depend upon such powerful allies as the *Florentines*; and that the court of *Milan* was ready to restore *Bologna* and *Perugia* to the Holy See, provided the *Florentines* were left out of the negotiation. This proposal was agreed to, and *Gianelli* was immediately put in possession of *Perugia*. Upon this, the allied army returned to *Tuscany*.

Their great
service to the
pope.

WHATEVER resentments the *Florentines* might have, upon being excluded from the late negotiation, they were so far from making any public complaints, that they made a merit of being the means of re-annexing to the Holy See two such valuable acquisitions, and of having dismembered them from the *Milanese*. They next attempted to rouse the *Siennese* to a sense of their liberty, by encouraging and supporting the party there that was in opposition to the *Milanese*. But failing in this attempt, they declared war against the *Siennese*, who threw themselves upon the protection of the Holy See and *Gianelli*, this being more agreeable to the *Florentines* than if they had continued their attachments with the court of *Milan*; and a peace succeeded between *Florence* and *Sienna*.

Ladislaus,
king of Na-
ples, formida-
ble to the Flo-
rentines.

LADISLAUS, son of *Charles* of *Durazzo*, was at this time king of *Naples*, and pope *Boniface* was dead. *Ladislaus*, being a man of parts and ambition, soon grew as formidable to the *Florentines* as *Galeazzo* had ever been. Pope *Innocent* succeeded *Boniface* in the Holy See; and *Ladislaus*, under pretence of congratulating him upon his accession, repaired to *Rome*: but his real intention was to form a party against the pope, which might oblige him to retire in disgust from *Rome*, and give him (*Ladislaus*) an opportunity of making himself master of that city. The pope, who was old and indolent, but crafty and experienced, saw that a powerful faction had been formed against him amongst the *Romans*, and demanded assistance from the *Florentines*, who sent him a body of horse. *Aretin* the historian was then at the papal court, and a great favourite with his holiness; but he gives us a very indifferent idea of the humanity of that court, when he tells us, that eleven *Roman* nobles, who had been sent upon a peaceable commission to the pope, were, upon their return, made prisoners, and butchered in cold blood, by command of the pope's nephew; and that he himself very narrowly missed being murdered on that account. His holiness, however, was so well served by his *Florentine* auxiliaries that he escaped to *Viterbo*, where he remained for some months, till the *Romans*, of their own accord, invited him back to their city.

History of the
war with
Pisa.

WE now come to what we may almost call the final period of the *Florentine* glory. Their recovery, in a few years, from a state of the deepest despondency, to a condition of prescribing laws to those from whom they apprehended the greatest danger, can properly be ascribed only to their own magnanimity, and their wonderful attachment to independency. After their loss of the battle in the *Bolognese*, their infantry had been rallied by *Sforza* (A),

BUT

^c BILIUS, ubi supra, p. 13.

(A) *Leodrisio Cribelli*, who wrote the Life of this extraordinary prince, is highly disgusted with our historian *Aretin*, who, he says, was in the greatest esteem and honour in *Florence*, for omitting all mention of this *Sforza*,

- a a soldier of fortune, but of great courage and genius in war, who brought them safe to Florence. This service, though the *Florentine* historians have been ungrateful enough to suppress the mention of it, enabled them to recover their affairs to the surprising degree we have seen, and even to meditate the conquest of *Pisa*, to which they were encouraged by the dissensions and factions that still prevailed in the *Milanese* (B). There was a kind of a radical enmity between the *Pisans* and the *Florentines*. The former had, of old, given laws upon the *Tuscan* sea, and had been masters of *Sardinia*, *Corfica*, and the *Balearic* islands. The antiquity of their city, compared to which they thought *Florence* but an upstart, increased their contempt of the *Florentines*; while the *Florentines*, equally proud, but conscious of the vast superiority which commerce gave them over the *Pisans*, considered them with disdain. This diversity of sentiments begat the same in interests, the *Florentines* following those of the *Guelphs*, and the *Pisans* those of the *Gibelins*. But the death of *Galeazzo* deprived *Pisa* at once of her master and protector, and left her exposed to the resentment of the *Florentines*, *Gabriel*, *Galeazzo's* natural son, being but young and disregarded. According to *Palmerius*^a, the scheme of the *Florentine* conquest of *Pisa* was suggested to them by the *Genoese*, and the anti-pope *Benedict*, who then resided in that city, with a view of bringing the *Florentines* into *Benedict's* interest, and to divert them from joining with the *Venetians*. The matter at first was proposed by way of negotiation, and that the *Florentines* should pay a considerable sum of money, by the hands of the pope and the *Genoese*, to *Gabriel*, on condition of his yielding up all his property in *Pisa*. This proposal was communicated by *Benedict* to the *Genoese*, and by *Bouccicault*, the *French* governor of *Genoa*, to a *Florentine* merchant, named *Alderotti*, then residing at *Genoa*, who transmitted it to *Florence*. The magistrates of *Florence* thought the affair to be of so much importance, that they sent a trusty officer, one *Caponi*, to confer with *Alderotti*; but, above all, to scrutinize into the right which *Bouccicault* and the anti-pope had to dispose of *Pisa*. *Caponi* accordingly addressed himself to *Bouccicault*, and desired to know whether he was empowered to sell *Pisa* to the *Florentines*. The *Frenchman* told him he was not, but that he would soon be empowered; because pope *Benedict* proposed to reside at *Pisa*, in which case the *Pisans* would certainly offer him the command of their citadel, which he would deliver up to the *Florentines*. *Caponi* then demanded how much money was to be paid by the *Florentines*. He was answered four hundred thousand ducats of gold; half of which was to go as a subsidy to *Carrara* prince of *Padua*, and the other half by way of indemnification to *Gabriel* lord of *Pisa*.
- So quick-sighted a people as the *Florentines* were not to be imposed upon by so infamous, yet so fallacious a proposal. They ordered their agent to inform *Bouccicault*, that the money should be forth-coming, upon the surrender of *Pisa* to the *Florentines*. In the mean while, *Gabriel*, hearing of the anti-pope and *Bouccicault's* treachery, and conscious of his own deserted condition, applied for advice and assistance to the *Florentines*. *Albizi* at this time continued to have the chief direction at *Florence*, and, sensible of *Gabriel's* motives, he obtained leave of the magistracy to have a secret interview with him^b. The particulars of this interview, as described by *Palmerius*, are more curious than instructive. But though it was very artfully managed, the *Pisans* came to the knowledge of it, and it was immediately given out that *Gabriel* was about to sell *Pisa* to the *Florentines*. The *Pisans* took arms. *Gabriel* was obliged to fly to the citadel; and, despairing of all assistance from the *Florentines*, he applied to *Bouccicault*, who sent a body of troops to his aid. Upon this the *Florentines* sent two deputies, one to *Gabriel*, the other to *Bouccicault*, to treat of the surrender of *Pisa* and its territory. *Petrasanta* was pitched upon for the place of treaty; and after various altercations, it was agreed, that the *Florentines* should pay to *Gabriel* a certain sum (C) for the town, territory, and castle of *Pisa*. Part of it was paid upon the surrender of the citadel by *Gabriel*, and part was to be discharged by monthly

A. D. 1405.

Shameful juggling of the French.

The Florentines buy Pisa.

^a PALMERIUS, ubi supra, p. 169.

^b Ibid. 171.

Sforza, who, as he tells us, was bred up under Sir *John Hawkwood*. The reason perhaps was, because *Sforza* was held to be of a very mean original, no better than the son of a farmer; his true name being *Attendula*, but got the name of *Sforza* from his boldness, or impetuosity.

(B) The following account of the conquest of *Pisa* by the *Florentines* is extracted from *Palmerius*, a *Florentine* historian, who wrote at that time a little tract called *De Captivitate Pifarum*, published by *Muratori* (1).

(C) The reader of modern history is often baulked

of a great deal of information by the inaccurate manner in which writers mention sums of money. In the present case, for instance, our author says, *Florentini centum & quinquaginta supra duo millia librarum auri pretii nomine exsolverent*. The literal meaning of which is, two thousand one hundred and fifty pounds; a very inconsiderable sum, when estimated by any species of money then known; but if we suppose the pound weight, it seems to be too large a price for the *Florentines*, rich as they were, to pay

(1) Tom. xix.

payments, upon the bargain being performed on *Gabriel's* part. The citadel of *Pisa* was put into the hands of *Lorenzo Ruffosani*, one of the *Florentine* gonfalonier's; and the first payment was made by *Caponi*. The *Pisans*, however, did not think that *Gabriel* had a right to sell their liberties and country. They therefore took arms, and besieged the citadel, that had been surrendered to the *Florentines*, and which was garrisoned only by a company of raw country militia, who held it out for some time; but were at last obliged to surrender it the very day on which it was given up.

and lose it again.

War declared against the Pisans.

The news of this loss created great discontent at *Florence*, where some were so generous as to approve of the spirit and courage of the *Pisans*; but the majority called out for an immediate war, against which the graver citizens strongly remonstrated. While this matter was under deliberation, five of the principal citizens of *Pisa* came as deputies to *Florence*, and demanded a public audience, which was granted them. The purpose of the deputation was far different from what the *Florentines* expected. The deputies boldly justified what had been done by their countrymen, and demanded back such of their castles as, by the bargain made with *Gabriel*, had been delivered up to the *Florentines*, and were still in their hands. This spirited behaviour, however equitable it might have been, reconciled all parties amongst the *Florentines*; so that it was unanimously resolved to lose no time in declaring war against *Pisa*. Ten field-deputies were accordingly created, and an army was raised, the command of which was given to *Bertoldo Urfini*. *Bertoldo* accordingly marched into the *Pisan* territory, and laid siege to *Vico*, a town which served as a key to *Pisa* itself. Winter however coming on, very little progress was made in the siege, and the *Florentines* were obliged to wreak their indignation against *Ruffosani*, and the militia who had garrisoned the citadel of *Pisa*, by condemning them to death.

The siege of Pisa is undertaken.

The *Pisans* were not wanting to themselves on this occasion. All civil dissensions amongst them were abolished. Families at variance were obliged to intermarry with each other, that they might unite in the common defence of their country; and religious processions were every day held to implore the assistance of heaven. All other human means for their defence were provided, and a considerable army was raised. The *Florentine* army was better disciplined and officered, and they at first defeated the *Pisans* in every encounter. The latter, however, raised fresh troops, and marched along the sea-coast to attack the *Florentines*, who were still intent upon the siege of *Vico*. *Sforza*, who continued to serve as a general officer with great reputation in the *Florentine* army, was detached to meet them, and partly by courage, partly by stratagem, he defeated them; but their general *Paccio*, with the greatest part of their army, escaped to *Pisa*, where every thing was now in confusion. After the expulsion of *Gabriel* and the *Florentines*, no form of government had been settled, and every one aspired to be master of the city. *Gambacurta*, a relation of him we have already mentioned, prevailed; and was chosen regent, or, as he is called, the rector, of the people. He was no sooner established in his power, than he employed it to the most wicked purposes, by secretly putting to death all the principal persons of the state, whom he suspected not to be in his interest; and this barbarity created so universal a detestation of him, that he was soon deprived of his power.

Famine in Pisa, which is blocked up by the Florentines.

In the mean while the *Pisans*, being threatened with a famine, sent some ships to purchase corn in *Sicily*. Upon this the *Florentines* fitted out a squadron to intercept them in their return, and took a large vessel loaded with corn, under the fortifications of *Vada*, a town situated at the mouth of the river *Cecina*. *Bertoldo* was all this while vigorously pressing the siege of *Vico*; and it was on that occasion that guns were first made use of by the *Florentines*. *Palmerius* gives a most frightful description of several other dreadful machines employed in the same siege, insomuch that he says there was not a house in the whole city that was not beaten down or damaged. We cannot, however, suppose that the machines or artillery he made use of, were so tremendous as they are described to be; for the place, though not remarkable for its strength, held out for eight months. This tired out the patience of the *Florentines*, and *Bertoldo* was superseded in his command, which was given to *Obizi*; and thus a whole year was spent by the *Florentines*, at a great expence, but to very little purpose. The spirit of both people seemed to grow with the difficulties they had to encounter. The besieged held out with amazing resolution against all the power of *Florence*; and the *Florentines*, reflecting upon the vast expence which the acquisition of so inconsiderable a place had cost them, changed their field-deputies, and resolved at all hazards, to besiege *Pisa* itself. Foreseeing that the other powers of *Italy* might throw obstacles in their way, they entered into negotiations with the two chief of them, *Ladislaus* king of *Naples*, and *Otto*, or *Ottbo*, duke of *Parma*. They agreed with the former to stand neutral in the quarrel between him and the pope, provided he did not assist the *Pisans*; and they purchased the neutrality of the other by a sum of money. The

^c PALMERIUS, ubi supra, p. 177.

a spring of the year 1406 was now approaching, and *Vico* still held out. The *Florentines*, to make the campaign decisive, ordered *Obizi* to continue that siege, and committed the command of the expedition against *Pisa* to *Luca Fiascani*, a *Genoese*; but joined in commission with him *Maso Albizi* and *Gino Caponi*.

DETERMINED to make their chief efforts against *Pisa*, they turned the siege of *Vico* into a blockade, and drew off all the men they could from *Obizi*'s army; so that the whole of their troops, exclusive of irregulars, artizans, and workmen, amounted to five thousand horse and seven thousand foot, the place of rendezvous being *Cascia*. But, after a day's march from thence towards *Pisa*, it was found that no magazines had been erected for their support, though the contractors, who resided at *Genoa*, had assured them that plenty of all necessities had been provided. The few fruits which the earth then furnished were soon consumed, and it was proposed in a general council of war to return to *Florence*. This, upon debate, was found to be equally disgraceful and dangerous; and it was resolved to struggle a few days longer with famine, rather than forego their mighty expectations. In the mean while, purveyors were dispatched to *Florence*, and through all *Tuscany*, particularly along the sea-coasts, to purchase bread; and proclamations were issued, that all provisions imported into the *Florentine* camp should be duty-free. By these precautions, plenty soon succeeded famine in the *Florentine* army.

THE *Florentines* then made dispositions for cutting off all communication by water with *Pisa*, and threw a bridge over the *Arno*, by which means they intercepted several ships laden with provisions for *Pisa*; so that *Paccio*, the *Pisan* general, left the city, with all his horse, for fear of being starved. The *Pisans* attempted to restore their communication by water, and their fleet attacked that of the *Florentines*; but with so little success, that the inhabitants were thrown into the utmost despondency, and nothing but their inveterate hatred of the *Florentines* could have prevented an immediate surrender of their city. In the beginning of *June*, the *Arno* swelling to a great height, the *Pisans*, by chaining together large rafts of wood, which they drove upon the *Florentine* bridge, broke it down. Upon this, imagining the *Florentine* army to be divided, they resolved to attack that part of it next *Pisa*, which they thought to be the weakest. The *Florentines* had raised works at both abutments of the bridge that had been destroyed; and *Cola Matteo*, who commanded the *Pisans* after the departure of *Paccio*, made the necessary dispositions for the attack. The *Florentines*, whose main body lay on the opposite strand, were in great perplexity how to save their garrison, when *Sforza* offered to be answerable for it at the peril of his life, if the command of the work was given to him. This proposal was agreed to, and he immediately threw himself into a little skiff, and, with one companion and a horse, with extreme difficulty and danger, he reached the other shore, and entered the fort. *Tartalia*, like *Sforza*, a soldier of fortune, jealous of *Sforza*'s reputation, threw himself into another skiff, and arrived at the fort about the same time.

To a modern military officer those two exploits may appear very inconsiderable; but they were at that time thought to be so daring, that the *Pisans* lost all courage, and, without striking a blow, returned to their city, fatigued and wearied, after a fruitless march. Many of them were so tired, that they remained in the fields and woods; and the river decreasing next day, all the *Florentine* army passed it, and made them prisoners. This exploit, performed by *Sforza*, was looked upon by the *Florentines* to be so important, that they settled a pension upon him of five hundred ducats a year for life, and made it payable to him, whatever service he should embrace.

THE *Florentine* army lay now before the walls of *Pisa*; and, from the desponding behaviour of the besieged, they were made to believe that they might master that city by an escalade (D) in the night. For this purpose a picked detachment was draughted. Their armour was light, and to make the less noise, their feet were bare, and they mounted the walls. Notwithstanding all their precautions, when they thought themselves sure of success, the besieged took the alarm. Men, women, and children ran to the fortifications, which they defended so bravely, that the *Florentines* were beaten off. The *Pisans* were so much elated by this short gleam of success, that they dragged at the tail of an ass the mangled body of a *Florentine* soldier through their streets; an indignity which was resented by the corps to which the soldier belonged, by cutting in pieces all the *Pisan* prisoners who were in their custody.

THE miscarriage of the escalade revived animosities amongst the *Florentine* officers. *Sforza* and *Tartalia* continued still to be competitors for command. Both of them were unexceptionable, as to their fidelity, as well as abilities; but *Tartalia* complained that *Sforza* intended to poison him. *Albizi* and *Caponi*, who then attended the *Florentine* army

d CIRELIUS de Vita Sfortie vicecomitis, apud MURAT. tom. xix. p. 643.

(D) This, in the modern military language, is called a *Coup de main*.

in their tour of duty, as field-deputies, did all they could to make up this difference, ^a which threatened an universal mutiny in the army. *Tartalia*, however, under the shew of great resignation, still harboured resentment; and as soon as the service of the two field-deputies was expired, their differences broke out with more rancour than before. While those factious disputes continued to divide the *Florentine* army, it was attacked by pestilential diseases, arising from the unwholsomeness of the soil and neighbourhood in which they were encamped. The magistracy of *Florence* were of opinion, that the inactivity of their troops contributed greatly to their distress, and orders were given for pressing the siege with more activity than ever. Accordingly the bridge across the *Arno* was repaired. *Tartalia* commanded the troops on one side of the river, and *Sferza* those on the other. ^b A junction was effected between the main army and the troops that still lay before *Vico*, in such a manner that both places were thoroughly invested, and bridges of boats were thrown over several parts of the *Arno*.

Cruelty of both parties.

Those dispositions struck terror into the *Pisans*; and *Gambacurta*, who continued to command in the city, turned out of it all the useless mouths, the better to husband his provisions. The *Florentines*, aware of his design, proclaimed in their camp, that no quarter should be given to any who were thus turned out, and they actually hanged up great numbers in sight of their fellow citizens; while they committed others, in rotten boats, to the stream of the *Arno*, which carried them back to *Pisa*, with copies of the fatal proclamation about their necks. The *Florentines*, however, relented in this inhuman practice, and were contented with branding such of the male *Pisans* who fell into their hands, and cutting the skirts from the cloaths of the females, and then turning both back into the city. ^c The consequence was, that the city was soon reduced to the last degree of misery by famine; nor was *Vico* in a better condition. While this inhuman war was thus raging, the people of *Biento*, a town in the neighbourhood, acted the part of mediators, and applied to the inhabitants and garrison of *Vico* to persuade them to surrender, in which they succeeded; and *Albizi* was sent from *Florence* to settle the capitulation. The terms were, that if *Vico* was not succoured in ten days, it should surrender to *Albizi*, which it accordingly did.

The Pisans treat;

THE *Pisans* by this time were reduced through famine to despair; and *Vico* being taken, ^d they lost their chief dependence, and thought at last of treating. One *Gasparo*, a citizen of *Pisa*, was sent out to confer for that purpose, with *Caponi* and the other field-deputies; and, after a negociation of several days, every thing was considered to be as good as concluded upon; when all of a sudden, in the night-time, *Pisa* resounded with acclamations of joy and musical instruments, and blazed with illuminations and bonfires, and at day-break the duke of *Burgundy's* colours were seen flying on the walls. Soon after a *French* officer came into the *Florentine* camp, and informed them that *Pisa* now belonged to his master the duke of *Burgundy*, who had ordered him to require the *Florentines* to desist from the siege. Though the *Florentines* were not a little startled at this message, yet they resolutely answered, that they had too great an opinion of the honour and good faith of the duke for them to believe that any such message had come from him; and that they were ^e resolved to prosecute the siege with more vigour than ever. This resolute answer served only to render the *French* officer the more insolent; and he made it his business to swagger round the camp the whole day, denouncing vengeance against the *Florentines* if they did not raise the siege; till at last he became so intolerable, that some of the officers threw him into the *Arno*. He escaped by swimming ashore, and went to *Florence*, where he repeated all his extravagancies; but was soon driven out of that city.

but transfer their sovereignty to the duke of Burgundy.

It quickly appeared, that the *Pisans* had actually made a surrender of themselves and their city to the duke of *Burgundy* brother to the *French* king, who was in no condition to relieve them, but by means of *Bouccicault*, who still continued to be his governor in *Genoa*. The *Florentines*, though they dissembled, knew of the transaction; but did not ^f chuse to break with the *French*. Their success against *Pisa* had been chiefly owing to three large galleys lent them by the *Genoese*, which blocked up the mouth of the *Arno*; and they likewise had in their army many *Genoese* soldiers and engineers, upon whom they had great dependence. Fearing, however, that *Bouccicault* might prevail with the *Genoese* magistrates to recal their troops and sailors, the *Florentines* obliged all the *Genoese* in their service to take an oath, that they would in no event, and at no command, leave the service of the *Florentines* within a certain stated time. Perhaps the largeness of the *Florentine* pay was the best guaranty of this oath; for when *Bouccicault*, soon after, by his master's orders, required the *Genoese* to return to their own country, not a man of them obeyed him, all of them pleading the engagement they were under. The last resource of the *Pi-* ^g *sans*, which lay in the *French* duke, thus failing them, the negociation for a surrender was renewed, and *Bindi*, a *Pisan*, was sent by *Gambacurta* to *Caponi* for that purpose. He car-

They are forced to resume their negociation.

- a died in his face every mark of extreme famine; but, though he supped with the *Florentine* general, all his entreaties could not prevail upon him to give him a loaf of bread. Such misery was no longer to be withstood. *Billius*^a says, that *Gambacurta* treated privately with the *Florentines*; but if he had not, the place must have surrendered. After some negotiating, the capitulation was settled in the following terms; viz. that *Giacomo Gambacurta* should deliver up to the *Florentines* the city of *Pisa* within three days; that the *Florentines* should pay to him fifty thousand golden ducats on such delivery, and that he himself and his posterity should enjoy their private estates in the *Pisan* territory; and that the *Pisans* should give twenty hostages to *Fiascati*, the *Florentine* general, for the due performance of the conditions.
- b THAT public jealousy which is so prevalent in a free state, did not suffer *Caponi* to conclude this capitulation without the advice of the other field-deputies, who were at *Florence*; and they, from the same motives, carried the matter before the presidents, who thought proper immediately to summon a *Balia*, or meeting of the people. The question there put was, Whether it was their pleasure to receive *Pisa* by way of capitulation, or to wait a few days till famine should force the inhabitants to surrender without terms? The former was chosen, as most eligible and humane; and *Caponi*, with another nobleman called *Corbinello*, were immediately deputed to see the capitulation performed. They had, however, a difficult point to manage. *Sforza* and *Tartaglia*, though they agreed in nothing else, joined in condemning a peace, by which they were to lose the plunder of the city; but they were restrained by the authority of *Caponi* from coming to extremities; and at last a seeming reconciliation between them and the advocates for peace was effected. This was not the only difficulty that occurred. The twenty hostages that were given were of the noblest families of *Pisa*; but the public were ignorant of the particulars of the capitulation, or that the hostages were to be imprisoned until all the terms were fulfilled. This consideration startled *Gambacurta*; but *Bindi* advised him to throw himself entirely upon the good faith and generosity of the *Florentines*, which he accordingly did. *Caponi*, who had the chief management of the negociation, acted on this occasion with a magnanimity and wisdom that did him great honour. He found there was a powerful party amongst the general officers, who were for plundering the *Pisans*; and the latter, who were still numerous and desperate, were ignorant that their city was to be instantly given up. *Caponi*, by his address and resolution, got the better of all difficulties in his own camp; but he refused to take possession of *Pisa*, as *Gambacurta* would have persuaded him to do, in the night-time, for fear of treachery. This obliged *Gambacurta* to pass the night, with some of his friends, under the gate which was to be given up; and by break of day the *Florentine* army appeared before it, drawn up in a most tremendous array. Upon this *Gambacurta* presented *Caponi* with the steel head of an arrow, as a token of his resigning to the *Florentines* the sovereignty of *Pisa*, which the other received in the most polite manner.
- c THE *Pisans*, at this time, ignorant of what had happened, were drawn up in the great square of the city, and were surprised when they saw their enemies within their gates; but much more so at the peaceable friendly manner in which they advanced. *Caponi*, who had left a strong guard to preserve *Gambacurta* from the violence of the *Pisans*, immediately ordered the terms of capitulation to be proclaimed, and that the *Pisans* should be safe in their persons and properties, and relieved from all their distresses. Upon this the inhabitants of every age and condition flocked round their conquerors as their deliverers; but never did a more touching scene of misery appear than was presented by those living ghosts. Almost every thing that was eatable had been consumed, and many of the besieged had subsisted upon dead bodies torn from the graves. The *Florentines* had brought along with them a quantity of bread, which they threw amongst the people as they passed through the streets. The sight of food, and their eagerness to catch at it, made the *Pisans* forget all animosities towards their late enemies, and the rendition of their city was completed without tumult. Upon a narrow search it was discovered, that no kind of provision remained in *Pisa* the day it surrendered, but three very lean cows, and a pound or two of sugar.
- d THE sudden transition from a state of the most deplorable famine, to one of plenty, ease, and tranquility, gave some suspicion to the *Pisans* that all that shew of friendship was intended to lull them into a state of security, till the *Florentines* should find an opportunity of plundering and murdering them. *Gino Caponi*, to remove those suspicions, called a general assembly both of the magistrates and people, and made a formal speech to assure them of the good faith and friendship of his masters the *Florentines*; which had so good an effect, that twenty of the chief citizens of *Pisa* were named to go to *Florence*, and there to make a formal surrender of their sovereignty to the magistracy. This was done with
- e *Pisa surrendered to the Florentines.*
- f

with the Florentines; and the terms were settled.

Wisdom and magnanimity of Caponi.

Pisa surrendered to the Florentines.

^a BILLIUS, ubi supra.

great pomp; and for some months nothing was heard in *Florence* but music of all kinds, and shouts of triumph; and nothing seen but festivities, jousts, tournaments, and magnificent processions.

*Affairs of the
Papacy.*

ACCORDING TO *Arctin*^b, the *Florentine* name never was so renowned and glorious as it upon the taking of *Pisa*. Their city became now the rendezvous of all the great and the polite amongst the *Italians*; and they behaved with so much tenderness and honour towards the *Pisans*, that they found no difficulty in reducing to their obedience all the *Pisan* territory, which, according to *Palmerius*, contained no fewer than eighty-four walled towns. This rendered them so formidable, that none of their neighbours chusing to disturb them, they for some years continued in a state of tranquility, excepting when it was disturbed by the schism that prevailed in the papacy, which at this time continued to divide all *Europe*. Upon the death of the antipope *Innocent*, the cardinals at *Rome* chose a *Venetian*, *Angelo Corrario*; but exacted a promise from him to abdicate the papacy, as soon as his competitor *Peter de Luna* should do the same, or as soon as the cardinals should think fit to proceed to a new election. *Corrario*, being chosen, was in no haste to fulfil his engagement, but trifled most egregiously with his electors, and avoided having any interview in order to compromise matters. *Corrario* had taken the name of *Gregory*, and was attended by *Arctin* the historian, on the part of the *Florentines*, to *Rimini*, which was then in subjection to *Carlo Malatesta*, to whom *Arctin* gives a very high character. In the mean while, the *Florentines*, as well as the rest of *Christendom*, ashamed of the conduct of the two anti-popes, and the scandal thereby arising to the church, agreed that a council should be held at *Pisa*, where both popes were solemnly deposed; and another, *Philargi*, a *Greek* by birth, being chosen, took the name of *Alexander*. This new pope was opposed by *Ladislaus* king of *Naples*, who had done all he could to obstruct the meeting of the council at *Pisa*, and his holiness conferred the kingdom of *Naples* upon *Lewis* of *Anjou*, the son of that duke, who had disputed it before with *Charles* of *Durazzo*. The *Florentines* took part with *Lewis*, and *Ladislaus* marched an army into *Tuscany*, where he sat down before *Arezzo*, in hopes of an insurrection within that city in his favour; but though he was disappointed in that, *Cortona* opened its gates to him. He was, however, soon after obliged to return to *Rome*. In the mean while pope *Alexander* died, and an *Italian* cotemporary historian^c (A), who knew him well, gives him excessive commendations for virtue and piety; only he tells us, he was such an epicure that he spent half his time at table, and that he had forty wenches in his family all in the same habit; but he imputes that piece of luxury to his being a native of *Greece*.

*Death and
character of
pope Alexan-
der.*

*War between
Ladislaus king
of Naples and
the duke of An-
jou.*

NOTWITHSTANDING *Alexander's* death, the dispute between *Lewis* of *Anjou* and *Ladislaus*, about the crown of *Naples*, still continued, and the *Florentines* sent an army to the assistance of the former, under the command of *Paolo Ursini* and *Sforza*. *Lewis* was attended by *Baldasara Cossa*, who acted as the legate of pope *Alexander*. This person had been bred up a pirate, and acted in that capacity when he first took orders; afterwards, betaking himself to the land-service, he was a great partizan of pope *Urban*, and amassed as much money by maraudings and inroads, as bought him a cardinal's hat. At last, he was made general for the pope, and legate of *Bologna*, which he was the great means of recovering from the *Visconti* family. The cardinals being met for the election of a new pope, chose this *Cossa*, who immediately assumed the name of *John XXIII*. After remaining some time at *Bologna*, he marched by the way of *Florence* to *Rome*, which, after various disputes, by this time, was recovered from *Ladislaus*. *Ladislaus* was encamped upon the frontiers of *Naples*, at *Rocca Vecchia*, and *Lewis*, with the *Florentine* army, advanced to fight him. Having a great superiority of numbers over the *Florentines*, *Ursini*, the *Florentine* general, who bore no good will to *Sforza*, with most of the officers, were against coming to a battle. But *Sforza* remonstrating with great spirit against the disgrace which their retreat would be attended with, brought *Lewis* over to his opinion, and the army passed the *Garigliano*. Their army was drawn up in three divisions: the command of the first, which was to attack the *Neapolitans* in front, was given to *Sforza*^d, who was to be supported by the second, consisting of cavalry, under *Lewis* himself; while the third, under *Ursini*, was to wheel off, in order to attack the enemy in their rear, where *Ladislaus* himself was. It appears from our author, that that prince practised a stratagem pretty frequent in those days, which was, that of dressing up a number of officers in arms and robes not to be discerned from his own. He was superior to *Lewis*, not only in the number, but in the discipline, appointments, and armour of his troops; and he had placed the flower of his army in front. *Sforza's* charge was very furious, and *Ursini* breaking in during the heat of the dispute, *Ladislaus* was defeated and

A. D. 1440.
*Ladislaus ut-
terly defeated.*

^b ARETIN. rerum Italicarum Hist. p. 256.
MURAT. tom. xix. p. 651.

^c BILLIUS, ubi supra.

^d CRIBEL. de Vita Sfortiæ apud

(A) This pope *Alexander* was the archbishop of *Milan*, whom *Galeazzo* had put at the head of his regency at his death.

a put to flight, leaving behind him almost all his general officers, his camp, and an immense booty in the possession of the *Florentines*, whose general *Sforza* had the chief honour of the victory.

b It is on all hands agreed, that if the *Florentines* had pursued their blow, they might have placed *Lewis* upon the throne of *Naples*. According to some authors, the booty which both the officers and soldiers had acquired, was so immense that they did not chuse to risk the loss of it, and were impatient to return home. The writer of *Sforza's* life ^c informs us, that the glory *Sforza* had acquired, was so disagreeable to *Ursini*, that the latter thwarted him in every measure he proposed. According to him, *Sforza* proposed pursuing *Ladislaus* that very night, and laying siege to *St. Germano*, in which he had taken refuge, and which probably would have surrendered had it been attacked before he had recovered from his consternation. This proposal was opposed by *Ursini* and the *Florentine* officers, who all of them treated it as romantic and impracticable, and notwithstanding the earnestness of *Lewis* to have it carried into execution, it was laid aside. Next day, though *Lewis* protested against it, the army repassed the *Garigliano*, and remained inactive during the rest of the campaign. *Aretin* ^f informs us, it was usual after this for *Ladislaus* to say, 'That the day on which he was defeated his enemies had it in their power to have been masters both of his person and his kingdom; that the second day they might have been masters of his kingdom, though not of his person; but that the third day both his person and kingdom were out of their power.'

c THE truth is, *Ladislaus*, like a great man as he was, far from desponding under his defeat, sought to prevent the consequences of it. He sent expresses through all his kingdom for recruiting and remounting his troops; and ordering new levies to repair, as they did in great numbers to *St. Germano*, he was again formidable, and that too chiefly through the aversion his subjects had to a *French* government. It appears, however, on the face of history, as if he owed his safety, and the happy turn his affairs took at this time, to a secret negociation entered into between him and the *Florentines*, by which he actually ceded, or, according to others, sold to them *Cortona*, which proved to them a valuable acquisition; and according to *Florentine* historians ^g, a peace at the same time was concluded upon between him and the *Florentines*; but it must have been a peace only of convenience on his side, for in a few weeks both parties were again in arms. This peace, however, had the effect of discouraging *Lewis* of *Anjou* to such a degree, that he returned to *France*, and gave over all thoughts of prosecuting his claims upon *Naples*.

d *LADISLAUS* having thus gained the great point he aimed at, renewed his preparations for war. The *Florentines* had continued their troops and their generals in the service of pope *John*, and that part of their army, which was commanded by *Sforza*, wintered in the duchy of *Spoletto*. It had been agreed between the pope and the *Florentines*, that his holiness should pay the troops in his service; but being unable to satisfy *Sforza's* arrears, which amounted to seventeen thousand ducats, he created him count of *Cotignola*. *Ursini*, the other *Florentine* general, could not brook such an honour being conferred on his rival, whose original was scarcely known, and insisted upon the pope's dismissing him from his service. His holiness durst not disoblige *Ursini*, who was the head of one of the noblest families in *Rome*; and *Sforza* at last drawing together a few troops he still commanded, fortified himself on *Selva d'Algieri*, formerly called *Mons Algidum*. While he was in this situation, he received a message from the pope, by a cardinal, inviting him to continue in his service, and offering him a sum of gold; but no way equal to the arrears due to him. *Sforza* rejected the money as not worthy his acceptance, expressed the most profound veneration towards the pope, but inveighed bitterly against *Ursini*, and declared he would continue no longer in the service of his holiness. *Ladislaus*, by this time, was advancing at the head of an army against *Rome*, and no sooner heard that *Sforza* had f quitted the pope's service, than he offered him his own terms if he would enter into his.

THE bargain was soon struck: *Sforza* received money enough to pay off the arrears of his troops, and marched with flying colours into the royal camp. The winter coming on, and provisions falling scarce in the *Neapolitan* army, nothing farther could be done that campaign. The troops were dismissed into winter-quarters; and *Ladislaus* not only made *Sforza* governor of *Perugia*, but raised him and his family to all the degrees of honour and riches that sovereignty could bestow. Most of the *Florentine* auxiliaries had left *Sforza*, and continued to serve under *Ursini*, who was first in command. Early next spring *Sforza* was at the head of his troops, and marched against *Ursini*, who lay in the marquisate of *An-* g *cona*; but was driven by him from place to place, till at last he was obliged to take

^c Vide CRIBEL. ubi supra.

^f Page 257.

MURAT. ubi supra. MACHIAVEL, book iii.

^g Istorie di Firenze dall' An. 1406 fino al 1438 apud

ed.

refuge in *Rocca Contrada*, where he was besieged by *Sforza* and the other *Florentine* a generals.

The Florentines create Braccio their general.

THE *Florentines*, being thus in a manner left without a general, gave the command of their troops to *Braccio*, a *Perugian* nobleman; and *Aratino* intimates ^b, he was so great a captain as to leave the palm of military glory doubtful between him and *Sforza*. He had been at first an exile from his country, and by his brave actions had acquired so great renown, that the *Florentines* thought it a triumph when he accepted the command of their troops. After serving them with great fidelity and success in *Tuscany*, he was sent with his army to the relief of pope *John* and *Ursini*, who continued still in danger of being utterly ruined by the *Neapolitans*. It would swell this history too much should we enter into a detail of all the brave actions performed by *Braccio*, in the course of this war. The writers of particular lives are apt to magnify every successful skirmish into a glorious victory gained by their hero. It must, however, be owned in general, that *Braccio's* real exploits require no historical amplification to recommend them; and it is acknowledged, that in civil virtues he was superior to *Sforza*. While both those generals served in subordinate capacities, the greatest friendship subsisted between them; but they were no sooner raised to independent commands, than each conceived a mortal antipathy to the other. While *Sforza* was governor of *Perugia* for *Ladislaus*, daily encounters happened between him and *Braccio*; but generally to the advantage of the latter, because he was better acquainted with, and beloved in, the country. After this, *Braccio* served with great honour and success in the *Bolognese*, and was the means of reducing that city entirely to the authority of the pope, who never before durst venture to check the inhabitants. c

His exploits.

WHILE *Braccio* was in the *Bolognese*, he received an account of the disagreeable situation of *Ursini*, who still continued to be besieged in *Rocca Contrada*. The place was excessively strong, and could only be reduced by famine. The siege, however, was obstinately carried on for three months by *Sforza*, and *Malatesta*, who was now still in the *Neapolitan* service; and *Braccio* resolved at all events to raise it. With this view he marched against *Cesena*, a flourishing town belonging to *Malatesta*, which, with its castle, he took, plundered, and demolished. *Ladislaus*, on the other hand, ordered *Campano*, another of his generals, to reduce all the places belonging to *Braccio*, in the *Perugian* territory. Upon this, *Braccio* marched to *Borgo St. Sepulchro*, on the *Florentine* frontiers, and from thence to *Montone*, d which he took, and found means to concert with *Ursini* his escape from *Rocca Contrada*, advising him to march to *Ugubio*, about ten miles distant. If he was attacked in his march by the *Neapolitans*, *Ursini* was to expect no farther assistance from him, as the main point must be then compassed, that of raising the siege; but that if the enemy continued it, he was determined to attack them in their entrenchments, while he was to be favoured by a brisk sally from the place. This scheme held. The besiegers drew off to oppose *Braccio*, and *Ursini* took that opportunity of escaping with his garrison to *Urbino*, from whence he joined *Braccio*; and thus *Ursini* was saved, by what the writer of *Sforza's* life thinks to be next to a miracle. The *Neapolitans* at this time had two armies in the field, each of them superior in number to that of *Braccio*; but inferior in military experience and discipline. e One of the *Neapolitan* armies was then besieging *Ponte Patulo*, in the *Perugian* territory. The other observed the motions of *Braccio*, who could not prevail with *Ursini* to attempt raising of the siege by surprising the enemy. After this *Ursini* marched to *Orvieto*, and *Braccio* to *Todi*, and from thence to *Marignano*, a town belonging to himself in *Perugia*, which had bravely held out against all the *Neapolitan* power in *Tuscany*. Upon his approach the *Neapolitans* raised the siege of *Ponte Patulo*; and matters continued quiet in *Tuscany* during the remainder of the campaign. *Ladislaus*, however, still carried on the war against pope *John*; but the active *Braccio* found means to make himself master of the important town of *Todi*, lying between *Perugia* and *Rome*. To repair this loss, *Ladislaus* took a great many strong places from the pope, whom he had expelled from *Rome*, and f who had taken refuge in the state of *Florence*.

He relieves Ursini.

The pope flies to Florence.

Parties in that city.

THE *Florentines* were at this time greatly divided in their sentiments. Notwithstanding the activity of *Braccio* and their other generals, *Ladislaus* was daily gaining ground, and was now become as formidable to them as *Galeazzo* had ever been. The pope's capacity seemed to be no ways suitable to his dignity: his authority was disowned by the greatest part of *Christendom*; and a great party amongst the *Florentines* thought that they had embarked already too far in his quarrel. Add to this, that a general council was, by this time, indicted at *Constance*, with the approbation of almost all the princes of *Christendom*, for settling the affairs of the church and for choosing a new pope. Upon the whole, they were of opinion that *Ladislaus* ought not to be farther provoked. g

into which he is not admitted.

THOUGH the *Guelphs* were still the prevailing party in *Florence*, yet the above considerations were so plausible, that the pope was not invited into that city; but resided in a

^b P. 260.

ⁱ ARETINI, pag. 257.

- a country-seat belonging to the archbishop^k. Perceiving the *Florentines* to be thus cold in his favour, he applied to the emperor *Sigismund*, by his cardinals, and offered, for the good of the church, to submit himself to a general council. The emperor was satisfied with this proposal; but great difficulties arose as to the place where the council was to be held. The pope told *Aretin*, in confidenceⁱ, that he was resolved not to agree to any place where the emperor's power was greater than his own. But at last, finding the state of his affairs desperate, he gave the two cardinals, whom he sent as his legates to the emperor, full power to agree to any place which he and they should think most proper. After various conferences, the city of *Constance* was agreed to by the legates, to the great chagrin of the pope, though he was obliged to conceal it.
- b By this time *Ladislaus* had failed in an expedition against *Bologna*, the command of which he had given to the marquis *d'Este*, who could not, without jealousy, behold the growing power of *Ladislaus* in *Italy*. The latter, however, made a great acquisition in bringing over to his service *Ursini*, who now became as determined an enemy of the *Florentine* general, as *Sforza* had been before. This accession of strength was very agreeable to *Ladislaus*, as *Ursini* carried with him a well disciplined body of troops, who were very useful in the siege of *Todi*, which was still carried on with twenty-eight thousand men; a force sufficient to have subdued all *Tuscany*, which was the real aim of *Ladislaus*. *Braccio's* force did not exceed three thousand; but with them he did wonders. *Ladislaus* at first blockaded the place, and destroyed the country round, which induced the citizens to send some of their chiefs to treat of a surrender; one of the terms of which was, that *Braccio* and the *Florentine* forces might retire to where they thought proper. It was with difficulty that *Ladislaus* could be brought to agree to this last article; and *Braccio* retiring to *Fratta* in the *Perugian*, five hundred *Neapolitan* infantry took possession of *Todi*; but the new garrison behaved with such brutality, that the inhabitants expelled them, and recalled *Braccio*, and thus the siege recommenced. The defence which *Braccio* made was so noble, and his behaviour so generous, especially to some *Neapolitan* noblemen, whom he had made prisoners in a sally, that *Ladislaus* invited him to a private conference, in which he offered him very high terms if he would enter into his service, which *Braccio*, like a man of honour, rejected, and thereby increased the king's esteem of him. During this siege, *Sforza* is said to have saved *Ursini* from being taken prisoner, notwithstanding the enmity subsisting between them. At last, after *Ladislaus* had spent four and twenty days without any prospect of taking the place, he withdrew his army into *Perugia*, where, upon suspicion, he put *Ursini* under arrest. Perceiving his health languishing, he returned by the way of *Rome* to *Naples*, where he died in *August* 1414, leaving his sister *Joanna*, duchess of *Austria*, heir to his kingdom. Thus the *Florentines* were once more saved, by the critical death of a prince, who was their determined enemy, and who found no check but *Florence* to prevent his becoming master of all *Italy*. His death being known to *Sforza*, who had been left behind to command against *Braccio*, he put every thing into the best posture he could in the marquisate of *Ancona*, and marched to secure *Rome* in the obedience of his new mistress. The time now approached for the meeting of the general council at *Constance*. Pope *John* and the emperor *Sigismund* had several interviews with one another, and they had been continued for some months at *Placentia*, *Cremona*, and other places in *Lombardy*; but all the effect of them was, that each conceived for the other a concealed hatred; and the pope taking his leave of the emperor, passed the winter at *Mantua*, from whence he went to *Bologna*, where he was when he received news of the death of *Ladislaus*. But having faithfully promised the emperor that he would attend the council of *Constance*, and submit to whatever it should decree, he now found himself under a necessity of repairing to that city. Before he set out, he ordered *Braccio*, who was then with his army in *Ancona*, to repair to *Bologna*, to take upon him the government of it in his absence.
- f According to some, the design of his holiness was to put *Braccio* to death, in which case the *Perugians* had promised to submit to the holy see; and the pope would have been quit of a large arrear owing him for pay. It is certain *Braccio* suspected somewhat of this; for when he came attended only by his own domestics to pay his respects to the pope, he had scarce entered the city when he returned with the utmost haste to his camp, and commenced hostilities in the *Bolognese*. Whatever the intention of the pope might be, he saw that *Braccio* was his master, and a few days effected a reconciliation, by which *Braccio* was put into full possession of the government of *Bologna*, and all its revenues. *Florence* was then so perfectly at peace with all the neighbouring powers, that she had no occasion to recal *Braccio*; nor were her civil contentions at this time at all dangerous, though the animosities amongst the chief citizens were far from being extinguished. But the leading families had suffered so much each in their turn, that they were contented to remain quiet under the present government, till a proper opportunity for renewing their claims should offer itself.
- g

Ambition of
Ladislaus.Generosity of
Sforza.Death of La-
dislaus.
A. D. 1414.Interview be-
tween the em-
peror and pope.Florence
in tranquillity.This shew of tranquillity, which, according to *Machiavel*, continued for about eight^kARETINI, pag. 257. ⁱIbid. 258.

Council of
Constance
held.

years after the death of *Ladislaus*, was greatly owing to the suspense in which the minds of all *Europe*, those of the *Florentines* particularly, were kept, by what passed at the council of *Constance*; to which city the pope repaired on the twenty-eighth of *October*; and *Sigismund*, who had now been crowned emperor at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, followed him the twenty-third of *December* after. Next day the emperor performed the deacon's office, as is usual on such occasions, in the imperial dalmatic, at a midnight mass, celebrated by the pope pontifically, but without the humiliating circumstances of being barefooted, of holding the pope's stirrup, or leading his mule by the bridle. The meeting was one of the most splendid that had ever been seen in *Europe*. According to *Arétin*^s, the emperor was attended by no fewer than thirty thousand horse. The pope presided at the council. Three thrones were erected in the cathedral, one for the pope, one for the empress, and one between both for the emperor. Of the *German* princes were present, the electors of *Saxony*, *Palatine*, and *Mentz*; the administrator of *Brandenburg*; the dukes of *Bavaria*, *Austria*, and *Silesia*; one hundred and twenty-eight counts, two hundred barons, and twenty-seven ambassadors from sovereign princes or states. In all the articles of luxury, debauchery, and revelling, it resembled a carnival, rather than a council of venerable fathers. The *Florentines*, like other sovereign states, had their deputies there; but they were generous enough not to desert pope *John*, though in fact he abandoned himself. The fathers, after various deliberations, came to a resolution that *John*, as well as the two antipopes, *Angelo Carrario*, or *Peter de Luna*, should resign their dignities.

JOHN, who presided at the council, agreed to those terms, provided his two competitors could be brought to agree to them likewise; adding, that he was willing to abdicate the popedom in all cases wherein any such abdication could be of advantage to the church. He had no sooner made this declaration, than the emperor, descending from his throne, threw himself at *John*'s feet, to thank him for it, in the name of all christian princes; and the patriarch of *Antioch* followed his example, in the name of all christian ecclesiastics. This submission of *John* was mortifying to the secret enemies of the emperor in *Germany*, particularly the archbishop of *Mentz*, and *Frederick* duke of *Austria*; and they tampered with him to retract it, in which they prevailed. *John* had some colour for this, from the council being overawed by the imperial forces. He, therefore, disguised himself like a postilion, and fled to *Schaffhausen*. The cardinals who had attended him knew nothing of his intention, and repaired to *Schaffhausen*, to persuade him to return; but all was to no purpose. This conduct of *John* exasperated the council and the emperor so greatly, that he was now formally deposed, and all christians were commanded to pay no obedience either to him or to the two antipopes. The duke of *Austria*, perceiving the emperor and the council to be strictly united together, arrested *John*, as he was endeavouring to escape to *Burgundy*, threw him into prison, and then asked pardon on his knees of the emperor for what he had done. *John* being now in custody, and deserted by those on whom he had mostly depended (for the *Florentines* seem to have given him no encouragement either in his flight or retraction) now lost all spirit, and resolved to submit in the fullest manner to his enemies. He accordingly freely renounced the papacy, and laid aside all the badges of that dignity. *Gregory XII.* for *Corrario* had assumed that name, who then resided at *Rimini*, under the protection of *Malatesta*, followed his example; but *Benedict XIII.* as *de Luna* called himself, refused to submit to the authority of the council, being supported by the kings of *Castile*, *Aragon*, and *Navarre*, for whose fidelity to the council the emperor made himself answerable. *Zafarella*, who had been made bishop and cardinal of *Florence* by *John*, was highly instrumental in persuading him to his first abdication; and he and the *Florentines* continued afterwards to do him eminent services. The council proceeded next to the election of a new pope, and this choice fell upon *Otto*, or *Otho Colonna*, of a noble *Roman* family, who assumed the name of *Martin V.* of whom the *Florentine* historian gives this character, that before his election he was esteemed rather generous than wise, but after it he gave the greatest proofs of his wisdom, but was far from being excessive in his generosity. The rest of the transactions of this council, which was noted for the infamous murders of *John Huss*, and *Jerome of Prague*, are well known to the public, and have no relation to this work.

Transactions
there.

Pope Martin
comes to Flo-
rence;

THE election of *Martin* into the papal see was extremely agreeable to the *Florentines*; and upon the breaking up of the council, he came from *Constance* by the way of *Milan*, *Mantua*, *Ferrara*, *Ravenna*, and *Forli*, to *Florence*, where he resided for two years, as being the most commodious place for negotiating the affairs of the church, and the states of *Italy*. The self-deposition of pope *John*, who now resumed his former name of *Cossa*, had not procured him his liberty; for he languished long after in prison. At last he was delivered by the generous interposition of the *Florentines*, who made *Martin* sensible, that it was by no means for his interest to use him with farther rigour. Several of the states who had acknowledged *Cossa* as pope, being dissatisfied both with the emperor and the council, began to entertain scruples about the validity of his abdication, as being extorted by force.

a It was easy to foresee the consequences of those doubts, in a country so disaffected to the emperor as *Germany*, where *Cossa* was imprisoned, then was ; and *Martin* himself procured his deliverance from his confinement in *Bavaria*, and invited him to *Florence*, with a secret view of seizing upon him on his journey, and shutting him up in perpetual imprisonment at *Mantua*. *Cossa* arriving at *Lombardy*, was informed by some of his *Florentine* friends, of *Martin's* intention ; upon which he took refuge in the *Genoese* territories. After remain-
 ing there, in a most miserable plight, for some time, he was encouraged by the experience he had of the spirit of the *Florentine* people and government, to repair to that city, and without reserve to throw himself at *Martin's* feet, and to recognize his authority. No sooner was his approach known than the *Florentines*, in prodigious numbers, flocked out
 b to meet and welcome him. The distressed appearance he made, served only to encrease their affection and compassion towards him ; and he was introduced to the pope, with all *Florence* attending him as his intercessors and protectors. At last they persuaded *Martin*, that the only way to prevent any bad consequences from *Cossa's* party, would be to restore to him his cardinal's hat, and to the exercise of his sacred functions, which *Martin* wisely agreed to, and *Cossa* died about a year after.

as does Cossa.

WE have already seen, that *Braccio* was left by pope *John* governor of *Bologna*, where his service against the neighbouring states, who were encouraged and protected by that pope's enemies, was sharp and active ; but he generally was victorious. The *Bolognese*,
 however, disliking the severity of his government, and his exactions, to which he was in
 c some measure compelled by the poverty of that pope, took advantage of his absence to attempt a revolt ; but before they could master the citadel, *Braccio* appeared before their gates, and obliged them to submit. Soon after, being called out to a fresh expedition against the *Riminians* and the *Perugians*, the *Bolognese* again revolted ; but more unanimously and resolutely than they had done before. But *Braccio*, who had taken care to provide the citadel with a good garrison, and store of provisions, returned with incredible expedition ; and, after a most obstinate dispute, he was beaten off, and was forced to commence a regular siege against the city. The citizens held out with great courage, till he was obliged to change the siege into a kind of blockade, by taking possession of all the avenues by which the city could receive any provisions ; and then the magistrates sent him
 d a deputation of their most respectable citizens, asking pardon for what had happened, and laying the blame upon the rabble, who had taken arms against their will. *Braccio*, with great seeming difficulty, again pardoned them, and obliged them to deliver fifty of their principal citizens as hostages for their future behaviour. In the mean while, hearing of the deposition of pope *John*, and the election of *Martin*, he sold *Bologna*, and all its dependencies, to the inhabitants for eighty thousand ducats, with which he paid and recruited his army, and bent all his efforts to the reduction of *Perugia*, his native city, which had expelled the *Neapolitan* garrison, and recovered its independency. The pretext was, that the *Perugians* had broken their league with the *Florentines*, and was governed by a faction, who had exiled *Braccio* and all its worthy citizens. Upon his approach the *Perugians* re-
 e called the *Neapolitan* garrison, and took into their pay *Ursini*, who was by this time delivered from his imprisonment at *Naples*. *Braccio*, however, took his measures so well, that neither *Chicolini*, the *Neapolitan* general, nor *Ursini*, could throw themselves into *Perugia* ; and the *Perugians* were distressed so greatly, that they sent deputies to the *Florentines* to mediate between them and *Braccio*. They accordingly sent a deputation to his camp, exhorting him to listen to an accommodation.

The Bolognese revolt.

THO' *Braccio* was then the *Florentine* general, and acted by their authority, yet he had so long served in a kind of independent capacity, and he had so great a passion to be master of *Perugia*, that he, in fact, refused to desist from his enterprize, and dismissed the deputies with an unsatisfactory answer. He then proceeded to take all the adjacent forts
 f and towns, and gave a total defeat to *Chicolini* and *Malatesta*, who were on their march to the relief of *Perugia*, both of them being taken prisoners. Upon this, the city was surrendered to *Braccio* and the other exiles, and he is said to have exercised the government of it with great lenity and justice.

Proceedings of Braccio.

THE *Florentines* beheld *Braccio's* successes with great indifference, as they were assured of his fidelity to their state, and that they could always controul him in any undue exercise of his power. But we return to the other concerns of *Florence*, which had now no overgrown tyrant to dread.

JOHN, the eldest son and successor of *Galeazzo*, having been assassinated by his subjects, was succeeded by his brother *Philip*, who resembled his father and grandfather in their qualities and ambition, and by some is said to have excelled them in both. He soon recovered the affairs of his family, then languishing and disordered through the weakness and divisions of his brother's ministers, and, like his ancestors, became formidable to *Florence*. *Philip*, having an eye upon *Genoa*, was encouraged to attempt making himself master

Designs of the duke of Milan.

ster of that noble city by the numerous *Genoese* exiles whom the *French* government and internal factions had driven to *Lombardy*. Before he entered upon this expedition, he so far conquered his natural aversion to the *Florentines*, that he sent a most splendid embassy to *Florence*, offering that state his friendship and alliance. No formal embassy had been sent for twenty years before from the court of *Milan* to the *Florentines*^a. *Nicholas de Uzano* was then the chief man of the *Florentine* state, and he was employed to treat with the *Milanese* ambassadors, whose instructions were to negotiate a new treaty between *Philip* and the *Florentines*; by which *Pannaro*, and the river *Magra*, were to be the boundaries, and beyond them neither the *Milanese* nor the *Florentines* were to extend their dominion. The *Florentines*, in general, were averse to this proposition, because the limits proposed by *Philip* for the boundary of the two states, plainly indicated his design upon *Genoa*. *Uzano*, however, and the wiser part of the *Florentines*, who had experienced the sweets of peace, gave the *Milanese* ambassadors a most polite reception, and the treaty was concluded.

who makes
himself master
of Genoa.

THOMAS FREGOZO was then doge of *Genoa*; but being unable to make head against the duke of *Milan*, for want of money, he sold *Leghorn*, a place then inconsiderable, to the *Florentines* for one hundred and twenty thousand ducats, most of which was spent in raising soldiers in the *Florentine* state. This was, by *Philip*, considered as a breach of the new-made treaty; but he dissembled his resentment for the time. *Carmignola* was then both general and first minister of state to *Philip*, and conducted the expedition against *Genoa* so successfully, that the doge, being beaten both by sea and land, was obliged to surrender *Genoa* into *Carmignola's* hands; and *Philip* afterwards became master of all that sea-coast, to the great terror and amazement of the *Florentines*.

Pope Martin's
discontent.

POPE Martin still remained at *Florence*; but, from what has fallen from *Arelin*^b, he was by no means popular there, and affrontive ballads were even sung under his windows in his hearing. *Arelin* then attended him, as he had done his predecessors, and it required all his address to keep his holiness in temper. But *Brachio*, who still acted in the character of *Florentine* general, having defeated all his enemies, and being now master of *Perugia*, was of the utmost importance to the pope, for recovering the towns and cities that had been dismembered from the Holy See, and possessed by separate tyrants. He was accordingly, with consent of the *Florentine* magistracy, appointed general to the pope. In a short time he reduced a great number of those places; and it was in this campaign that the famous *Niccolo Piccinino*, then a common soldier, gave the first proofs of his military genius. His success obliged the tyrants of all the revolted places to apply to him for peace; and *Brachio*, to give the greater lustre to his own name and character, appointed *Florence* for the place of negotiation. Thither he repaired with a train and equipages suitable to a sovereign prince; and as such he was received not only by the *Florentines*^c, but by the pope himself. His historian has described the wonderful magnificence that reigned at *Florence* during his abode there, and the pompous jousts and tournaments he exhibited. His vast popularity, however, gave umbrage to the pope, who, by the advice of *Sforza*, who was at *Florence* at the same time, employed him in the reduction of *Bologna*, which had once more asserted its independency. The views of his holiness, in giving *Brachio* this commission, were unknown to the *Florentines*, whose constant maxim was to suffer neither the pope nor any other prince to become too powerful in *Italy*. *Sforza* made *Martin* sensible that the *Florentines* would oppose the growth even of the papacy itself; and persuaded him, that he had now an opportunity of adding to the Holy See the kingdom of *Naples*, which was governed by a weak silly woman, to the great disgust of the *Neapolitans*.

Success of
Brachio.

Factions at
Florence.

BRACHIO, who seems to have had a good deal of vanity in his composition, accepted of his new commission with great joy; and the *Florentines*, who now thought themselves at peace with all the world, applied assiduously to cultivate learning and the fine arts, and were therefore the less solicitous about an army within their territories. According to *Machiavel*^d, the citizens next in authority to *Nicola de Uzano*, were *Bartolomco Valore*, *Nero Nigi*, *Reinaldo Albizi*, *Neri di Gino*, and *Lupo Nicolini*. On the other hand, the families in disgrace were the *Alberti*, the *Ricci*, and *de Medici*. But the long possession of power, and the continuance of a voluptuous peace, had by this time so far infected the *Florentine* government, that their magistrates became proud, insolent, and negligent. They were, it is true, united in their sentiments of civil independency, and, in general, were well affected to their constitution. But the vast riches they possessed had introduced amongst them a spirit of pride, that is incompatible with the manners of republicans. Each great man envied another, and was glad to throw upon his brother-magistrate the blame of every abuse in the state. By those mutual jealousies, the *Florentines* at last conceived a distaste at their government, which laid the first foundations of the greatness of the house of *Medici*, who had always been moderate in their sentiments of civil affairs, and soon after became so-

^a BILLII Historia, ubi supra, p. 57.
p. 563.

^b ARETIN, pag. 259.

^c Vita Brachii, apud MURAT. ubi supra,

^d MACHIAVEL, book iv.

- a ver reigns of the state. The disgraced families soon perceived the vast advantage which the misconduct of the governing party threw into their hands; and *Giovanni Ricci* was the first who had the courage to offer himself to be the patron and protector of the people. He was strenuously opposed by *Nicolo de Uzano*; but his greatness had created so much jealousy amongst the other magistrates, that he was not listened to. The animosity against him was greatly favoured by the progress of *Philip* duke of *Milan*; and he was falsely, perhaps; accused of being the chief instrument of concluding the treaty between *Philip* and the *Florentines*. According to *Machiavel*^e, in the pacification he made with the doge of *Genoa*, he reserved *Serezana*, and some other towns on the side of the *Magra*, next to *Florence*, in his own possession; which the *Florentines* complained of as a breach of their treaty with him. The magistracy of *Florence* would willingly have winked at this infraction; but the people would not suffer them. Notwithstanding all the remonstrances that were made against entering into war with a prince so powerful as *Philip*, and the impossibility of keeping any of the conquests they could gain from him; while the *Romagna* lay between the two states, preparations for war were resolved upon, levies made, and the ten field-deputies nominated. No sooner was this resolution approved of, than the people, seeing the weight of the taxes that were necessary for carrying on the war, redoubled their murmurs against the government. *Ordellaffi*, the lord of *Forli*, dying about this time, had left his son under the tutelage of *Philip* duke of *Milan*; but the mother, disliking such a guardian, sent her child to her father *Luigi Alidosso*, lord of *Imola*. This incensed the inhabitants of *Imola* so greatly, that they obliged the mother to put her son into the hands of the guardian appointed by the father; and thus *Philip* became master of that state. This new acquisition of power to *Philip* renewed the jealousy of the *Florentines*. Great debates were held about the expediency of declaring war against him, which *John de Medici* earnestly opposed. He thought, that, as *Philip* had not as yet proceeded to hostilities, the *Florentine* allies would look upon them as the aggressors, if they should declare war. The opposite party held forth the folly of making their own country the scene of war, with a prince who they were sure was their enemy. The opinion of the latter prevailed, and a war was resolved upon.
- b *PHILIP*, having intelligence of this, immediately sent *Agnolo* of *Pergola* at the head of an army against the lord of *Imola*, in order to divert him from succouring *Forli*. It was then the depth of winter; and the waters of the ditches, which formed the chief defence of the place, being frozen, *Agnolo* took the city, and sent *Alidosso* prisoner to *Milan*. Upon this the *Florentines*, who had now completed their levies, laid siege to *Forli*; while *Agnolo* of *Pergola*, unable to succour it, besieged *Zoganara*, in hopes that the *Florentines* would raise the siege of *Forli*, in order to relieve the former. Count *Alberigo* was then in the pay of the *Florentines*: and his garrison held out *Zoganara*, which was so pressed by the enemy, that the besieged were obliged to agree to deliver up the town, if it was not relieved within fifteen days by the *Florentines*. The terms of this capitulation so greatly incensed the *Florentines*, that they resolved, at all hazards, to raise the siege. Abandoning that of *Forli*, they began their march towards *Zoganara* in the beginning of *February*, though the roads were almost impassible, and the season bitter; and attacking the duke of *Milan*'s army, they were so totally defeated, that all *Florence* was thrown into consternation. To give the reader some conception of the manner in which war was carried on at this time, we are to inform him, that, in this total defeat of the *Florentine* army, no more than three people were killed; and those, too, not by the enemy, but by falling off their horses, and being suffocated in the mire.
- c THIS defeat, if such it may be termed, opened the mouths of the meaner sort of people against their government^f. They complained, that the war with the duke of *Milan* had been entered into by their magistracy only to divert their attention from public liberty, which was now endangered. This discontent ran so high, that the magistrates were obliged to summon a general assembly of the people; in which *Rinaldo Albizi*, son to *Maso*, endeavoured to apologize for the conduct of the government, notwithstanding the disagreeable turn the war had taken. He then attempted to prove that the carrying the war into the *Romagna*, had averted it from *Tuscany*, and had been of singular service to the Holy See; and that, as it was a war now of defence, it would be far from being burdensome to the people. By his authority and persuasions the people were somewhat quietted; and they took into their pay *Odo*, or *Otho*, the son of *Brachio*, a youth of seventeen years of age, but under the tutelage of *Nicolo Picinino*. The name of *Brachio* was of great service to the *Florentines*, as his father's friends repaired to his standard.
- d BUT by this time the people began to perceive the difficulties and distresses under which their leaders laboured, which they guessed at, partly from their countenances, and partly

sovereigns
Medici gain
ground.

War against
the duke of
Milan.

The Floren-
tines defeated.

The Floren-
tines murmur
against their
government.

^e MACHIAVEL, book iv.

^f Ibid. ubi supra.

The effect
of the
new law.

from the great weight of their taxes. In a short time the city was thrown into a kind of a civil war. The inferior ranks refused to pay their imposts; and the magistrates were forced to appoint twenty citizens in the nature of tax-gatherers, and threw the chief burden of the public expence upon the nobility. This was a treatment the latter could not endure, and power was given to the new collectors to kill any one who refused to pay their taxes; by which the whole city soon became a scene of violence, confusion, and murder. The nobility and the chief citizens, to the number of above seventy, met in *St. Steven's* church; but *John Medici*, the most popular nobleman in *Florence*, was not present, the others, ignorant of what part he might act, not having summoned him, and he himself disliking the cause of the meeting. The assembly was opened by a speech from *Rinaldo Albizi*, who set forth the deplorable state of the nobility, extolled the behaviour of their ancestors on such occasions, and counselled them by all means to unite in shaking off the yoke of the plebeians. *Rinaldo's* speech was greatly to the liking of the assembly; but *Niccolo Uzzano* objected to their doing any thing by force, without the concurrence of *John de Medici*, who was always the professed patron of the people. He proceeded likewise to remonstrate upon the uncertain event of a civil war, and upon the impracticability of their deliberations, without consulting *John de Medici*. *Rinaldo* undertook that task, and acquitted himself in a very artful manner, but without success. *John* informed him, that he could agree to no alteration in the state to the prejudice of the people; and that *Rinaldo*, in what he was doing, was but the tool of others, who would soon get the upper-hand, and ruin him; and that, upon the whole, moderation and a little forbearance were best; and particularly, that the citizens should be free from all arrests by creditors on the days of public meetings; and that, for his part, he was resolved to oppose the factious of every kind.

Virtue of
John Me- ci.

An answer so full of wisdom and moderation increased the popularity of *Medici*, who now withdrew himself from all the cabals of the nobility; so that it was in his credit to have made himself lord of *Florence*. His family and relations pressed him to avail himself of his credit and popularity, to be revenged upon his enemies; but *John* was too good a patriot to listen to their advice. *Rinaldo de Albizi*, however, and the rest of his faction, attempted to displace *Martin*, one of the secretaries of state, because he was a friend to the *Medicean* family. But he was so far from succeeding, that *Pagolo*, who was in *Rinaldo's* interest, was turned out, and *Martin* established more firmly than ever.

Conduct of the
duke of Milan,

It happened at this time, luckily for *Florence*, that the nobility had but little credit with the people; so that they were in no condition to resent those mortifications as they were inclined to do. Add to this, that *Philip* duke of *Milan*, having compromised his differences with the *Malatesta* family, and his other neighbours, continued obstinately bent upon the reduction of *Florence*. He had taken into his pay *Angelo*, or *Agnolo* of *Pergola*, and *Carmignola*, both of them able officers, the latter of whom was then in the *Bolognese*, endeavouring to reduce *Bologna*, which had submitted itself to pope *Martin*, by the persuasion of *Bentivoglio*, its late master. *Philip* had likewise been very successful in extending his frontiers towards *Savoy* and the foot of the *Alps*. Being a complete master of dissimulation, he sent an honourable embassy to *Florence* to treat of peace; but neither side being sincere, hostilities still went on, and the *Florentines* in vain endeavoured to retake *Forli*. This induced them to name ambassadors on their parts; and they committed the management of the negociation to *Bartolomeo Valori*, a man by no means suited for such an employment, being vain and ostentatious (C). When he came to *Lodi*, he was given to understand, from *Philip*, that he must advance no farther into *Lombardy*, under pretence of the plague's being at *Florence*. This was a dreadful check to *Valori*, who returned directly to *Florence*, where, upon his arrival, every thing was in a flame, at the contemptuous treatment of their ambassador by *Philip*, who was then master of *Genoa*. *Fulgoso*, the late doge, was furnished by the *Florentines* with troops and money to attempt the recovery of that state; and he succeeded so far as to conquer a great part of the *Genoese* sea-coast, and to create a great deal of trouble to *Philip*. The *Florentines* seemed now resolved to risk the whole of their state against *Philip*, who had a secret eye to the crown of *Naples*. He addressed the pope, complaining of his partiality for the *Florentines*, whom he accused of fomenting dissensions between the legate and the people of *Bologna*. He prevailed so far, that the pope changed his legate, and substituted in his place one who was intirely in the interest of *Philip*. By this and other favourable circumstances, *Philip* regained his credit at *Bologna*, and acquired *Imola*, and a great many important places in the *Romagna*. At the same time he endeared to himself the *Malatesta* family; for having taken prisoner *Charles*, the lord of *Rimini*, he treated him and all his friends in the most generous affectionate manner, and dismissed them without ransom.

who affront
the Floren-
tine ambassa-
dor.

(C) *Billius*, the *Milanese* historian, says that the *Florentines* at this time, to recommend themselves to the *Italian* and other states, embroidered upon their arms and ensigns the ancient *Roman* inscription, S. P. Q. R. thereby intimating, that the states of *Florence* was the true representative of old *Rome* (1).

(1) *Billius*, ubi supra, p. 64.

a DURING this gloomy state of the *Florentine* affairs, and when *Philip* had actually invaded their dominions, they received some relief, by being befriended by *Antonia*, lord of *Faenza*; and, according to the *Milanese* historian, *Philip's* generals, particularly *Agnolo*, was not fond of putting an end to the war. The causes, through which this event happened, are variously related. The most probable are, that *Antonio* had a personal dislike to *Philip*, and a kindness for the *Florentines*; which was increased by another event which took place about the same time: for young *Odo*, and *Nicolo Picinino*, after performing many important services to the *Florentines* about *Arezzo* and the vale of *Mugelli*, were entirely defeated by the *Milanese* generals. *Odo* was killed on the spot; but *Nicolo*, endeavouring to escape, was taken by the peasants, and carried to *Faenza*, where he persuaded *Antonia* to declare himself for the *Florentines* against *Philip*. Upon this the city of *Florence*, by a public decree and deed, declared him the chief of her allies, and sent a considerable body of her troops to protect *Faenza* from the resentment of *Philip*. This incident changed both the object and the scene of the war. *Philip* was obliged to recal *Agnolo*; and the *Florentines*, glad to remove the seat of war from their own country, gave the command of their army to *Bernardino Torelli*, the *Milanese* general, marched to fight him; and both armies came to a battle near *Angleria*, in which the *Florentines* were defeated, and their general taken prisoner, together with his chief officers. *Aretin* himself seems to blame the *Florentine* rapaciousness and cruelty for this disaster, which was followed by another. *Nicolo Picinino*, the best general they had then in *Tuscany*, thought his services very indifferently requited by the *Florentines*, and complained, that his person was neither regarded, nor his troops paid. As he was a soldier of fortune, and of very mean original, the *Florentines* imagined that he only wanted to raise his terms, and they disregarded his complaints; so that, when the time of his service elapsed, he retired first to *Cortona*, then to *Perugia*, and then entered into the service of the duke of *Milan*.

The *Florentines* joined by *Antonia* of *Faenza*.

Their rapaciousness.

They lose their towns.

THE *Florentines* now gave themselves up for lost. Their finances were exhausted. They had neither men nor generals to take the field, and their enemies were powerful. *Nicolo* took from them all their forts between *Bibienna* and *Arezzo*; so that the *Florentines* had then no other resource but that of again applying to the *Venetians*, who they thought were equally interested with themselves in opposing the growth of the duke of *Milan's* power. *Philip* was sensible that the *Florentines* bore him no good will; and his chief general *Carmignola*, having left his service in disgust, was now at *Venice*, and took part with the *Florentines*. He had recourse to his usual arts; and perceiving that the *Venetians* were determined to unite themselves to the *Florentines*, he offered peace to the latter, provided they would break off the negotiation; but the condition was rejected. He then offered the same terms to the *Venetians*; but met with a like repulse from them.

THE head of the *Florentine* deputation at *Venice* at this time was *Lorenzo Rhidolphi*, a man of address and abilities, who found means to fix the doge in his interest; and he continued to be seconded by *Carmignola*, who, according to *Aretin*, had poison privately administered to him by *Philip's* order. The terms of agreement, after great difficulty, were at last settled between the *Florentines* and the *Venetians*. The chief were, that the *Florentines* should furnish four thousand foot, and that they should conclude no separate peace without the knowledge and consent of the *Venetians*. The first effect of this confederacy was the *Venetians* laying siege to *Brescia*, which alarmed *Philip* so greatly, that he recalled all his troops out of *Tuscany*. The *Florentines* were thereby left at liberty to divide their army. One part of it was sent to make good their engagements with the *Venetians*, and the other was employed in retaking the towns and forts between *Bibienna* and *Arezzo*. The condition of *Philip* at this time is a strong proof of the danger of a prince employing mercenaries. *Philip* was neither without troops nor money, and he had found means to engage in his service the best generals in *Italy*; for both *Sforza* and *Braccio* were now dead, the first being drowned, and the latter killed. But their animosities and avarice disconcerted his most important operations. *Brescia*, though a very strong city, and well provided with every thing for a good defence, surrendered to the *Venetians*; as did *Bergamo*, and many other places in *Lombardy*. He likewise yielded up *Forli* and *Imola*, much against the inclinations of the *Florentines*, to pope *Martin*, with all the towns and territories belonging to them. The pope then mediated a peace amongst the states at war, and employed the cardinal of *Bologna* to conclude it. *Philip* was so ill served by his troops and generals, that he was forced to agree to all the terms prescribed by his enemies. The city of *Milan*, however, still stood by him, and had grown to such a height of power, that her inhabitants offered to furnish him with ten thousand horse and ten thousand foot, if he would continue the war against *Venice* and *Florence*. This offer for some time put a stop to the conclusion of the peace; but the *Venetians* preparing to renew the war with more vigour than ever, it was at last concluded.

History of the league between the *Florentines* and *Venetians*.

Danger of mercenary troops.

Peace proposed,

and concluded.

1. ARETIN, p. 261. 2. Ib. ibid.

Instances of
rancour;

and of honour.

A new tax
imposed at
Florence.

Complained of
by the cities.

The Volter-
rans revolt.

but are with
difficulty re-
duced.

According to *Machiavel*¹, this war was carried on between the *Florentines* and the *Milanese* with prodigious rancour. *Braggio del Milano*, governor of *Monte Petroso*, a little inconsiderable castle, being besieged by the *Milanese*, who had set fire to the place, rather than surrender, threw his moveables and children to the enemy, but chose himself to perish in the flames, though he was offered an honourable capitulation. The *Milanese*, admiring his magnanimity, sent his children and all his effects to *Florence*, where they were amply provided for at the public charge. He gives us another instance of the detestation of treachery in *Agnolo*, the *Milanese* general, when he appeared before *Galatea*, a town or castle in the *Romagna*, where *Zanobi del Pino* was governor. *Zanobi* not only surrendered the place to him, without the smallest defence, but offered to conduct the *Milanese* army into *Tuscany*, where he might make war with more profit and safety. *Agnolo's* detestation of this proposal was such, that he delivered the traitor up to be punished by his own menial servants, who, for some days, gave him nothing but paper painted with snakes and serpents to eat; so that he died of hunger. According to the last peace concluded with *Philip*, the *Florentines* were put in possession of all the places that had been taken from them in the *Romagna*; but, by *Machiavel's* account, the whole of the war cost them the amazing sum of three millions and a half of ducats. This expence was but ill repaid by the re-acquisitions they had gained; while the *Venetians*, at the charge of the *Florentines*, were now in so rich and respectable a condition, that they became suspected by their allies; and this, according to the same author, was one of their main motives for making a peace.

DURING this war, which lasted from 1422 to 1427, the *Florentine* government had pursued every expedient they could devise for raising money; but, all being ineffectual, they at last laid a tax upon the properties and land estates of the subjects. This tax was called *catasto*; and *Machiavel* says, that it obliged every man possessed of an hundred florins to pay one half of them to the state. This, however, is to be understood with many restrictions. The value of the landed interest was known; and the plebeian part of the government, which now prevailed in *Florence*, could easily raise the tax. It met, however, with a vigorous opposition; but was as strenuously supported by *John de Medici*, because it was to be levied by law, and could not be misapplied, to gratify the purposes either of avarice or revenge. The landed interest and great men were obliged to submit; but the people sought to carry the matter to an unwarrantable length, by wanting to institute courts of inquiry upon those who for some time past had paid less than that assessment. This project was unjust, cruel, and impolitic, and as such opposed by *John de Medici*, whose principle always was moderation in matters of government. In the year 1428, the nobility and rich citizens, finding they could not remove from their own shoulders the weight of the public burdens, suggested to the officers who collected the revenue, that the *catasto* ought to extend to all cities and states subject to the *Florentines*². This proposal, far from being disliked, was carried into execution; and the subjects of all the acquired territories were ordered to give up schedules of their estates, that they might be taxed to the *catasto*. This produced remonstrances from all those cities and states, pleading their original contracts with the *Florentines*, which left them to be taxed by themselves; and numerous deputies were sent from all quarters, to expose the iniquity of such proceedings. Those deputies upon their arrival, and making known their business, were immediately put under confinement in *Florence*; so that the prisons there were filled with the principal inhabitants of *Pisa*, *Volterra*, *Pistoia*, *Arezzo*, *Corton*, and other places.

AMONGST those the *Volterrans* were the most clamorous, pleading, that, by their original contract, they ought to be considered rather as allies than subjects of *Florence*. One of the *Volterranean* deputies was *Justus*, a man, says our authority³, worthy to have lived in a better state, who counselled his countrymen and fellow-prisoners to make their submission to the *Florentines*, till better times should present themselves. This advice was followed, and the *Volterranean* deputies were suffered to return home. There he opened his mind to a very few of his intimate friends, particularly to one *Giovanni*, a fellow-president: and tho' all appearances of success were against them, they no sooner proclaimed liberty to their fellow-citizens than the *Florentine* governor was seized, and *Justus* was acknowledged as lord of *Volterra*.

WHEN this news reached the *Florentines*, who had held the *Volterrans* so cheap that they had not so much as kept a garrison in their city, they were not so much affected with the revolt, as alarmed at the example which it might set to the other leading towns in their subjection. A council of the chief magistrates being held, some were generous enough to propose a remission of the tax, by adhering to the terms of the original stipulations. But this opinion was over-ruled by the party who were for the tax, and who represented, that,

¹ MACHIAVEL, book iv.

² BILLIUS, ubi supra, p. 117.

MACHIAVEL, book iv.

³ BILLIUS, ibid.

being

- a being at peace with the duke of *Milan*, they had nothing to fear in *Tuscany*. Two commissaries, *Rinaldo Albizi*, and *Palla Strozzi*, were appointed to treat with the *Volterrans*, and, if they should find that impracticable, to reduce them by force. *Palla* was the most unexceptionable *Florentine* that could be employed in such a commission, because of the lenity he had always expressed towards the *Volterrans*, and the other states; so that the chief management of the affair was left to him, and he conducted it with great art. Knowing that *Justus*, the new lord of *Volterra*, being but a plebeian, was hated by the nobility and the richer citizens of *Volterra*, when he came within eight miles of that city, he prevailed with many such to give him a meeting at a little town called *Gambazio*, where he endeavoured to make them sensible of the folly of the *Volterrans*, in drawing upon themselves
- b the resentment of the *Florentines*, whom they were unable to resist^m. The *Volterrans* at first complained bitterly of the *Florentine* tyranny; but he promising to stand their friend in the *Florentine* government, for procuring a redress of their grievances, they all of them came over to his proposal, which was to employ their interest in bringing their city back to the subjection of *Florence*.

- JUSTUS*, sensible of the strong party formed against him, and of the *Florentine* power, applied for assistance to the neighbouring states. The *Siennese* excused themselves on account of their league with *Florence*; and *Paolo Guinigi*, then lord of *Lucca*, that he might re-ingratiate himself with the *Florentines*, to whom his conduct in the late war had given umbrage, sent his deputy prisoner to *Florence*. In the mean while, the *Florentine* commissaries had assembled all the troops they could out of the neighbouring garrisons and countries, and drew near to *Volterra*, to second the efforts of their friends within the place. *Justus*, perceiving he had now no resource but in his own valour, and the strength of the city, was preparing to make a vigorous defence, when the *Florentine* party summoned a meeting of the presidents and chief citizens, before whom they laid all that had passed between them and *Palla*. *Arcolano*, brother to *Giovanni*, was at the head of the *Florentine* party, and expatiated on the service they would do their country, and the reliance they might have on the gratitude of the *Florentine* government, who would put the management of the city into the hands of the nobility, if they would immediately dispatch *Justus*, and admit the *Florentine* commissaries, who were lying with an army before their gates:

- d THIS meeting was so secretly held, that *Justus* knew nothing of it; and the company agreeing to *Arcolano's* proposal, he and some of his friends repaired to the palace, and drawing him into a private room, under pretence of business, they murdered him, after making a brave resistance, and desperately wounding two of the assassins. His death stunned his party so much, that *Arcolano* and his friends found no difficulty in opening their gates to the *Florentines*, who immediately repossessed themselves of *Volterra*ⁿ. But the *Volterrans* were miserably deceived in their expectations: for the *Florentines*, now both hating and despising them, obliged them to pay the *catasto* to the rigour. Their nobility were treated in the same manner as their plebeians, their territory was dismembered from their city, and their few remaining privileges were abolished.

Justus of Volterra murdered.

Misery of the Volterrans.

- e AMONGST the other officers employed by the *Florentines* in their war was *Nicolo*, nephew by the sister to *Braccio*, whose name he assumed, and is therefore distinguished by the title of *Fortebraccio*. He had served in *Lombardy*; and upon the conclusion of the peace between *Florence* and the duke of *Milan*, he was so far from disbanding the troops he commanded, that he increased them, under pretence of asserting some family-rights in the duchy of *Spoletto*, of which he was a native^o. He was, however, again employed by the *Florentine* commissaries in the reduction of *Volterra*; and when that was completed, it was supposed, according to *Machiavel*^p, that *Rinaldo de Albizi* persuaded him to make an inroad into the *Lucchesse*, out of the hatred he bore to *Paolo Guinigi*.

Rise of the Florentine war against Lucca.

- f FLORENCE by this time had lost her noble and faithful patriot *John de Medici*, who bequeathed to his eldest son *Cosmo* an immense estate, and a double portion of his own spirit, patriotism, and moderation. The advice he gave his family upon his death-bed is full of the noblest^q sentiments of public virtue; and, after the days of *Atticus*, no private citizen perhaps was known to have steered his course so happily through contending factions, with so unexceptionable a character, and in possession of so great an estate. The last circumstance is a proof of the immense wealth which the *Florentine* nobility in those days acquired by trade; for *John* was generous to profusion, and charitable even to weakness. He inquired no farther into the character or circumstances of any man than his wants, which he no sooner knew than unsolicited he relieved them. The highest dignities of the state had been in a manner forced upon him; and by the benevolent turn of his natural
- g temper, he was more apt to pity than punish offenders. His hands being free from cor-

Death and character of John de Medici.

^m BILLIUS, ubi supra, p. 118.
ubi supra. ^q Id. ibid.

ⁿ MACHIAVEL, ubi supra.

^o ARETIN, pag. 262.

^p MACHIAVEL,

ruption, as his heart was from ambition, he died in full possession of his country's love ; a where he owed his pre-eminence (a rare example in a popular state) not to his eloquence, which was but middling, but to his wisdom. He was succeeded, as we have already hinted, by his eldest son *Cosmo*, in his popularity as well as estate.

*Reasons Cosmo
gives against
the Lucques.*

THERE is reason, from what has fallen from *Machiavel*, and the other historians, for believing that *Cosmo* had a very bad opinion of *Guinigi* ; and though he was by no means on good terms with the *Albizi* family, he joined with *Rinaldo* and *Neri*, the son of *Caponi*, who had so great a hand in the reduction of *Pisa*, in privately exciting *Fortebraccio* to his attempt against the *Lucques*. *Fortebraccio* and his troops were then quartered at *Fucechio*, a town belonging to the *Florentines* ; and marching from thence with his troops, consisting of three hundred horse and three hundred foot, in *November* 1429, he surprised *Compito* and *Ruoti*, belonging to *Lucca*, and the latter not above eight miles distant from that city ; all the territory of which he likewise plundered. *Guinigi* was intirely unprovided of troops, and complained to the *Florentines* of *Fortebraccio*'s attempt. They denied that he acted by their authority ; and he pretended that what he had done was to indemnify himself for a sum owing by *Guinigi* to his uncle *Braccio*. *Guinigi*'s complaint to the *Florentines* had an effect very different from what he perhaps expected ; for it filled the minds of the *Florentines* with the flattering hopes of easily mastering the strong and important city of *Lucca*. This spirit prevailing, the city ran into cabals, and the citizens breathed nothing but an immediate declaration of war against *Guinigi*. *Cosmo de Medici*, being yet unexperienced in the affairs of state, and probably thinking that he was doing service to his country, now openly joined the party that was for war. *Niccolo de Uzano* and his friends endeavoured to oppose the torrent, by laying before their countrymen the distressed state of the public credit ; and that there was no money in what they called their mount, or public exchequer. They shewed how dishonourable it would be, without provocation, to make war on a prince whom they had lately ranked amongst their chief allies ; and how impolitic, in their present exhausted state, to attempt the conquest of so powerful a city as that of *Lucca*. But those and many other arguments had no weight with the body of the *Florentines*. The public cry was, that *Guinigi* was the only tyrant now remaining in *Tuscany*, that he had always favoured the *Florentine* enemies, and had sent his son to serve under the duke of *Milan* during the late war. This warlike party was assisted by applications made to them from the inhabitants of *Pescia* and *Vico*, two towns belonging to *Florence*, for leave to take possession of such castles as were offered to be surrendered to them ; and assuring the *Florentines*, that nothing could be more easy than for them to conquer *Lucca*, and all its territory.

*Deputies on the
expediency of
that war.*

*Negotiations
for a peace.*

THE party against the war were, however, so respectable for their wisdom and authority, that the public resolution was for some time kept in suspense ; and *Guinigi* sent a fresh ambassador to *Florence*, to attempt a reconciliation. The person he sent was one *Viviano*, whom *Guinigi* had pardoned, after being capitally convicted of a conspiracy against him. But *Viviano*'s resentment got the better of his gratitude, and, caballing with the party for a war, they were encouraged by him to push for a decisive resolution. For this purpose the magistracy or senate assembled a council, at which four hundred and ninety-eight of the principal citizens appeared. The debate was begun by *Rinaldo de Albizi*, who magnified the advantages a free people had over slaves, for such he said the *Lucques* were, to a fellow-subject of their own, who had always been an enemy to *Florence*. He then attempted to prove, that the reduced state of their commonwealth ought to be a strong argument for a war, in which their success was next to certain, because the acquisition of *Lucca* would check the designs which the pope or the duke of *Milan* might have against their liberties, and make them once more the umpires of *Italy*.

*Arguments for
war.*

NICOLA DE UZANO opposed *Rinaldo* with great vigour, by shewing how affectionate the *Lucques*, when they were not under the dominion of tyrants, had always been towards the *Florentines* ; and that they could not make war on the tyrant, exclusive of the people ; that every maxim of policy, as well as justice, pleaded for peace. They could expect no assistance from the *Venetians*, who were busied in settling their new acquisitions ; and that the duke of *Milan*, pleased with seeing them engaged in a fresh war, which would finish the ruin of their finances, would either openly or secretly assist *Lucca*, which was so much his interest to keep them from possessing. Upon the whole, he concluded that the best conduct they could observe would be to remain quiet ; in which case, it was more than probable, the *Lucques*, tired of their tyrant, would put themselves under the protection of *Florence* ; and he concluded by prophesying, that, by pursuing the war, they would precipitate their own ruin.

*War resolved
on.*

THERE was so much weight and justice in *Uzano*'s reasoning, that the advocates for war had nothing to reply, but to call for a division, which gave the question in their favour by a majority of four hundred against ninety-eight. The ten field-deputies for the manage-

a ment of the war were then nominated ; and two generals, *Astorre Gianni* and *Rinaldo Albizi*, were appointed to command the troops ; but it was likewise agreed, that *Fortebraccio* should be taken into their service, and keep possession of the towns he had reduced. This proved to be a capital oversight, as neither of their generals were soldiers ; and *Fortebraccio* was secretly dissatisfied, in not having the sole command. The expedition, however, was so popular, that they soon raised an army of about two thousand, besides the troops which served under *Fortebraccio*.

GUINIGI, seeing the storm ready to break upon him, filled all Italy and the greatest part of Christendom with invectives against the Florentine breach of faith ; but he chiefly appealed to the pope, the duke of Milan, and the Venetians, for the justice of his cause. Philip was the only power who gave ear to his complaints. Billius, who was a noble and learned Milanese, and wrote at that time, tells us, that Philip was the principal instrument of the war, and that he himself had seen at Sienna letters from that duke to the Florentines, promising them his assistance, which he did only with a view of fomenting a war that might weaken both parties. The Lucques apply to their allies.

THE incapacity of the Florentine generals to command an army soon appeared. Leaving Florence, they divided their army, *Astorre* taking the command of one part, and *Rinaldo* of the other. *Astorre* marched with his division towards *Camagiore* and *Pietrasanta* ; while *Rinaldo* kept the heights with his. They proceeded, wherever they came, not only impolitically, but brutally. *Astorre* arriving at *Seravezza*, or *Salto della Serva*, a fine rich populous vale in the neighbourhood of *Pietrasanta*, the inhabitants, who being *Guelphs*, had long disliked *Guinigi's* government, offered to submit to that of Florence. *Astorre*, pretending to receive their submissions, ordered the inhabitants to assemble in the great church, where, surrounding them with his troops, he told them they were his prisoners. He then let loose his soldiers, who plundered their lands, violated their wives and daughters, and were guilty of the most horrible outrages in their country, not even sparing their churches. Some of the *Seravezzesi*, however, found means, though with difficulty, to escape to Florence, where they represented their case in so moving a manner, that the Florentines recalled *Astorre*, condemned and admonished him.

RINALDO DE ALBIZI fell under the public suspicion at the same time ; for the Florentines observed, that though he had been the principal patron of the war, he had been so remiss in pursuing it, that he seemed to mind nothing but enriching himself at the expence of the defenceless or conquered *Lucques*. This coming to the ears of *Rinaldo*, whose impetuosity and pride were boundless, he came without leave to Florence, where he presented himself before the ten deputies, and with bitter upbraidings of their and his country's ingratitude, he resigned his commission. The council of ten did not venture to punish a man of his eminence ; but gave the command of their army to *Neri di Gino*, *Caponi's* son, and *Alamanno Salviati*, who made dispositions for acting with vigour against the enemy. *Guinigi* all this while was not wanting to himself. Being master of great sums of money, he raised troops in all quarters, and applied to the *Siennese* for their assistance, or if that could not be obtained, for their mediation. The *Siennese*, equally dreading the progress, and detesting the cruelty of the Florentines, undertook the latter office, and sent *Antonio Francisco* to mediate a peace between them and the *Lucques*. But the former were now so bent upon the conquest of *Lucca*, that his negotiation came to nothing, and the *Siennese* applied to the *Venetians* for their good offices. Their answer was, that they knew nothing of the *Siennese*, farther than that they had been included in the late peace ; and they returned to *Sienna* without effecting any thing. Upon this *Antonio Francisco*, who was a young nobleman of great spirit and interest, left *Sienna* ; and, in conjunction with one of *Guinigi's* nephews, raised a large body of troops, who threw themselves into *Lucca*. Amongst others they paid thirty thousand ducats by way of advance-money to *Rainerio* of *Perugia*, who, having received the sum, betrayed them and went over to the Florentines, who, by the like sum, as is said, engaged him and three hundred horse in their service. The Lucques prepare for war.

THOUGH this defection greatly incommoded *Guinigi*, yet he now found himself in a condition to make a vigorous defence. For this purpose, he hired of the Spaniards six galleys, and many smaller vessels for disappointing all the efforts of his enemies by water. The new Florentine generals, on the other hand, changing the plan of operations laid down by their predecessors, advanced to *Campanole* against *Lucca* ; and their army, being now greatly encreased, they surrounded it, but without forming a regular siege ; and burned or ravaged all the country round. Lucca besieged.

MANY of the Italian historians mention the Florentines as being severe and rapacious masters of their acquired dominions, and perhaps they are not the only republicans who are charged in history on the same account. It is certain, that their behaviour to the *Pisans* and *Volterrans* gave the *Lucques* a greater abhorrence of their government than they

* BILLIUS, ubi supra, p. 125.

entertained for that of their tyrant, as they and the other *Italian* republics affected to call *Guinigi*. The ravages committed in their territories were far from allaying this spirit in the *Lucquese*, and they promised to hold out against their enemies to the last extremity. *Guinigi* had two sons; the eldest *Pondolfo*, was legitimate, the other natural; but, like the rest of the *Italian* princes of those days, he made little or no distinction on that account. To the former he committed the care of defending the city, and to the other, the conduct of the sallies, which were frequent and generally successful. The *Florentines* were provided with a kind of artillery, which, by the force of gunpowder, discharged large stones; but the *Lucquese*, perceiving that they did very little execution, came at last to despise them, and every day renewed their sallies, to the great slaughter of their enemies, by the help of musquets, or small fire arms, to which the *Florentines* were strangers, and which, before this siege, were not known in *Italy*, though perhaps they were in other parts of *Europe*. The reader, in the notes, will find a curious and a natural description from *Billius* (A) of those dreadful implements of war, which are now become so common, and of the execution they did upon the *Florentines*. It was such as encouraged the besieged to redouble their sallies upon the besiegers, whose army was divided into two camps; from both of which they were driven by the besieged, and one of the *Florentine* generals narrowly missed being made a prisoner. He was rescued by *Cardano*, one of the chief officers; but the besieged carried off with them four great guns (cannon we suppose are meant) called by our author *bombardæ*: a great number of prisoners were likewise made.

*Introduction
to small fort-
resses.*

*The Floren-
tines baffled
in the siege of
Lucca.*

THE issue of that day at last convinced the *Florentines*, that it was impossible for them to master the city in the manner the siege was carried on. The bitter weather was now approaching; and neither the *Florentine* generals, nor the field deputies, could prevail with the soldiers to leave the villages in the neighbourhood, and to encamp so near the walls as to block up the city. *Philip Brunelleschi*, who is so famous for reviving in *Europe* the true principles of architecture, and erecting in *Florence* edifices that, to this day, are master-pieces in that art, was then in the *Florentine* camp; and he gave it as his opinion, in which he was joined by the general officers, that it was possible to turn the course of the river *Serchio*, so as to drown *Lucca*. As he was looked upon to be the best engineer of that age, his proposal, however romantic it appeared, might have proved successful, could the *Florentine* army have been prevailed upon to encamp near enough to the city, to have interrupted the dispositions made by the besieged, for defeating *Brunelleschi's* plan, which was to have turned the course of the *Serchio*, by means of a strong mound, so as by the lateral pressure of its waters, to have borne down the walls, or by their rising to have overflowed them. The *Lucquese* perceived his design, and raised a mound parallel to his, between their walls and the diverted course of the river, which served as a bulwark to the city, and when the waters were raised to a proper height between the two mounds, the besieged, dividing their forces, sent one part in the night-time to attack that part of the *Florentine* camp that lay nearest the mound, and armed the other part with all kinds of instruments for digging and boring, by which they broke down and pierced the *Florentine* mound, so as to overflow all the grounds on which the besiegers were encamped, which made it impracticable again to approach the city on that side.

*Unpopularity
of Guinigi.*

THE *Florentine* field-deputies, and their magistracy, vexed at the losses and disgraces they had received in the course of this siege, sent *Giovanni Guicciardini* to take upon him the sole command, and his authority prevailed with the soldiers to encamp nearer the town. It is probable, that this new general would not have been more successful than his predecessors had been, could *Guinigi's* treasures have held out. But, great as they were, they were now exhausted, and he was obliged to use some unseasonable severities upon the citizens to raise more; upon which a conspiracy was formed against him within the walls. *Guinigi* was not insensible of his own danger; and, by the advice of *Antonio* of *Sienna*, who had been incredibly active for the *Lucquese*, he sent *Silvestro Trenta* and *Luigi Bonvisi* (B) to *Milan*, to implore the duke's assistance. Those ambassadors were of the number of the conspirators against him; and indeed the noble defence the *Lucquese* made, was not owing to any affection they had for *Guinigi*, but to the aversion they had to the *Florentines*.

*The Lucquese
obtain assis-
tance from the
duke of Milan.*

THE latter had all along been distrustful of *Philip's* conduct; and they had at this very time deputies at his court to watch it, and to keep him at least firm in his neutrality. *Philip* answered both them and the *Lucquese* only in general terms, and seemed unwilling

(A) *Præter jacula, & sagittarum balistas, novum quoque teli genus invenerunt: gerebant manibus fustem cubiti, & alterius dimidii longum; huic suffixæ erant canne ferreæ, quibus item sulphure, ac nitro oppletis, globulos ferreos vi ignis emittebant. Certa erat in ictu, si tetigisset, perniciēs; nec arma, aut scuta satis tegebant, quin sæpe duos aut*

& tertium, si per ordinem occurrerent, una grande transfoderent (1).

(B) We have followed *Machiavel's* account here; but, according to *Billius*, the plan of *osferza's* march into *Tuscany* had been before concerted with *Antonio*, who was in disguise at the court of *Milan*.

a to take any concern in the fate of *Lucca*. Upon this the *Lucquesse* deputies applied privately to him; and laying before him the state of the siege and their city, they told him, that rather than it should fall into the hands of the *Florentines*, if he would support them with a proper force, the citizens would depose *Guinigi*, and put themselves under his (*Philip's*) protection. Even this encouragement did not drive *Philip* from his usual caution. He refused to declare himself on either side; but he managed matters so, that *Sforza*, who then commanded his troops, and had in his own pay a considerable body, should publicly demand his leave to march upon an expedition to *Naples*. This was obtained, and *Sforza*, having settled every thing relating to his pay, and the number of his troops, both with *Philip* and the *Lucquesse*, pointed his march directly towards *Tuscany*.

b This management was not so secret as to be concealed from *Boccacino Alamanni*, the *Flo-* His policy.
rentine resident at *Milan*, who put his principals upon their guard. All they could do was to raise new troops, and to fortify the passes into their country, which proved no obstacle to *Sforza*. His march, however, was retarded when he came to the foot of the *Appennines*, by *Philip's* usual caution, who wanted to see in what light the *Venetians* would consider his conduct. Perceiving they did not move, he ordered *Sforza* to proceed.

c THE *Florentines* were in hopes of carrying *Lucca* before his arrival, and pressed the siege with more vigour than ever; but were as vigorously repulsed. At last *Sforza*, at the head of three thousand veteran troops, forced his way over the *Appennines*, and, carrying all before him, appeared in sight of the *Florentine* army, which immediately raised the siege, and retired to an advantageous camp at *Librafratta*, lying at an equal distance between *Piſa* and *Lucca*. *Sforza* upon this demolished all the works that had been raised by the besiegers, and entered *Lucca* in triumph, where he was received as their deliverer and guardian, by *Guinigi* and the inhabitants; and, at *Antonio's* request, the arrears due to *Sforza* were paid, though it drained *Guinigi* of the small remainder of his money. A council of war being held, it was resolved to act upon the defensive, and *Sforza* marched with his army towards *Piſcia*, where he took and demolished *Bugiano*, a fortified town, and then laid siege to *Piſcia*, a town of the greatest importance to the safety of *Florence* itself. *Pagolo Dia-* Sforza raises
cetto, governor of the place, abandoned it and fled to *Piſtoia*. the siege of
Lucca.

d It is certain, that the affairs of the *Florentines* wore at this time a melancholy aspect. Their ill success in the field had increased the people's animosities against their magistrates. Their generals were without military talents, and divided amongst themselves. They were hated by many, not only of the neighbouring states, but of their own dependencies; and they had not an ally whom they could trust. Their public money was exhausted; and nothing but the feeble interposition of *Piſcia* could keep *Sforza* from marching to the gates of *Florence*. Their dangers, however, existed rather in appearance than in reality. *Sforza's* secret instructions did not authorize him to act offensively against the *Florentines*, after the siege of *Lucca* was raised; and he had undertaken the expedition against *Piſcia* only for the sake of plunder, and because he knew he could raise no more money at *Lucca*. The *Florentines* knew all this; and while *Malevolto*, who was next in command to the governor, held out *Piſcia*, the siege all of a sudden was relaxed, and then finally raised. *Machiavel* himself does not deny that this happened through the prevalence of money proffered by the *Florentines* to *Sforza*; for though the republic of *Florence* was then poor, many of its private citizens were immensely rich. The *Florentines*, who were in the secret negotiation, were so confident of the power of money upon a mercenary general, that they were in hopes to prevail upon *Sforza*, not only to raise the siege of *Piſcia*, but to deliver into their hands *Lucca* itself. *Sforza* being a man of honour in his profession, excused himself from the latter part of the bargain, but accepted of fifty thousand crowns for raising the siege of *Piſcia*, promising to withdraw his protection from *Lucca* while it was governed by *Guinigi*, and to join in any measures that might be taken for deposing him. The bargain was actually struck, and *Sforza* evacuated the *Florentine* territories; and returning to the *Lucquesse*, he encamped without that city (C). Dismal state
of the Floren-
tines.

e who buy off
Sforza,

f

THE *Florentines*, by their agreement with *Sforza*, were at liberty to practise every art against the *Lucquesse*; and they made use of some that, perhaps, were unwarrantable. *Antonio* of *Sienna* was then in the city; and the *Florentines* employed crafty agents to carry let- and procure
ters in their names, some of them directed to *Guinigi*, and others to the chief citizens who the deposition,
were dissatisfied with his government. The agents carrying letters to the citizens suffered themselves to be intercepted by *Guinigi*, and the letters directed to *Guinigi* were suffered to

c BILLIUS, ubi supra, p. 129.

(C) The account given by *Machiavel* of the important transaction that followed *Sforza's* return to the *Lucquesse* is very unsatisfactory, and leaves us entirely in the dark as to the motives and springs of the revolution which took place. We are, therefore, obliged to supply it from *Billius*, and other contemporary authors.

fall into the hands of the citizens. By the contents of the former, the citizens were rendered suspected to him; and in the letters directed to him, the *Florentines* wrote in a strain which implied that a treaty was far advanced between him and them; and that he was to put the city into their hands, upon their paying him two hundred thousand crowns: mention was likewise made, in several of the letters intercepted by the citizens, as if *Guinigi* had agreed to put *Antonio* to death; and those being shewn to *Antonio*, made him resolve upon the destruction of *Guinigi*.

and imprison-
ment of *Gui-
nigi*.

The Genoese
declare a-
gainst the
Florentines.

So complicated a scene of deceit must have been ineffectual, could *Guinigi* and the citizens have come to an explanation; but they were too distrustful of one another for that to take place; and thus each secretly meditated the ruin of the other. The event was, that *Antonio* and about forty other citizens surprized *Guinigi* in the night-time in the citadel, where he thought himself secure; and, after upbraiding him with his government, deprived him of the keys of the castle, and put him under arrest, as *Sforza* did his son *Pandolfo*, who was in his camp. Both of them were sent prisoners to *Milan*, where they died under their confinement.

It must be acknowledged, that notwithstanding all the various arts the *Florentines* had employed against the *Lucquese*, they failed in their design, which was that of reducing them to subjection. It is plain, that they had been outwitted by *Sforza*; and yet they could not complain of his having deceived them. According to some authors, he received thirty-five thousand crowns more from the *Florentines*, with a promise of fifteen thousand besides, at the expiration of three months, if he and his troops remained inactive during that time. He accordingly drew off his army to *Mirandola*, and left the defence of the *Lucquese* to themselves; to which, in their reduced condition, they were very unequal. They were so sensible of their weakness, that they sent public letters to the *Florentines*, that they were now free from their tyrant whom the *Florentines* had made their pretext for the war; that they were willing to yield to the *Florentines* some marks of superiority, provided they were left to the full enjoyment of their own laws and liberties. The *Florentines* being now delivered from the fear of *Sforza*, rejected this equitable offer, on pretence that the complexion of the war was altered from what it was originally; and that it had cost them so much blood and treasure, that they would be contented with nothing less than the entire subjection of the *Lucquese*. This infamous condition was rejected, and the *Lucquese* prepared to defend themselves to the last extremity, as the *Florentines* did to renew the siege. *Antonio* of *Sienna*, knowing that his country would fall the next sacrifice to the *Florentines*, should they become masters of *Lucca*, went on board a vessel to *Genoa*, which was then governed by the archbishop of *Milan* for *Philip*; though, in other respects, the *Genoese* still were in full possession of their laws and properties; and a vast number of them were immensely rich. These he addressed for assistance against the *Florentines*, against whose ambition and injustice he bitterly inveighed; but without pretending to engage the duke of *Milan* in the quarrel. The preservation of *Lucca* from falling into the hands of the *Florentines*, was of the utmost consequence to the *Genoese*, who promised *Antonio*, that if the duke of *Milan* would give them leave they would assist the *Lucquese* with their good offices; and if those should fail, with their arms. This favourable answer was owing to their hopes of recovering *Leghorn* from the *Florentines*, who had bought it from *Fulgofo*. They sent a deputation to *Florence*, in terms which offended the *Florentines*; for they not only required them to desist from their war with *Lucca*, but insisted upon the restitution of *Leghorn*. Their answer was equally disagreeable to the *Genoese*, whom they said they could not consider as a free people, but as subjects to the duke of *Milan*; and that therefore they could not treat with them as an independent state. Upon which the *Genoese* deputies, in great rage, mounted their horses and left *Florence*. Upon their return to *Genoa*, and reporting the success of their commission, the *Genoese* came immediately to a resolution of declaring war against the *Florentines*, and of employing *Nicholas Picinino* for their general; all which they did with the approbation and connivance of the duke of *Milan*.

Disimulation
of *Philip*.

THE *Florentines* had intelligence of this new storm that threatened them, and took into their pay a body of fourteen hundred horse belonging to *Guido* of *Faenza*, appointing, at the same time, the count of *Urbino* to be general of this army, though he was very unequal to that command. The *Florentine* deputies at *Venice* did not fail to represent to that senate, that the duke of *Milan* was at the bottom of all that management, and how dangerous it would be to their state if he should obtain the sovereignty of *Tuscany*, which he aimed at. The *Venetians* upon this complained to *Philip*, who, with his usual dissimulation, told them that he had lent the *Genoese* a body of troops; that it was the same thing to him whether they assisted the *Lucquese* or the *Florentines*, for he was sensible they aimed at nothing but to defend themselves. To confirm what he said, he sent the *Venetians* a copy of his convention with the *Genoese*, by which he left them at entire liberty to join with whom they

a they pleased. The *Venetians* appeared, or seemed to appear, satisfied with this answer, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of the *Florentines*.

By this time *Picinino*, who had taken the command of the *Genoese* army, marched to relieve *Lucca*, again besieged by the *Florentines*, who, upon his approach, abandoned the siege, and entrenched themselves on the banks of the *Serchio*. Their army was computed to be 5000 horse and 3000 foot, all hired troops, and 10,000 *Florentines*; a proof of the intrinsic riches of the subjects of that state, notwithstanding the vast expences and losses they had sustained, and the low condition of their finances. But tho' their numbers were superior to those of *Picinino's* army, his reputation was so high that the *Florentines* durst not face him. His first care was to retake some of the *Lucquese* forts and castles that had fallen into the hands of the *Florentines*, and then he faced his enemy for one day, which he employed in searching for a ford across the river, and in cutting off their provisions by water, of which he had plenty, by means of barks attending his army. A ford was at last discovered, and, though dangerous, attempted by *Picinino*. Had the *Florentines* been but tolerably well commanded, their enemies must have failed in their attempt, and the best part of their army been destroyed. But the *Genoese* and *Lucquese* met no opposition in passing the river, but from a few troops commanded by the young lords of *Faenza* and *Perugia*; for *Urbino*, the *Florentine* general, upon the first appearance of danger, fled to *Pisa*; and the *Florentines*, being now without a head, to *Florence*.

Progress of the war.

c THOUGH the *Italian* historians have most pompously described this passage, and the battle that ensued, yet it does not appear that a dozen of men were killed on either side; but about two hundred new raised men, in the precipitancy of their flight, were drowned in the river. A great many men and horses, however, were taken, but most of the former were dismissed by *Picinino*.

The Florentines defeated.

d WHEN the news of this defeat was carried to *Florence*, the inhabitants imagined *Picinino* to be already at their gates. But they were mistaken as to his instructions, which were limited to the relief and defence of *Lucca*, and regaining its dependencies from the *Florentines*; all which he effected, besides furnishing the inhabitants with large magazines of provisions from his ships. On his return to *Genoa*, however, he received orders to take several places upon which the *Genoese* had pretensions, particularly *Pontremoli*, a place so important, that it is accounted the barrier of the *Appennines* towards *Genoa*: in all which he succeeded. By the taking of *Pontremoli*, all communication was cut off between the *Genoese* exiles and the *Florentines*, and the *Genoese* obtained a ready entrance into *Tuscany*.

Picinino's success.

e NOTWITHSTANDING the departure of *Picinino*, the *Florentines* were so far from renewing hostilities against *Lucca*, that they became apprehensive that the states of *Tuscany* would form a league against themselves. They knew that they were hated by the *Siennese*, who had lately made a league with the pope, and had raised troops; and that several states, besides those within *Tuscany*, would readily enter into such a confederacy. The *Florentines* dissimulated all; and, as if they had been upon the best terms with *Sienna*, they not only sent thither a deputation, but prevailed with the *Venetians* to send another to negotiate the renewal of the antient league between the *Florentines* and the *Siennese*. The latter, who were already in treaty with the *Lucquese*, were surprised at this proposition; and, in a separate conference their magistrates had with the *Venetian* deputies, they inveighed so bitterly and so speciously against the *Florentines*, that the *Venetians* returned home without farther interposition. During this negotiation the *Siennese* unanimously chose *Antonio*, who had been so active against the *Florentines*, for their chief magistrate; upon which the *Florentine* deputies hastily left *Sienna*; and, to impose upon the inhabitants of the country thro' which they were to pass, they adorned themselves with olive branches, by which they got safe to *Florence*. They were scarcely arrived there, when a triple league was proposed between the duke of *Milan*, the *Genoese* (who affected a shew of independency) and the *Siennese*.

Dissimulation of the Florentines.

f THE *Florentines* sought to counterbalance this league by a new one with the *Venetians*; but the latter had reasons for not provoking *Philip*, and therefore declined the proposal. The *Florentines* then applied to *Sforza*, as the *Venetians* did, at the same time, to take the command of their armies; but he refused to leave the service of the duke of *Milan*, to whose natural daughter he was already contracted, and whom he afterwards succeeded to his dominions. Pope *Martin V.* the great restorer of the papal dignity in *Italy*, being now dead, was succeeded by *Eugene IV.* a *Venetian*, who joined himself to the *Ursini* against the friends of the late pope, and thereby a kind of civil war ensued in the state of the church. He was generally thought to be the son of the antipope *Gregory XII.* and, at his accession to the popedom, he formed the design of renewing the league between the *Florentines* and the *Venetians*, to counterbalance the duke of *Milan's* power; and the confederacy accordingly took place. *Philip* coming to know of this fresh conjunction, ordered some troops which lay at *Pontremoli* to fall into *Tuscany*, which they did under *Picinino*, and penetrated so

who make a league with Venice.

so far into the *Florentine* dominions as to cut off all communication between *Florence* and *Pisa*. a

*Crucely re-
wards the
Pisans.*

THE *Florentines*, well knowing how ripe the *Pisans* were for a revolt, had recourse on this occasion to an inhuman, but perhaps necessary, measure. The archbishop of *Pisa*, a *Florentine*, had then the chief command in that city, and by order, no doubt, of the *Florentine* government, he made proclamation that all *Pisans*, between fifteen and sixty, should immediately leave the city. Being of a brutal nature, he himself was the executioner of this order; but retained the wives and children of the unhappy *Pisans* as pledges for their conduct. Notwithstanding this precaution, a plot was formed within the city for delivering the same up to *Picinino*, who daily presented himself before its gates; and the design was discovered, but by great accident ^a. *Picinino*, however, conquered all the *Volterranean* territory; and *Volterra* itself would have submitted to him, had he not been attended by a great number of the *Volterranean* exiles, who were irreconcilably obnoxious to the governing party in the city. b

*Policy of the
duke of Mi-
lan.*

WHILE the triple league between *Philip*, the *Genoese*, and the *Siennese*, was depending, some of the young *Siennese*, without either authority or leader, made an irruption into the *Florentine* territory, where they burned down a castle. The news of this rash action arrived at *Milan*, while *Philip* was in conference with the deputies of the two republics, and in great perplexity, whether he should conclude the league or not. The adventure was no sooner related to him, than with joy in his countenance he ordered all that the *Siennese* deputies had requested to be granted them ^b; a circumstance that well expresses his cautious character. Accordingly count *Alberigo* was ordered to put himself at the head of two thousand horse to join *Picinino*, that the *Tuscan* war might be carried on with decisive vigour. It soon appeared that the *Florentine* subjects had no aversion to put themselves under the protection of *Philip*, though they refused to submit to the *Siennese*; for the war being now carried on in *Philip's* name, many forts and castles readily submitted to his general. *Picinino* then marched to the valley of *Alfa*, the most beautiful and populous of any in *Italy*; and he was preparing to reduce *Staggio*, and the neighbouring forts, most of which belonged to private subjects of *Florence*, when he was encouraged to hope that he might easily make himself master of *Arezzo*, by means of a conspiracy within that city. It is said, not without great colour of truth, that the *Florentines* themselves were at the bottom of this suggestion, that they might draw him out of that country. It is certain, that *Picinino* was so intent on the conquest of *Arezzo*, that he burned all the preparations he had made for his other expedition, and marched directly to that city, the people, wherever he passed, presenting him with the keys of their towns and castles (B). When he came before *Arezzo*, he found he had been imposed on, and that no dispositions were made for giving up the city. Having waited for some days without any effect, the *Siennese*, and the other troops, pressed him to begin the siege, protesting that he would not return alive if they did not take it in four days. While *Picinino* was deliberating on this proposal, matters took an unexpected turn in *Lombardy*, and *Philip* sent an order for *Picinino* to return to *Milan*. So dreadful was *Picinino's* name in *Tuscany*, that the *Florentines* considered his departure, though he was attended by no troops, and though *Alberigo* succeeded to his command, as a deliverance. They chose for their general *Michaletto*, who had been bred up under *Sforza*; and so greatly were they encouraged by *Picinino's* departure, that he soon had the face of an army. The first gleam of good fortune they obtained was an advantage they gained over *Alberigo* at *Colle*, where, against his own inclination, he was obliged to fight the *Florentines*, and was worsted. This advantage, though but trifling, was celebrated at *Florence* with an extravagance of joy. c

*Losses of the
Florentines.*

WE are to reflect, that all the *Florentine* dominions were at this time reduced to *Florence*, their great walled towns and cities, and a few inconsiderable places that had been spared in the vale of *Alfa*. Almost all their open country had been reduced by *Picinino* and the *Siennese*; but the late defeat of *Alberigo* gave a turn to their fortune. *Philip*, suspecting him to have an understanding with the *Florentines*, sent for him in chains to *Milan*, his command devolving on the young *Antonio* of *Pergola*, who neither had any authority in the army, nor any opportunities of giving a proof of his military capacity, as the season was too far advanced for action. After this, during the winter, not a day passed without some notable defection from the *Milanese* army, and many of their best troops and officers went into the *Florentine* service. d

^a MACHIAVEL, book iv. BILLIUS, pag. 148.

^b BILLIUS, ubi supra.

(B) The reader is not to imagine that the castles, forts, and fortified towns he meets with so often in this history, were, for the most part, any other than the houses of private gentlemen, or open villages, with a few works of defence, call up about them to secure them

from being surprised by the banditti, and disbanded soldiery, which, at this time, and long before, had infested *Italy*, and which always followed the fortune of the field.

a By this time the *Venetians*, alarmed at *Philip's* vast progress in *Tuscany*, had concluded a new league with the *Florentines*, and had fitted out a greater naval armament than had for many ages been known in *Italy*. It was to oppose them that he had recalled *Picinino* out of *Tuscany*, and given him the command of both his sea and land forces. The *Venetian* fleet having sailed up the *Po*, being most or all of them galleys, and drawing very little water, lay opposite to their land army, which was commanded by *Carmignola*, against whom *Picinino* alone could make head, as their fleet was by *Stefano* of *Treviso*. This encampment was near *Cremona*; while the *Milanese* fleet, which was equal in number, but far inferior in strength and appointments to that of *Venice*, lay above that city. *Picinino* seemed intent only upon the land operations; but all of a sudden, without communicating

b his design to any one but *Sforza*, perceiving *Carmignola's* attention fixed upon the army, he threw himself on board a *Milanese* galley, and, though unused to that service, by his own personal valour and intrepidity, he gave the *Venetians* one of the greatest defeats they had ever received on the water, while *Carmignola* could do nothing but deplore it from the shore. The particulars of this defeat, and of the vast booty made by the *Milanese* and *Genoese*, are foreign to this part of our history; but it is said, that the equipment of the whole cost the *Venetians* six hundred thousand ducats.

The Venetians defeated by water.

To compensate this loss the *Venetians*, having sent round some galleys towards the gulph of *Genoa*, defeated the *Genoese* galleys in the *Tuscan* sea; and the *Florentines*, under *Michelotto*, surprised *Trebia*, and reduced most of the places that had been taken during the summer by *Picinino* and the *Siennese*, who were now thrown into the utmost despondency: but a pestilential distemper breaking out amongst their horses in the field, both parties were obliged to go into quarters. We are to take this interval to resume the domestic affairs of *Florence*.

THE bad success of the war against *Lucca* rendered it from being a very popular, a most unpopular measure. They who had been the most forward in carrying it on, now shifted the blame upon one another; but the weight of the public indignation fell upon the leaders. *Guicciardini*, who had commanded in chief after *Sforza's* retreat, was accused of having received money from the enemies of *Florence*; and the spirit against him ran so high, that the gonfalonier cited him to take his trial; but either *Guicciardini's* interest in the state, or his innocence of the charge, prevented the matter from going farther. The charge against *Cosmo de Medici* had more serious consequences.

Discontents at Florence

THIS nobleman, by his behaviour in the state, had shewn the *Florentines* what they could not otherwise have believed, that it was possible his father could be excelled in all the duties of an able disinterested citizen. The first maxim *Cosmo* laid down in life was, to side with no party in the republic; but by his advice, his hospitality, munificence, and other virtues, to oblige the individuals of all. He carried this maxim so far, that when he found public business could not go on, without the sanction of his credit, he always prevailed with his friend *Puccio Pucci* to take the lead in the management of affairs; and his party went by *Puccio's* name. His other friend was *Averardo di Medici*, an excellent soldier; but so cautious was *Cosmo* in party-matters, that, though he highly approved of the war with *Lucca*,

e yet he employed his interest in giving the command of it to those who were known to be no friends to his family. We shall not here enter into the dispute, whether this was not carrying the principles of disinterestedness to an impolitic length. *Cosmo's* friends, not so disinterested as he was, laid hold of all opportunities to aggravate the losses of the state, and vilify the conduct of its generals, which was of no service to him; for, notwithstanding all his modesty and self-denial, he was still looked upon as the principal citizen of *Florence*; and the enemies of his family considered every thing as being done by his secret concurrence and approbation. *Niccolo de Uzano* was still respected for his great integrity, abilities, and experience, and was thought the only person capable to counterpoize *Cosmo's* interest in the state. *Barbadori*, so called from the yellow beards of his family, was sent by *Rinaldo Albizi*, and the other enemies of the *Medici*, to persuade *Uzano* to head the party against *Cosmo*. The venerable patriot, in his answer, wished that his beard had been silver instead of gold, for he then might have reflected on the consequences of what he proposed. He then entered into a detail of the divisions and factions that prevailed amongst the families who called themselves noble, and proved that *Cosmo's* party had as good a right to that appellation as that of his antagonists. He next proceeded to a defence of *Cosmo*, and shewed the injustice of persecuting a man merely because he had acquired popularity by virtue. After this he remonstrated upon the folly of such an attempt, on account of *Cosmo's* prodigious influence in the state; and put *Barbadori* in mind, that, supposing *Cosmo* to be ruined, they must be governed by *Rinaldo*, who was a much worse man. In the

g conclusion of his discourse, which is fully recited by *Machiavel*, he advised them to concord and moderation, as being the only terms on which the state could be served.

History of the exile of Cosmo de Medici.

^c MACHIAVEL, book iv.

Rancour of his
enemies.

THOSE sentiments, so worthy of a patriot and a wise man, made such an impression ^a upon *Cosmo's* enemies, that every thing remained quiet during the war with *Lucca*. But at the end of that, *Uzano* dying, *Rinaldo* became the head of the party; and being the irreconcilable furious enemy of *Medici*, he left nothing undone to dispose his countrymen to a civil war, rather than not ruin his antagonist. He persuaded all his party never to appear in public but in arms, that the people might be more impressed with an apprehension of danger; and all their civil meetings, even for the choice of magistrates, wore a military aspect, and were seldom closed without tumults (C).

RINALDO's success in this was such that he now only wanted a gonfalonier to his mind. The person most likely to answer his purpose was *Bernardo Guadagno*, whose debts he paid off, lest the greatness of them might have obstructed his election, which went in ^b his favour. Scarcely had he entered his office, when *Rinaldo* laid before him the danger of *Cosmo's* popularity, which, without charging him with any other crime, he said had deprived the republic of her liberty. To encourage *Bernardo* to proceed, he brought many instances in which popularity had deserted the impeached when they came to a trial, and that *Cosmo* would find himself in the same condition, especially as he and his friends were resolved to support to the last extremity the administration of justice.

His danger,

BERNARDO was easily persuaded to do as *Rinaldo* desired him. After some consultation with the other magistrates, *Cosmo* was summoned to the palace, where he was put under arrest; and the senate assembling, the people created a *balia* of two hundred, for the reformation of the state, and the trial of *Cosmo*; while *Rinaldo* and his friends appeared ^c in arms in the piazza where the *balia* were sitting. The debates concerning *Cosmo* lasted four days, during which time he was confined to a strong room called the *Alberghettino*, from whence he had an opportunity of hearing and seeing the bustle that was made concerning his life, death, or banishment. This filled him with apprehensions lest his enemies should take him off by poison; and for four days he eat only a little bread. His keeper's name was *Malavolti*, who, observing *Cosmo's* distrust, considered it as a reflection upon his own honour, and declared that no foul dealings should be offered to him while in his custody; and, to prove his sincerity, he ordered victuals to be brought, of which he tasted before his face. This generous behaviour filled the prisoner's eyes ^d with tears of gratitude; and he won so far upon his keeper, that, being now re-disposed to the comforts of society, *Malavolti* introduced to his company one *Fargannacio*, a man of wit and humour, and intimately acquainted with the gonfalonier. *Cosmo* knew that money at that time went a great way in *Florence*; and, after supper, *Malavolti* having prudently withdrawn, *Cosmo*, after a most obliging address, gave *Fargannacio* a private token to receive, on his account, one thousand one hundred ducats at the hospital of *Santa Maria Nuova*; one hundred of which he allotted to *Fargannacio* himself, and the other thousand was to be paid to the gonfalonier. This well-timed bribe, or bounty, by softening the gonfalonier, mollified *Cosmo's* fate, and his sentence was, that he should be sent in exile ^e to *Padua*. Many of his relations, together with *Puccio Pucci*, were banished at the same time; and dispositions were made for keeping in awe those who were dissatisfied with their sentences.

and sentence.

A. D. 1433.

COSMO received his doom, which was pronounced on the third of *October*, 1433, with a chearful countenance, and perfect resignation to the will of his judges, only beseeching them to grant him protection against his enemies, who he understood waited in the piazza to murder him. The gonfalonier undertook that office; and, after attending him in the palace till supper was over, he gave him a strong guard, which accompanied him out to the confines of the *Florentine* territories to those of *Venice*, where he was received with the highest honours.

Disappointment
of Rinaldo,

RINALDO, and *Cosmo's* other enemies, considered his banishment as a triumph over themselves, and the forerunner of their destruction. *Rinaldo*, in despair, summoned together ^f his party, and, after remonstrating upon the folly and madness of suffering *Cosmo* to escape with life, he proposed that the nobles should seize by force the government, restore the exiled nobility of their own party, and deprive the plebeians of all their power in the state. He supported his opinion with many specious arguments; but was opposed by *Mariotto Boldavineti*, who thought the tyranny of the plebeians to be more tolerable than that of the nobles, who were arrived at the highest pitch of pride and insolence. *Mariotto's* opinion prevailed; and *Rinaldo* attributed his counsel being rejected to a judicial infatuation. It being now apparent that *Rinaldo's* party was divided, *Cosmo's* friends began to bestir themselves, and a letter to him from *Agnotto Accivoli* was intercepted. Its contents informed

(C) Notwithstanding all this, *Machiavel* gives this *Rinaldo* a great character, and calls him a man worthy of honour in all fortunes. If we consider what afterwards happened, when the house of *Medici* came to be

sovereigns of *Florence*, there are reasons for believing that *Rinaldo* had motives for his conduct, which have not been explained by *Machiavel*.

him

- a him of the good disposition of the city in his favour, and advised him by all means to make *Neri Genucci* his friend, and that the state was in such distress for money as must occasion his sudden recall. This letter being laid before the magistracy, occasioned *Agnolo* to be banished; but his punishment was so far from damping *Cosmo's* friends, that they daily increased; and when new magistrates were chosen in 1434, *Nicholas de Cocco* A. D. 1434. was made gonfalonier, and eight senators were elected, all of them devoted to *Cosmo*. *Rinaldo*, upon this, again summoned his party, to shew them their impending danger, and proposed that they should take arms, continue *Donato Veluti*, who was then gonfalonier, in his office, and proceed immediately to a new election of magistrates, by burning
- b the old purses which contained the names of the magistrates, and making a new imbursement.

WHILE many of the assembly were inclined to follow this advice, it was opposed by *Palla Strozzi*, a nobleman of great temper and moderation, who thought that they ought by no means to take arms, till they were obliged by the near approach of a foreign enemy, when they might do it without alarming the people, or bringing themselves into danger. After farther deliberation it was agreed, that the new magistrates should enter upon the exercise of their offices; but that if they should attempt any thing against the nobility, the latter should assemble at *St. Pulinare*, and proceed as circumstances should occur. The first act of authority the new gonfalonier performed, was the imprisoning

c his predecessor *Donato Veluti* for embezzling the public money. He then called a meeting of the friends of the house of *Medici*, whom he found so powerful that he cited *Rinaldo*, *Ridolfo Peruzzi*, and *Niccolo Barbadori*, to appear before him. *Rinaldo*, instead of submitting, flew to arms; and the rest of his party, according to agreement, assembled at *St. Pulinare*, and they were joined by a great number of disbanded soldiers who happened at that time to be in *Florence*; so that the palace was beset.

RINALDO, however, could not support himself and his party against the appearance of legal authority. Two of the greatest men of his party, *Palla Strozzi* and *Giovanni Guicciardini*, refused to join him in arms. *Palla* came to *Pulinare* on horseback, attended by only two footmen, and was there received by most bitter upbraidings from *Rinaldo*, who

d reproached him with folly, cowardice, and treachery; first in saving *Cosmo's* life; secondly, in slighting his (*Rinaldo's*) counsels; and thirdly, in refusing to join him in arms. To this *Palla* made no reply, but by turning the head of his horse, and retreating as fast as he could. As to *Guicciardini*, he excused his appearance, on pretence that his presence was necessary at home, to keep his brother from joining the opposite party. But *Rinaldo's* greatest disappointment consisted in the general backwardness of his party to join him; and while he was waiting for the troops he expected, the magistrates recovered from their consternation, shut the palace gates, and prepared for a vigorous defence.

THIS was no sooner known than the *Medici* party appeared in their turn, as the champions of legal government. *Rinaldo* however was so powerful, and his pretexts so specious,

e that the magistrates thought proper to enter into treaty with him. They sent some of their own body to assure him, that they had no thoughts of recalling *Cosmo* from his banishment; and that he was welcome to enter the palace, and receive satisfaction as to all his just complaints. *Rinaldo* refused to trust himself in their hands, and publicly declared his resolution of reforming the state, and reducing the magistrates to the rank of private men. *Ridolfo Peruzzi* was not so intractable. He thought that the offer made by the senate was fair and equitable, and declared that all he sought was to prevent *Cosmo's* return, and that he was willing to obey the magistrates. He accordingly repaired to the palace, where he and all his friends were cordially received. The defection of so great a man threw an irrecoverable damp upon *Rinaldo's* party.

f POPE *Eugene IV.* happened at this time to be at *Florence*, where he had taken refuge after he had been expelled from *Rome*. He offered himself as a mediator to reconcile the contending factions; and the magistrates of *Florence*, that they might come the more easily to their purpose, seemed to accept his mediation; but in terms so vague and indetermined, that it gave him no power to conclude any thing in their name. *Eugene*, however, sent the patriarch *Giovanni Vitelleschi*, one of *Rinaldo's* friends, to treat with him; and *Rinaldo*, at his persuasion, went to *Santa Maria Novella*, where the pope resided. After some discourse *Rinaldo*, finding how little he could depend upon his party, consented to lay down his arms; and his consent was intimated to *Barbadori*, and his other friends, who waited without, and who, by the pope's persuasion, did the same. The faction being

g thus disarmed, proceeded in what they resolved upon, without the least regard to the mediation of his holiness. They privately sent to *Pistoia* for troops, which were introduced, in the night-time, into the city, and, after seizing all its posts and avenues, the people were summoned to the great piazza; and a new Balia was appointed, which repealed *Cosmo's* sentence of banishment, and exiled *Rinaldo de' Albizzi*, *Ridolfo Peruzzi*, *Niccolo Barbadori*,

dori, and *Palla Strozzi*, with all their friends and dependents; so that there was scarce a town in *Italy* that did not contain *Florentine* exiles.

Cosmo recalled from exile.

THIS is a remarkable period in the *Florentine* history; and, however blameable *Rinaldo* might have been in his proceedings, it is certain that we may from this time date the ruin of the republic and constitution of *Florence*. *Rinaldo* bore his fate like a brave man. When the pope condoled with him, and mentioned the treachery, as he called it, of the magistrates, he reproached himself with weakness in imagining that his holiness, who had himself been driven from *Rome*, could protect him in *Florence*: in all other respects, his behaviour was manly and philosophical. While he accused the coldness of his friends, he blamed his own misguided conduct, and submitted to his sentence. *Cosmo*, in the meanwhile, was upon his return to *Florence*, where he was received with more joy than *Cicero*, under the like circumstances, was received at *Rome*, and was distinguished by the glorious titles of "The Friend of the People, and the Father of his Country."

The emperor arrives in Italy:

THE papal power at this time was formidable every where but in *Italy*; for there it was not only deprest, but despised. The *Florentines*, notwithstanding the distractions of their government, still bore a great sway in the affairs of *Italy*. The emperor *Sigismund*, who delighted in the parade of mediations, negotiations, and public exhibitions of every kind, had failed in his attempt to reduce the *Bohemians*, whom the infamous murder of *John Huss*, and *Jerome of Prague*, at the council of *Constance*, had driven into arms. Those two are generally reckoned the first martyrs for the protestant religion; and they imbibed their principles from *John Wickliff*, an *Englishman*, parson of *Lutterworth*, who, though he openly avowed the doctrine of reformation, died quietly in his bed. After the defeat of the imperial army by the *Bohemians*, *Sigismund* undertook a journey into *Italy*, though he was so poor, that he scarcely could defray the expences of it. The name of emperor, however, was still respectable, if not formidable. While a general council was holding at *Basil*, he was crowned with what is falsely called the iron crown at *Milan*; and, indeed, his great dependence, even for the charges of his retinue, was upon that duke. The council at *Basil*, in imitation of that of *Constance*, declared itself superior to the pope, and censured him. The *Florentines* were neutral; but gave the emperor no encouragement to hope for their friendship in *Italy*.

affronted by the Florentines.

FROM *Milan* he journied to *Rome*; but the *Florentines* paid so little regard to his authority, that they attacked and beat at *Topori* the escort that had been lent him by the duke of *Milan*; and when he came to *Lucca*, they destroyed all the country round, and pent him up within the city; so that he became contemptible in the eyes even of the *Italians*. From *Lucca* it was with difficulty that he removed to *Sienna*, where he remained for some months; and he then obtained leave from the pope to repair to *Rome*, where he received the idle honour of being crowned emperor of the *Romans*.

THE distractions of *Italy*, and the weakness of the emperor, concurred at this time to advance the temporal power of the papacy to a pitch it never had known before; and even its enemies contributed to its greatness. According to *Machiavel*^a, *Italy* then contained two different armies; but both united in the same view, which was that of plunder; and both, finding no other object, had marked out the church's patrimony as their prey. One of those armies, and the most considerable, had been bred up under *Sforza*; the other under *Braccio*. The former was commanded by *Sforza's* son, and the latter by *Braccio's* disciple *Picinino*, and his nephew *Fortebraccio*. The princes and states of *Italy* knew that murder and rapine subsisted both armies, yet they durst disoblige neither of them; but the *Florentines* and the duke of *Milan* had the courage to make peace with each other, by which the *Florentines* were put into possession of all that their enemies had conquered from them in the *Pisan*, the *Volterranean*, and the *Arezzian* territories, while the *Florentines* surrendered all the acquisitions they had made in the *Lucques*. This peace was of solid advantage to the *Florentines*, as it restored them to a state of independency both upon the emperor and the pope. The former, during his stay in *Italy*, had altered his political system. He had broken with the duke of *Milan* he was reconciled to the *Venetians*; and, notwithstanding the contumelies with which the *Florentines* had treated him, he courted their friendship. They were so far from repaying him the compliment, that, when he earnestly intreated it, they refused to suffer him to enter *Florence*, when he was upon his return to *Germany*.

Progress of the war in Romagna.

WHEN *Sigismund* left *Italy*, *Sforza* and *Fortebraccio* at once fell upon the dominions of the church; and, both of them being mercenaries, they had different objects in their view. *Sforza* fell upon the marquisate of *Ancona*, while *Picinino* attacked *Rome*. The reader can scarcely believe in what horror the pontifical power was then held in *Italy*. The *Romans* no sooner perceived that they were in danger of a war, on the pope's account,

a than they drove him out of *Rome*, and he retired to *Florence*. Here he entered into a treaty with *Sforza*, to whom he granted the marquissate of *Ancona*; but so much was his holiness despised by *Sforza*, that he dated all the leases and grants he made in the marquissate from his own treasury, *in spite of St. Peter and St. Paul*^a. He then compelled the pope to make him the gonfalonier of the church, by which he had all the executive power of government within the papal dominions. *Nicholas* wisely complied, and obtained his ends, by setting *Sforza* and *Fortebraccio* at variance. The former enlisted himself under the pope's banners; and the latter proceeded in making conquests upon the church-patrimony: but all their operations in the main, by a strange fatality, tended to aggrandize the papacy. *Sforza* grew jealous of *Fortebraccio*; and the *Bolognese*, again throwing off their dependence upon the pope, implored the protection of the duke of *Milan*. The duke chose pacific measures, and prevailed with both parties to come to a truce, which was but short-lived; for *Battista de Canetto*, making himself master of *Bologna*, applied to the duke of *Milan* for protection, while the pope invoked the aid of the *Florentines* and the *Venetians*. Both parties furnished the succours required of them. *Piccinino* was the *Milanese* general; and *Guatamelata* commanded the armies of *Florence* and *Venice*, having under him *Niccolo Tolentino* as his lieutenant-general. A battle was fought near *Imola*, in which the *Venetians* and *Flo-* The Floren-
rentines were defeated; and *Tolentino*, being taken, was sent prisoner to *Milan*, where soon after he died. The duke of *Milan*, after obtaining this victory, seemed to give over all thoughts of war; and the pope, with his allies, found means to bring *Sforza* into their interest, and prevailed with him to accept the command of their armies. He quickly changed the scale of war in favour of his holiness, who now prevailed over the stubborn *Romans*, and they submitted to a governor appointed by him. *Fortebraccio*, however, remained the irreconcilable enemy of the *Roman* see. He was in possession of *Tivoli*, *Montefiasconi*, *Castello*, and *Affisi*; but, being defeated by *Sforza*, he shut himself up in the latter place, where his enemy besieged him. The duke of *Milan's* view was to preserve *Fortebraccio*, as a useful check upon the pope and his allies: he therefore ordered *Piccinino* to march through the *Romagna* into *Tuscany*, which obliged *Sforza* to raise the siege of *Affisi*, and to advance towards *Forli*, where *Piccinino* lay, leaving the care of the war in *Ancona* to his brother *Lione*, who was intirely defeated by *Fortebraccio*. *Sforza*, afraid of being stript of all his possessions, returned to *Ancona*, and, in his turn, defeated and took prisoner *Fortebraccio*, who soon after died of his wounds.

tines defeated:

THIS victory, obtained by *Sforza*, entirely altered the face of affairs in *Italy*. All the towns that had been taken from the pope by *Fortebraccio*, reverted to the Holy See; Progress of
and even the duke of *Milan* was obliged to have recourse to *Niccolo d'Este* marquis of *Ferrara's* mediation, to obtain a peace from his holiness, which was granted him, upon condition of recalling his troops out of *Tuscany* and the *Romagna*, and restoring all he had taken from the church. *Battista Canetto*, no longer able to support himself in *Bologna*, was now driven out of that city by *Bentivoglio*, and the pope recovered full possession of it. Sforza.

e THOUGH the *Florentines* and their allies were thus successful, yet it is certain that the high spirit of liberty, which had distinguished the commonwealth of *Florence*, had now subsided in that state and city. Tired with perpetual struggles of adverse factions for power, the citizens no longer stuck to their constitution, and this threw into *Cosmo de Medici's* hands more power than was consistent for the subject of a republic to possess. Severity became necessary to his party; for they had no other means of safety. New confiscations, confinements, and banishments, every day took place; and even sanguinary measures, unusual amongst the *Florentines*, were pursued. *Bernardo Guadagni*, the gonfalonier, who had banished *Cosmo*, and four citizens of his party, were beheaded. *Zanobi Belfratelli*, and *Cosmo Barbadori*, took refuge in the *Venetian* state; but so great was the respect paid to *Cosmo de Medici* by all the powers of *Italy* at this time, that the *Venetians* sent them home prisoners, and they were put to death. *Machiavel*^b is inclined to think, that the *Venetians* were guilty of this breach of honour and hospitality, that they might inflame and perpetuate the *Florentine* factions, as being most conducive to their own security. Alterations in
Florence.

f FLORENCE, by those examples of severity, seemed to be united; but it was an union not founded on the principles of her constitution. *Cosmo*, however, endeavoured all he could to heal the wounds of his country, by recalling all exiles who were willing to be reconciled to the state, and who had not sworn to his and his party's destruction. The powerful family of the *Alberti*, in particular, was restored. Almost all the nobility submitted to be ranked with the other citizens; and the estates of the exiles, who had lately been banished, were sold at public auction. In the choice of magistrates, none were ad-

Power of the
Medici.

^a MACHIAVEL, book v.

^b Idem, ubi supra.

mitted but those who were devoted to the *Medicean* interest; and those who were appointed to make the alterations, together with the old senate or magistrates, were empowered to create the new. A new criminal court was instituted of eight persons, and invested with the power of life and death: and so jealous was the government of the *Albizi* faction, that a public act passed, decreeing, that no repeal of confiscation or banishment should take place, unless thirty-four out of the thirty-seven members, of which the senate was composed, should consent. All correspondence with the exiles was at the same time rendered penal; and the ruling party, according to *Machiavel*, went so far as to punish not only words and actions, but intimations by signs, if they imagined they tended to favour any of the proscribed. In short, no measure of severity or cruelty was wanting to secure the government in power. To make this system the more permanent, new alliances were made between the *Florentines*, the pope, the *Venetians*, and the duke of *Milan*; and no device that the wit of man could invent was omitted, to give stability to their system.

Revolutions in
Naples,

In the mean while, *Joan* queen of *Naples* died. She had nominated for her successor *Regnier* of *Anjou*; but *Alphonso*, king of *Arragon*, disputed the succession with him. The pope, pretending that *Naples* belonged to the Holy See, disclaimed both sovereigns, and sought to govern that kingdom by his own deputy. The *Neapolitans* were divided amongst themselves; and the party that opposed *Alphonso* applied for protection to the duke of *Milan*, who was still master of *Genoa*. The *Genoese*, from the hatred they had towards *Alphonso*, and to secure to themselves the gainful commerce of *Naples*, fitted out a powerful fleet, which *Alphonso* engaged near *Gaeta*; but was totally defeated, and he himself, his two brothers, with the chief officers of his court and army, were taken prisoners, and sent to *Milan*.

and Genoa.

It was now thought that *Philip* duke of *Milan* would make himself master of *Italy*; and perhaps the *Florentines* alone prevented him, by privately suggesting to the *Genoese* how scandalous it was for a state so powerful as they were, by sea especially, to live under a foreign yoke; and at the same time promising to support them to the utmost, should they attempt to shake it off. It was not long before those arguments had the desired effect. When *Alphonso* arrived at *Milan*, he found means to insinuate himself into *Philip's* good graces, and gave him such ideas of the character and ambition of the *French*, as rendered him the irreconcilable enemy of *Regnier*. To the amazement of all *Europe*, he generously restored *Alphonso*, his brothers, and friends to their liberty, and sent them with great magnificence to *Genoa*; from whence *Alphonso* transported himself to *Gaeta*, which some of his party had surprised. The *Genoese* considered the deliverance of *Alphonso* as an insult upon themselves. Though *Philip's* victory was owing to them, he had not deigned to consult them about the disposal of his royal prisoner. *Francisco Spinola*, a noble *Genoese*, who had been the chief instrument of subjecting his country to *Philip*, finding matters quite ripe for a revolt, sought to repair his fault by restoring the independency of *Genoa*. On the feast of *St. John the Baptist*, when *Arismino*, the *Milanese* governor, was about to enter upon his post, *Spinola*, and a few friends, who were in his secret, issued from his palace, and proclaimed liberty in the market-place. The *Genoese* were so unanimous in joining them, that *Arismino* took refuge in the castle; and his predecessor *Opicino*, in endeavouring to reach the palace, where he had two thousand soldiers, was intercepted by the mob, and torn in pieces. After this the *Genoese* took the castle, and driving all the *Milanese* out of *Genoa*, regained their independency.

The duke of
Milan declares
against the
Florentines,

RINALDO DE ALBIZI was still in exile, and resided at *Milan*, where he practised upon that duke to declare war against the *Florentines*. He was not without many specious arguments to support his solicitation. The intercourse between the *Florentines* and the *Genoese* was so far from being a secret, that, after the latter recovered their liberty, the *Florentines* not only entered into a new league with them, but sent a body of troops to their assistance, and even persuaded the *Venetians* to do the same. Notwithstanding all those provocations, *Philip* was very backward in entering into a fresh war, which he saw must be attended with expence and difficulty. Before he broke with the *Florentines*, he sent *Picinino* with an army to endeavour to retake *Genoa*; but though he obtained some advantages over the *Genoese*, he returned unsuccessful. Upon this the duke of *Milan* declared war against the *Florentines*, whom he blamed for the defection of *Genoa*, and *Picinino* besieged and took *Serazana*. Pope *Eugene* was at this time at *Florence*; but, upon this new war breaking out, he went to *Bologna*, where he endeavoured to mediate a peace between *Philip* and the *Florentines*, in which the *Venetians* were to be comprehended. *Philip* would hear of no terms, unless the *Florentines* would renounce their alliance with the *Genoese*, which they peremptorily refused to do. Upon this the pope ordered his general *Sforza* to join the *Florentine* general *Neri de Gino*, and to make head against *Picinino*, who was then at *Lucca* with a design to reduce *Pisa*, though he gave out that he was about to march to *Naples*, to assist the king of *Arragon*. The two armies, that under

Sforza

a *Sforza* and *Neri de Gino*, and that under *Piccinino*, were pretty equal as to numbers, and in all other respects; but it was *December* before they took the field, and each knew the other's strength so well, that both of them lay for some time upon the defensive. At last, *Piccinino* made a movement; but failed in his attempt upon *Vico Pisano*, though he took *S. Maria* in *Castello*, and *Filetto*, and burned *S. Giovanni-alla-Vena*, destroying at the same time the neighbouring country.

THE *Florentines* under *Sforza* and *Gino* remained all this while inactive out of complaisance to the pope, who mediated a peace. *Piccinino* attributed their inactivity to their cowardice, and laid siege to *Borgo*, which lay in the *Arezzian* territory. This attempt drove the *Florentines* from their neutrality; and *Sforza* not only raised the siege of *Borgo*, but totally defeated *Piccinino*, and fell into the *Lucques* territories, with an intent to besiege *Lucca*. In the mean while, the *Venetians* being called upon by the *Florentines*, in consequence of the treaty subsisting between them, sent an army under *Giovanni Francisco de Gonzaga* to invade the *Milanese*, which obliged *Philip* to recal *Piccinino* from *Tuscany*. The *Florentines* made use of that opportunity to recover *S. Maria* in *Castello*, and all the other places that had been taken by *Piccinino*. They likewise besieged *Camejore*, which they took, together with *Massa* and *Serazana*; and about the beginning of *May*, 1437, *Sforza* laid siege to *Lucca* itself. The *Lucques* in vain applied to the duke of *Milan* for assistance; and obtaining none, they abandoned all the open country, which was wasted by the *Florentines*, and prepared to make a vigorous defence of their capital, which they fortified with new works. The *Florentine* army, on the other hand, obliged *Monte-Carlo* to surrender, and besieged *Uzzano*; so that *Lucca* was reduced to the utmost distress. The *Lucques*, in this extremity, again applied to the duke of *Milan* so movingly, and so effectually, that he determined to send a great body of troops to their relief. The *Florentines*, to divert the storm, applied to the *Venetians*; but the marquiss of *Mantua*, who was then in their pay, went over to the service of the duke of *Milan*: upon which the *Venetians* threatened to disband their army, if *Sforza* was not sent to command it. This request put the *Florentines* to great inconveniences. On one hand, they saw the necessity of prosecuting, by way of diversion, the war in *Lombardy*; on the other, they were bent on the conquest of *Lucca*, in which they despaired of succeeding without *Sforza*. The latter had made it one of the conditions of his service, that he should not be obliged to pass the *Po*; and he kept steady to that resolution, for fear of too much exasperating his future father-in-law the duke of *Milan*. The *Venetians* pretended, that without him they must be obliged to evacuate *Lombardy*; and the *Florentines*, to keep them in temper, prevailed on *Sforza* to write them a letter, promising that he would pass the *Po*. He accordingly, after making dispositions for continuing the siege of *Lucca*, went to *Lombardy*; and when he came to *Reggio*, the *Venetians* formally requested him to pass the *Po*, and head their forces, which he obstinately declined to do. Upon this, some reproachful language passed between him and *Andrea Morosini*, who had been sent from *Venice* to treat with him; but nothing could prevail with *Sforza* to break with *Philip*, in whose interest he all along was; and he returned to *Tuscany*, as *Morosini* did to *Venice*, after making a formal protest, that the *Venetians* should be no longer obliged to give *Sforza* pay.

THE *Florentines* had foreseen this, and required him to continue the siege of *Lucca*, which he absolutely refused to do till the *Venetians* should pay him his arrears; and the duke of *Milan* was not wanting to improve the quarrel to his own interest. He promised *Sforza* that he should consummate the marriage with his daughter, if he could bring about a peace between the *Florentines* and the *Lucques*; and *Sforza*, dazzled with so illustrious an alliance, and in hopes of becoming duke of *Milan* (*Philip* having no male issue) intimated that he was resolved to break off all connections with the *Florentines*, who, he pretended, were unable to support him, now that they were abandoned by the *Venetians*. In this doubtful state of affairs, *Cosmo de Medici*, who was now at the head of the *Florentine* republic, and in high reputation all over *Italy*, went in person to *Venice*, where he laid before the senate the dreadful consequences that must ensue to them, as well as to the *Florentines*, if *Philip* and *Sforza* should join their forces. The matter was fully debated; but the *Venetians*, far from complying with *Cosmo*, inveighed bitterly against *Sforza*'s ambition and insolence. They pretended, that he was in the *Florentine* service, and that they ought to pay him; that they were resolved to act upon the defensive, and to suffer *Sforza* to take his course: so that *Cosmo* was obliged to return without succeeding in his commission. By this time the duke of *Milan* had brought over to his service *Turlano*, a general officer, on whom *Sforza* had great dependence; and this defection served him with a pretext to finish his treaty with *Philip*; one of the articles of which was, that he should take no farther concern in the affairs either of *Tuscany* or the *Romagna*. This reconciliation, in fact, obliged the *Florentines* to relinquish all their designs against *Lucca*; and in *April*, 1438, a peace was concluded between them and the *Lucques*, who were declared

declared to be a free people; but the *Florentines* remained in possession of *Monte-Carlo*, and the other acquisitions they had made from the *Lucques*.

Affairs of
Italy.

UPON the death of *Fortebraccio*, which has been already mentioned, *Poppi*, whose daughter *Fortebraccio* had married, held *S. Sepolchro* as part of his daughter's dower, though demanded by the pope as belonging to him; and *Poppi*, finding himself unable to contest with his holiness, offered to deposit the place into the hands of the *Florentines*; but they refused it, for fear of giving umbrage to the pope, whom, at last, they prevailed upon to compromise the difference, by putting him in possession of *S. Sepolchro*, while he relinquished all his conquests in the *Casentin*, and returned them *Prato*, *Vecchio*, and *Romene*.

Dedication of
the cathedral
of Florence.

It has been noted in history, that though the *Florentines* were thus involved on every side with difficulties and dangers, the magnificence and splendor of the city was as great as ever. The affairs of the pope having obliged him to return to *Florence*, and their cathedral of *S. Reparata* being finished, it was now consecrated by his holiness. The pomp of this consecration is celebrated both by *Arctin* and *Machiavel*; and the concourse of people was so great, that the magistrates were obliged to erect a most magnificent platform for the procession, between the place of the pope's residence and the church that was to be consecrated. The pope encouraged this and all other extravagancies of that kind, that he might impress the emperor of *Constantinople* and his prelates, who were then at *Florence*, and treating of an accommodation with the *Latin* church, with high ideas of his grandeur. A council was accordingly indicted at *Ferrara*, to perfect the reconciliation.

Crest of the
duke of Milan
and Piccinino.

THE duke of *Milan* at this time was intent upon a war with the *Venetians*, whom he dreaded more than he did the *Florentines*. His secret aim was to retake *Brescia* and *Bergamo*; but perceiving that he would be opposed by the pope, he secretly treated with *Piccinino* to invade the *Romagna*; but not as his general, being bound up by his late treaty with *Sforza* from attacking any part of the papal dominions. The deceit was carried on so well, that *Piccinino* over-reached his holiness, surprised *Ravenna*, *Ferli*, *Imola*, and *Bologna*; subdued all the pope's possessions in the *Romagna*, and carried the war into *Lombardy*, where he besieged *Brescia*. Though all *Italy* was sensible of the collusion between the pope and *Piccinino*, yet they continued to dissemble their engagements, and *Philip* openly disavowed all that *Piccinino* had done. The *Florentines* applied for assistance to *Sforza*, who durst not venture to disoblige *Philip*, and therefore remained neutral. Being disappointed in that quarter, they dropt all their resentments against the *Venetians*, and resolved to join them. In the mean while, they were greatly favoured by *Philip's* dissimulation, who found daily pretexts for putting off *Sforza's* marriage with his daughter, though he had sent him thirty thousand florins as part of her fortune. This did not satisfy *Sforza*, who saw into *Philip's* design, which was to keep him in a state of dependence till he was enabled, by his great success against the *Venetians*, to crush him. The *Florentines* again attempted to make him sensible of the duke's views, and succeeded so far at last, as to bring him into a confederacy with them and the *Venetians*. The conditions were, that the *Venetians* should pay two thirds of the expence of the war. The remaining third was to be defrayed by the *Florentines*, and both republics engaged to defend *Sforza's* estate in *Ancona* and the *Romagna*. One difficulty, however, still remained, which was *Sforza's* absolutely refusing to pass the *Po* with his army, and to carry the war into the *Milans*.

Negotiation
with Venice.

ALL they could prevail upon him to do was to put himself at the head of the *Venetian* troops in the *Paduan*; but great difficulties even in that occurring, *Neri di Gino Capponi* was sent ambassador to *Venice*, to concert measures for the preservation of both republics. *Capponi* was received with all the respect due to a sovereign prince; and having previously had a conference with *Sforza*, he brought him to consent to pass the *Po*, and to march to the relief of *Verona* and *Pisa*, which were ready to fall under the power of the duke of *Milan*. A public audience was granted to *Capponi* in the *Venetian* senate, where he made a very fine speech, magnifying the friendship of *Florence* to her sister republic; and offered them, in *Sforza's* name, his own service, at the head of seven thousand horse and two thousand foot, to be employed where they thought proper. The senators were so much overjoyed at this proposal, which was greatly beyond their hopes, that, without waiting for the doge's answer, they embraced *Capponi* with tears in their eyes as their common deliverer; and on the 20th of *June*, *Sforza* arrived with his army in the *Paduan*, and marched to the relief of *Verona*, which he effected, tho' opposed by all *Piccinino's* power. He then proceeded to the relief of *Brescia*; but an epidemical distemper happening amongst his troops, he was obliged to give over that enterprize, which gave *Piccinino* great advantages. *Sforza*, however, refreshing his troops, again advanced to relieve *Brescia*, and

The war in
Lombardy.

- a came to a battle with *Picinino*, whose army was routed near *Tenna*, he himself almost miraculously escaping. But this victory was not improved as it might have been; and *Picinino*, having joined the remains of his army, surprised *Verona*, at a time when the *Venetians* thought him either dead, or ruined beyond all possibility of recovery. *Sforza* was at *Tenna* when this unexpected news reached him; and, without losing a moment's time, he marched to retake *Verona*, before *Picinino* could complete the new fortifications he had designed for its defence. Though *Sforza* undertook this expedition against the advice of all his general officers, yet it succeeded; for making a feint as if he intended to march to *Vicenza*, he suddenly turned short, and assaulting the unfinished works of *Verona*, while *Picinino's* soldiers were busy about the plunder, he carried the castle of *S. Felice*, and obliged *Picinino* and the marquis of *Mantua* to save themselves by flight, and to rejoin their camp, which still remained before *Brescia*.

The war in Lombardy.

- THE duke of *Milan* attributed all his misfortunes to the *Florentines*, and resolved to be revenged. It was now the dead of winter; and *Sforza*, having thrown supplies of men and provisions into *Brescia*, went into quarters at *Verona*. Many of the exiled *Florentines*, who formed an army of themselves, were then at the court of *Milan*. The principles of patriotism were not perhaps so strong within them, as were those of revenge upon their enemies. All of them passionately wished to be restored to their country, and they were backed in their solicitations by *Picinino*, who pretended to be executor to *Braccio*, and sought to dispossess *Sforza* in his absence. But all this could not be effected without a war; and so great was the duke's caution, that he would not declare himself on that head till he should hear all that could be urged for it. *Picinino* assured him, that the relief of *Brescia* was impracticable; and that the siege might continue, though he should be sent with an army into *Tuscany*; that he would no sooner enter it, than the *Florentines* must be constrained either to submit to his will, or to recal *Sforza*; in either of which cases he must acquire a victory. The exiles gave the duke the strongest assurances, that his army would no sooner approach *Florence*, than the people, exasperated by taxes and tyrants, would declare unanimously for him; and that if he marched his army by the *Casentine*, it would meet with no opposition. The duke, at last, seemed to be determined; and the rather as he knew that *Giovanni Vetteleschi Cornettano*, first apostolic notary, then bishop of *Recanati*, patriarch of *Alexandria*, and cardinal of *Florence*, who commanded the pope's armies, where he had more power than the pope himself, was their enemy, on account of their having formerly banished *Rinaldo*, while under the pope's protection. He was encouraged likewise by a coldness that was growing between the *Venetians* and *Sforza*. Notwithstanding the bitter inclemency of the season, they were perpetually importuning him to employ his whole force in the relief of *Brescia*, which he absolutely refused to undertake till the spring, when he could be assisted with a fleet.

Duke of Milan enraged at the Florentines.

- THE *Florentines* were no strangers to what was in agitation against them, and began to reflect that the *Venetians* had reaped the benefit of all they had done in *Lombardy*. They imagined that *Picinino* never would have abandoned the siege of *Brescia*, which was upon the point of surrendering, to march into *Tuscany*, unless he had been sure not only of being assisted by the army of the church, but of being joined by a party with whom he had correspondence in *Florence*. But their fears of *Vetteleschi* were soon quieted. We have several times taken notice of the excellent intelligence with which the *Florentines* always were furnished; and, like all other states, they sometimes employed means not strictly justifiable, particularly by spies and agents, who had the art of intercepting and inspecting letters. Some of those spies intercepted certain letters at *Monte Pulciano*, a town in the *Siennese*, written in cypher by *Vetteleschi* to *Picinino*, which the *Florentines* sent to the pope. His holiness, who knew nothing of this correspondence, not able to decypher the letters, and jealous of the patriarch's great power in the army, resolved to destroy him. To do it the more securely, he communicated his intention to *Antonio Rido* of *Padua*, governor of the castle of *S. Angelo*, ordering him to arrest the patriarch as soon as he could. An opportunity soon presented. The patriarch was secured while he was conversing with *Antonio* upon the draw-bridge of the castle. It was in vain for *Antonio* to endeavour to soothe his prisoner under his reverse of fortune; for *Vetteleschi* foreseeing his fate, died in a short time. Though we have given this important incident, as related by *Machiavel*, yet it seems, from the whole complexion of it, to have been a contrivance of the *Florentines* to work upon the pope's fears; or, which is more probable, a collusion between them and his holiness, who though he durst not avow it in the patriarch's time, was the friend of *Florence*.

Their craft.

Death of Vetteleschi.

- g THE death of *Vetteleschi* did not quiet the apprehensions of the *Florentines* on account of *Picinino*, who was then on his march. The pope, being now freed from his master, could

A treaty of peace.

a MACHIAVEL, book v.

not behold his advancing to *Tuscany* with indifference; and he came into a league with the *Florentines* and *Venetians*, engaging to hold in readiness four thousand horse and two thousand foot for the defence of the *Florentine* dominions. Nothing now remained for the safety of the *Florentines*, but to make up the breach between *Sforza* and the *Venetians*. For this purpose they deputed *Neri di Gino Capponi* and *Giuliano d'Avanzati* to go to *Venice*. While they were on the road, they understood that *Picinino* had passed the *Po* with six thousand horse; and when they came to *Venice*, they found that senate in a state of despondency at *Brescia* not being relieved; and *Capponi*, as he had been instructed, set out for *Verona*, to confer with *Sforza* on that head. The latter gave him many military reasons why it was impracticable to relieve *Brescia* at that season; but, after several conferences, at which the *Venetian* deputies likewise assisted, it was agreed, that *Sforza* should receive eighty thousand, and each of the soldiers forty ducats, if he would immediately take the field, so as to oblige the duke of *Milan* to recal *Picinino*. The *Venetians*, who both hated and feared *Sforza*, durst not dispute those terms; but they trifled egregiously in fulfilling them, and a new scene opened in *Tuscany*.

War renewed
in Tuscany.

PICININO, having passed the *Po*, marched towards the *Romagna*, where he was joined by the *Malatesta* family, upon whose friendship both the *Florentines* and *Venetians* had great dependence; and the latter were afraid that their general *Orsino*, who lay on the frontiers of the *Romagna* with an army, should be defeated. This desertion of the *Malatestas* alarmed *Sforza* so much for his own dominions in the marquisate of *Ancona*, that he repaired to *Venice*, where he told the senate, in a full assembly, that their only course was now to transfer the seat of war to *Tuscany*; declaring, at the same time, that as he came into *Lombardy* a sovereign prince, he was determined not to leave it a private subject. This proposal was strenuously opposed by the senate; and all that either party could be brought to consent to, was to wait for a few days, till it should be known what turn affairs would take in *Tuscany* and the *Romagna*, and how the pope was disposed towards his new allies. Intelligence soon came, that the pope still continued steady in the league, that *Orsino* was retired with his army to *Tuscany*, and that the *Malatesta* family had, in fact, been forced into their connections with *Picinino*. *Sforza's* apprehensions were calmed by those accounts, and he consented that *Capponi* should return to *Tuscany* with fifteen hundred horse of his army; but engaged at the same time to let him know of *Picinino's* progress, promising, in case of danger, to leave all other concerns, and march to oppose him.

Florence at-
tacked by Pi-
cinino.

PICININO, having settled his affairs in the *Romagna*, intended to force his way into *Tuscany* over the *Appennines*, and by the valley of *Montone*; but he found the passes there so well guarded by *Nicolo de Pisa*, that he failed in his attempt. He therefore turned off towards *Maraddi*, another pass of the *Appennines*, which was guarded by *Orlandini*, a *Florentine* knight, whom he knew to be a coward. The pass, though not fortified, was defensible against all *Picinino's* force, and the inhabitants were willing and brave; but the governor no sooner heard of *Picinino's* approach, than he withdrew to *Burgo S. Lorenzo*: so that *Picinino* entered the pass without resistance, and marched directly towards the valley of *Mugelli*, where he took some forts, and besieged *Monte Pulciano*. While this siege lasted, he sent out parties, who over-ran and plundered the whole neighbouring country, and carried their incursions to within three miles of *Florence* itself. The *Florentines*, being now assured of support, were not so much alarmed as they usually had been with their danger. Their internal dissensions and jealousies had been quieted by the prudence and credit of *Cosmo de Medici*, who was beloved by all parties in the state. They knew the pope's auxiliaries were on their march, and the detachment under *Capponi* had already arrived at *Florence*. His arrival gave great spirit to the citizens; and as he was known to be an able officer, they committed to him the defence of their capital. He soon raised an army, with which he retook *Remoli* from *Picinino*, whose quarters he likewise straitened so much, that he was obliged to remove to a greater distance from *Florence*.

PICININO, when he carried his arms into *Tuscany*, had great dependence upon an insurrection in *Florence*, of which he had assurances from the *Tuscan* exiles. Being disappointed of that, he resolved, if possible, to draw *Capponi* to a battle. *Francesco*, count of *Poppi*, who held considerable commands under the *Florentines*, had, from the affection he bore to *Rinaldo de Albizi*, deserted them, and joined *Picinino* as soon as he entered *Tuscany*. By his advice, *Picinino* marched into the *Casentine*, where he took *Bibienna* and *Romena*, and besieged the castle of *S. Nicolas*, which stands on the confines of the *Casentine* and the vale of *Arno*. This castle, which was strong, made so good a defence, that the *Florentines* had time to draw together three thousand horse, the command of which they gave to *Orsino*, under whom *Capponi* and *Bernardo de Medici* served. The castle of *S. Nicolas* had now held out about thirty days, and messengers were sent from the garrison to the *Florentine* generals to implore their relief. The generals, after reconnoitring the situation of

a the place, and the dispositions of the enemy, judged that the attempt was impracticable; and after highly commending the fidelity of the inhabitants, they gave them leave to surrender, which they did on the 32d day of the siege.

MACHIAVEL ^b is justly of opinion, that *Picinino's* marching to the *Casentine* was the ruin of his expedition, and that he would have succeeded much better, had he continued ^{his injudicious proceeding.} the seat of war near *Florence*, where the citizens would have been soon tired of the

expencc attending it. But he was over-persuaded by count *Poppi*, who had private views of revenge to gratify. After reducing the castle of *S. Nicolas*, *Picinino* took *Raffina* and *Chiusti*; and the count endeavoured to persuade him to remain in that country; but it

b proved so rocky, that *Picinino* drily told him his horses could not eat stones; and therefore he fell back to *Borgo S. Sepolchro*, in hopes of making himself master of *Citta di Castello*; but in this he failed, the inhabitants being in strict friendship with the *Florentines*.

He made the like attempt upon the *Perugians*, and he entered *Perugia*, where the pope had a legate. The citizens treated him with civility, though he failed in his negociation; but he extorted from the inhabitants a contribution of eight thousand crowns. His next

attempt was upon *Cortona*, then in the possession of the *Florentines*; and he formed a party in the city, which was to be delivered up to him in the night-time. The conspiracy, however, was discovered to *Bartolomeo Senso*, one of the citizens, and defeated; so that *Picinino*, who was waiting at the gate, was obliged to return to his quarters.

c WHILE *Picinino*, who appears to have been a braver general than he was an able politician, was proceeding thus unsuccessfully into *Tuscany* and the *Romagna*, matters in *Lombardy* did not wear a more favourable aspect for the duke of *Milan*. *Sforza*, perceiving his own dominions were out of danger, early in the spring made dispositions for raising the siege of *Brescia*. Being furnished by the *Venetians* with shipping, he entered the lakes that sur-

rounded it, where he defeated the *Milanese* fleet, and retook all the neighbouring castles, which had been garrisoned by *Philip*, and this obliged his land-troops to withdraw. Thus *Brescia* ^{relieved.} *Brescia*, after a long siege, was relieved. The *Milanese* army retreated to *Soncino* on the

Oglio, from whence they were driven by *Sforza* to *Cremona*, where the duke of *Milan* made a stand; and in the mean time he sent positive orders for *Picinino* to evacuate *Tus-*

d *cany*, and join him as soon as possible.

ACCORDING to the best accounts ^c, the city of *Florence* was then under an excellent government. The fear of *Picinino* had driven all the country people into their capital; so ^{Disturbances at Florence.} that a scarcity of provisions was dreaded, which might bring on mutinies and revolts.

The wiser part of the *Florentines* however uniting, as we have already seen under *Cosmo*, a most excellent choice was made of the ten field-deputies, now called the council of ten; and *Aretin*, the historian, was continued for two years in that station. By the time that

Picinino received the duke of *Milan's* orders for his return to *Lombardy*, the *Florentine* army was complete, by the junction of the troops of their allies. Their own force

e commanded by *Michalotti*, as the foot were by *Orfino*. They were joined by two thousand of the pope's cavalry at *Arezzo*; and their whole army, being in high spirits, advanced to *Anghiari*, *Capponi* having the chief command over the whole. While they lay

at *Anghiari*, which is a castle seated at the foot of the mountains dividing the vales of *Tevere* and *Chiana*, the magistrates of *Florence* received intelligence of *Picinino's* recal, together with *Sforza's* successes; and sent orders to their deputies not to hazard a battle, as

they might gain all their ends without bloodshed. The *Florentine* exiles came to the knowledge of these orders, and, informing *Picinino* of them, they persuaded him that the

Florentine army, thinking themselves perfectly secure, might be easily surprised, and that he had it now in his power to retrieve all his past disappointments by a glorious victory. *Picinino* believed all they said, and prevailed with the people of *Borgo S. Sepolchro* to join

f him with between two and three thousand men, in hopes of sharing in his spoils. According to *Machiavel* ^d, this plan of surprizal was very near succeeding; but *Aretin* ^e, perhaps for private reasons, conceals the circumstances.

THE *Florentine* army lay encamped on a fine level ground under the walls of *Anghiari*, *Picinino* ^{seated.} and that of *Picinino* advanced with the utmost silence and secrecy between *Borgo S. Sepolchro* and *Citta di Castello*. According to *Machiavel*, his approach was not perceived (A)

till *Michalotti*, discovering a great dust, the weather being then excessively hot, gave the alarm; and it was with the utmost difficulty that he and the other general officers could

^b *MACHIAVEL*, book v.

ibid. ^c *ARETIN*, ubi supra.

^e *ARETIN*, p. 266.

MACHIAVEL, ibid.

^d *MACHIAVEL*, ibid.

^e Idem

(A) *Aretin*, ubi supra, tells us, that the *Florentine* army, being afraid of a surprize, had drawn themselves up close to the walls of *Anghiari*, which the more embolden-

ed *Picinino* to attack them, as thinking they were afraid.

assemble their troops, which were carelessly dispersed through the fields, or encamped without order or regularity. They got, however, under arms before *Picinino*, whose men were terribly fatigued by the heat and length of their march, could attack them. *Michalotti* commanded the van of the *Florentine* army, and marched down to dispute a bridge over which the enemy must pass. His promptness and presence of mind probably saved the *Florentine* army, because he held the enemy in play till the other generals drew up a line of infantry on each of his flanks. *Michalotti* repelled the first charge; but it was renewed with so much fury by *Picinino* in person, that *Michalotti* was driven from the bridge to the foot of the hill on which *Angiari* stands. But *Picinino*'s men, in the pursuit, were flanked by the *Florentine* infantry, who plied them from their cross-bows; so that *Picinino* was again driven back to the bridge, where the dispute continued very sharp for two hours; during which it had been lost and won several times by both parties: but *Picinino*'s men were obliged to advance thro' a defile, and could only act in front; a circumstance that gave victory to the *Florentines*. For the latter making a furious charge, drove the van of their enemies upon their center, and their center falling back on their rear, their whole army fell into disorder, and a total rout ensued, most of them flying towards *Borgo S. Sepolchro*. The *Florentines* were in much better condition than their enemies, who had not now strength for flying, and were taken prisoners almost without resistance, not above one thousand of them, and those too horse, with *Picinino* at their head, escaping to *Borgo*. The slaughter however, though the dispute lasted four hours, consisted but in one man, who fell from his horse, and was trod to death. The reasons why the victory was so bloodless, were first, the almost impenetrable armour in which the troops on both sides were cased; and, secondly, the avarice of the *Florentine* army, which was composed of mercenaries, who found their account in the ransom of the prisoners, and therefore they made as many as they could. Two thousand two hundred of the inhabitants of *Borgo S. Sepolchro*, were taken, and put to ransom; so that the booty made by the *Florentine* army, in men, horses, money, and baggage, was very considerable.

Bad discipline
of the Floren-
tines.

HAD the *Florentines* followed their blow, they might have taken *Borgo S. Sepolchro*, while *Picinino* was within it; but their avarice was such, that they refused to proceed on any other service till they had secured their booty and their prisoners in *Arezzo*, which they accordingly did, none of the *Florentine* generals and commanders having authority enough to stop them.

Death of Ri-
naldo.

PICININO laid hold of that opportunity to escape with the remains of his army from *Borgo*, and he was followed by all the *Florentine* exiles, who, seeing their hopes of returning to their country now at an end, dispersed themselves into different places and countries. *Rinaldo de Albizi* retired to *Ancona*, and from thence visited the sepulchre of *Jesus Christ* at *Jerusalem*. Upon his return from thence, he was so fortunate, says *Machiavel*, as to die on the least unhappy day of all his exile, which was that of his daughter's marriage.

War in the
Casantine,

UPON the return of the *Florentine* troops from *Arezzo*, they presented themselves before *Borgo*; the inhabitants of which offered to surrender upon terms, which were refused them by the *Florentines*. The legate of the Holy See, to whom the town belonged, apprehending that the *Florentines* intended to make it their own, interposed, and thereby prevented their designs. In the mean while the latter were at a loss to know the route that *Picinino* had taken, some affirming that he had gone to *Rome*, and others to *Ancona*. Upon this, the *Florentine* army divided itself. One party was appointed to march under *Bernardo de Medici* to *Perugia*, as the most proper station for succouring the dominions of his holiness, or of *Sforza*, should either of them be attacked. The other division was sent into the *Casantine* under the command of *Capponi*, who soon retook *Rassina*, *Bibienna*, *Prato*, *Vecchio*, and *Romena*. *Capponi* then laid siege to *Poppi*, where the count was. The place was strong, and might have made a vigorous defence, had it not disfurnished itself of all its provisions and necessaries to supply *Picinino*'s army. After the siege was formed, the count offered to capitulate; but so exasperated were the *Florentines* at his conduct, that he could obtain no terms, but the liberty of departing with his wife, children, and portable goods; and that he should leave the *Florentines* in possession of all his estates.

Is the advan-
tage of Flo-
rence.

THE count thought those terms extremely hard, and demanded a parley with *Capponi* upon a bridge over the *Arno*, which was granted him, and where he made a speech to move the conqueror's compassion, who rejected all his requests, and stuck by the terms that had been offered him (A). The count, with great indignation, submitted to his fate, and

(A) The reader may have some idea of the authenticity of the speeches he so often meets with in the *Italian* and the other historians of those times, when we inform him, that the speech put into the count of *Poppi*'s mouth on this occasion, by so great a man, and so able a writer as *Machiavel*, is an almost literal translation of

a and thus lost an estate which had been transmitted to him, from father to son, for four hundred years.

THE gaining of the battle of *Anghiari* did vast service to the *Florentines*, because it pre-
served their independency; but was of no farther prejudice to the duke of *Milan*, than The war con-
tinues in Tus-
cany. obliging him to ransom his soldiers, and remount his cavalry. The *Florentine* soldiery
were enriched by it, each man's booty and prisoners being his own property; but no ad-
vantage accrued thereby to the state. Thus, as *Machiavel** well observes, a general, or
a prince, had it always in his power to replace, with ready money, the arms and horses he
had lost, and in a very short time again to appear in the field as formidable as ever. The
consequence of this to the conquerors, as well as the conquered, was, that both were
b obliged to make fresh demands of money upon their subjects; the former to continue and
improve the advantages they had obtained; and the latter, to repair the losses they had
suffered.

PICININO, after his defeat at *Anghiari*, in a few weeks was stronger in the field than Danger of the
duke of Mi-
lan. he had been at the beginning of the campaign, and this gave a new turn to the affairs of
Lombardy. The duke of *Milan*, after his retreat to *Cremona*, was so pressed by *Sforza*, that
he was obliged to employ *Nicholas d'Este*, prince of *Ferrara*, to mediate a peace, not so
much with the *Venetians*, as with their general. *D'Este* accordingly repaired to *Peschiera*,
where *Sforza* then was, and laid before him the consequences of the duke of *Milan's* being
crushed by the *Venetians* and the *Florentines*, who, when they had obtained their ends of
c him, would disregard *Sforza*, and reduce him to their own terms. He then, in the duke's
name, offered to renew the treaty of marriage between his daughter and *Sforza*, and that
the young lady should be sent to *Ferrara*, where he might espouse her as soon as the peace
was finished.

SFORZA knew that a great deal of what the prince had said was true; but he was too A treaty of
peace. well acquainted with the duke to trust him. He declared, that he had been so often baffled
and disappointed in the marriage, that he could rely on no proposal of that kind: but that
if the duke would conclude a peace with the *Florentines* and the *Venetians*, who were equally
desirous of it as he was, he would conduct himself in that, and all other affairs, as his
friends should advise him. Notwithstanding this unpromising answer, *D'Este's* negotiation
d had great effects in the duke of *Milan's* favour. It revived the secret ambition *Sforza* had
always entertained of becoming one day duke of *Milan*, and made him act more coolly
against *Philip*. The *Venetians*, on the other hand, could not bear to see their general ne-
gociate a separate treaty with their enemy, and they grew backward in furnishing him with
supplies for the war; thus the time of action passed over without any thing remarkable
being done in the field in *Lombardy*; and *Picinino*, arriving there the beginning of winter,
all the armies retired into winter-quarters. *Sforza's* went into the *Veronese*, the duke of
Milan's into the *Cremonese*, that of *Florence* returned to *Tuscany*, and that of the pope into
the *Romagna*.

e It is hardly credible how averse the people of *Italy* still were to the temporal govern-
ment of the pope. The inhabitants of *Bologna* and *Forli* had submitted to *Picinino*, who Aversion of
the Italians
to the pope. had given his son the government of them. After the battle of *Anghiari*, his holiness at-
tempted to reduce them; but they were so bravely defended by young *Picinino*, that he
failed in his purpose. The inhabitants of *Ravenna*, however, alarmed at the neighbour-
hood of the pope's army, and dreading to fall again under his power, persuaded *Ostasio*
of *Polenta*, who was their lord, to consent to surrender their city and territory to the *Vene-
tians*, who, fearing that so noble a prize might be retaken from them, sent *Ostasio* and his
son prisoners to *Candia*, where they died. Neither were the *Florentines* wholly without
their indemnification for the expences they had sustained by the war; for his holiness found
his finances so exhausted, that he sold to them the town of *Borgo St. Sepolchro*, for the
f small consideration of twenty-five thousand ducats.

THE face of affairs was now changed in *Lombardy*. Upon the return of *Picinino*, the War renewed
in Lombardy duke of *Milan*, who had taken care to ransom all his soldiers who had been made prisoners
at the battle of *Anghiari*, soon remounted his cavalry, dropt all farther mention of peace,
and, though it was yet winter, he put *Picinino* in a condition to make a better figure in the
field than ever. The *Venetians*, on the other hand, intent upon new acquisitions, and still
jealous of *Sforza*, had neglected the war in *Lombardy*; and *Sforza* was obliged to go in per-
son to *Venice*, to concert with the senate the operations of the ensuing campaign. While he
was there, *Ciarpellone*, one of *Sforza's* best officers, entered into the duke of *Milan's* ser-
vice; and *Picinino*, passing the *Adda*, took possession of a large tract of country near *Brescia*,

* *MACHIAVEL*, book vi.

of the famous one which *Tacitus* says, was pronounced in chains before the tribunal of the emperor *Claudius*.
by the *British Caractacus*, when he appeared at *Rome*

and, at the same time, surprised and carried off two thousand of *Sforza's* horses. This news obliged *Sforza* to break off his conferences at *Venice*, but he first prevailed with the *Venetians* to recal their troops from *Tuscany*, and to give the command of them to his kinsman *Michalotti*. a

between
Sforza

By this time *Picinino* had returned to winter-quarters; but in the spring he besieged *Cignano*, a fortress about twelve miles from *Brescia*. *Sforza* marched to relieve it, and at the same time besieged *Martinengo*. Both generals, on this occasion, displayed all the art of war then in use; but the fortune of *Picinino* prevailed; for, leaving *Cignano*, he laid siege to *Bergamo*, while *Sforza* was before *Martinengo*, which was well provided for a defence; but *Picinino* gained a post which cut *Sforza* off from all his provisions, and was at the same time impregnable, so that *Sforza's* army was more effectually besieged than *Martinengo* was by him; and there was a probability that they must in a few days surrender prisoners of war. b

and *Picinino*.

Nothing can give us a better idea of the spirit of the mercenaries of that age than *Picinino's* conduct on this occasion. Having made such dispositions, that he thought it was impossible for *Sforza* and his army to escape, he sent to acquaint the duke of *Milan* that it was now in his (*Picinino's*) power, to make him master of *Lombardy*; but that, after serving him a long time in the field, he had not gained for himself so much earth as would bury him; that, as the victory was certain, so should the reward be, and therefore he demanded the city and territory of *Piacenza*, where he might repose himself after his labours. This insolent message induced the duke of *Milan*, in good earnest, to treat with *Sforza*. c He sent to him *Antonio Guido Buono* of *Fortona*, and offered instantly to conclude the marriage between him and his daughter, and to give in dower with her the city of *Cremona*, with other advantageous terms, both for him and the *Venetians*. These were readily embraced, and the treaty was privately agreed to by all parties. The duke of *Milan*, upon this, sent a positive order for *Picinino* to make a truce with *Sforza* for a year. *Picinino*, alarmed and confounded by this order, made such difficulties to obey it, that the duke was obliged to threaten to withdraw from him his protection, and to give him up either to his own soldiers, or his enemies. *Picinino*, thus finding the duke resolute, obeyed, but with the utmost reluctance; and *Sforza's* marriage with *Biancha*, the duke's daughter, was celebrated, and all the other terms of the peace complied with. d

Sforza
marries the
duke of *Mi-*
lan's daugh-
ter.

A.D. 1441.
Peace ratified.

In November 1441, the late treaty between the duke of *Milan*, the *Venetians*, and the *Florentines*, was ratified; and by that the *Venetians* gained *Peschiera*, *Asola*, and *Leonato*, fortresses in the *Mantuan*. But while peace was thus restored to *Lombardy*, a new war was kindled up in the kingdom of *Naples*, where *Alphonso*, who had prevailed over his antagonist *Regnier*, seized upon *Benevento*, and all *Sforza's* estates. Upon this *Regnier*, who still held the city of *Naples*, invited *Sforza* to join him, while *Alphonso* earnestly applied to his former ally the duke of *Milan*, to prevail with him to give *Sforza* such a diversion, as that he might be of no service to *Regnier*. The duke, notwithstanding the late peace concluded in *Lombardy*, entered into *Alphonso's* views, by prevailing with the pope to attempt to retake the estates which had been dismembered from the church's patrimony by *Sforza*. e Those estates were very considerable, and had again and again been confirmed to *Sforza* by the popes, though he made little account of their authority. Pope *Eugene*, encouraged by the duke of *Milan*, who offered to send *Picinino* and his army to his assistance, which he did, took the field, and began hostilities against *Sforza's* dominions in the marquisate of *Ancona*. *Sforza*, being thus obliged to march to the relief of his own dominions, *Alphonso* took *Naples*, and forced his competitor to take refuge at *Florence*, where he was kindly received, and from whence he went to *Marseilles*. *Picinino*, and the pope's troops, prevailing against *Sforza* in the marquisate, he was obliged to apply to the *Florentines* and the *Venetians* for assistance. *Annibal Bentivoglio* of *Bologna*, some time before this, had solicited assistance from the *Florentines* against *Picinino*, and they had favoured his request, so that they could not immediately return an answer to *Sforza*, who represented to them, that the liberties of all *Italy* were on the point of being swallowed up by three great powers; the duke of *Milan*, the pope, and the king of *Naples*. This consideration, and the success of *Bentivoglio* against *Picinino*, determined them to assist *Sforza*; but, if possible, without breaking with the duke of *Milan*, who had no farther concern in the war than to obtain the quiet possession of the kingdom of *Naples* for *Alphonso*, which was now effected. The *Florentines* therefore sent a deputation, frankly telling the duke that they intended to assist his son-in-law; but requesting him, at the same time, to renew his league with them. The duke not only readily agreed to this, but prevailed with *Alphonso* to desist from all hostilities in *Ancona*, and retire to *Naples*; while the *Florentines* furnished *Sforza* with the assistance he required. f

War in *Tus-*
cany,

which is in-
vaded by *Al-*
phonso.

It is certain, from the prodigious success of the *Florentines*, in dissipating or disappointing the powerful confederacies formed against them, that their internal government, for some

a some time, had been in able hands; but the pestilence, common to popular establishments, now broke out. *Neri di Capponi* became so popular, by his own great services to the state, and those of his father, who had reduced *Pisa*, that *Cosmo de Medici* grew jealous of him; not from any malevolence in his own nature, but because he well knew that two interests, of the same authority, could not long subsist in a popular state without one of them being ruined. *Baldaccio* of *Angbiari* was then general of the *Florentine* infantry; a man, who, in accomplishments, virtue, courage, and personal qualifications, was second to none in *Italy*. An intimate friendship, of the most laudable kind, subsisted between him and *Capponi*; and his credit with the troops was so great, that it was dangerous to proceed against him in the ordinary forms of justice, though his crimes were no other
b than his abilities and his popularity. *Capponi*'s enemies thought it necessary to humble him by taking off *Baldaccio*; and they had a most convenient tool for that purpose in *Orlandini*, the same who had so infamously betrayed the pass of *Maraddi* to *Picinino*, being then gonfalonier of the people. *Baldaccio*, before *Orlandini* was advanced to that high station, had often bitterly reproached him for his cowardly conduct; and his enemies improved *Orlandini*'s resentment, so as to make him resolve to assassinate *Baldaccio*. For this purpose, he engaged some ruffians, whom he concealed within his apartments in the palace; and *Baldaccio*, in a day or two after, coming to the piazza as usual, to treat upon some business, was ac-
cused by the gonfalonier, who artfully drew him towards his apartments, where he was
c death. His body was thrown out of one of the windows of the palace, and his head being cut off, was exposed a whole day to the people. *Machiavel*^a himself pays a just tribute of praise on this occasion to the memory of *Baldaccio*'s widow *Annaleria*, the mother of his only son, who refusing, after her husband's death, the most advantageous matches, associated herself with some noble matrons of her own principles, converted her house to a monastery, and there lived and died in holy retirement.

Assassination
of Baldaccio.

No internal commotion followed the infamous assassination of *Baldaccio*; so profound, at this time, was the veneration of the *Florentines* for their legal governors, whose ten years power was now almost expired. But in the year 1444 a new *Balia* was erected, which con-
d out of authority all whom they so much as suspected to be their enemies; some of whom they imprisoned, and banished others, every thing being now settled according to the mind of the governing party in *Florence*. They then applied themselves to foreign affairs. *Picinino*, though abandoned by *Alphonso*, and not countenanced by the duke of *Milan*, still continued the war in the *Romagna*; but was defeated by *Sforza*, through the assistance lent him by the *Florentines*, and obliged to take refuge in *Montecchio*. Here he fortified himself so effectually as to bid defiance to *Sforza*, who, knowing his active genius, applied to the duke of *Milan* to recal him. Before the duke came to a determination, *Picinino* had re-assembled his troops, and, by the assistance of *Alphonso* and the pope, took the field at the head of an army far superior to that of *Sforza*. Upon this the duke of *Milan* sent a
e message for *Picinino* to confer with him, which was so well received, that *Picinino*, leaving the command of his army to his son *Francis*, posted to *Milan*. *Sforza* did not omit that opportunity of attacking *Picinino*'s army, which he entirely defeated, and took *Francis* prisoner. *Picinino*, upon the news of this defeat, and his perceiving that he was deceived by
f the duke of *Milan*, died of heart-break in the year 1445. In him the hopes of the *Brachian* forces, between whom, and those of *Sforza*, all *Italy* had been so long divided, were ex-
tinguished. The scale of war had been long suspended between those two bodies of mercenaries, each of whom was headed by great men. The first *Sforza*, from a mean birth, came to be a considerable prince. *Brachio*'s birth was noble, as were his actions, in which he rivalled *Sforza*; but he died as a mercenary, and the same rivalry which had subsisted
between the first *Sforza* and *Brachio*, descended to the second *Sforza* and *Picinino*, the companion and inheritor of *Brachio*'s fortunes. It is however evident, that the genius of the younger *Sforza* had the ascendant over that of *Picinino*, who was a brave and an able commander, but defective in judgment every where but in action.

A. D. 1444.
New regulations in Florence.

Death of Picinino.
A. D. 1445.

UPON the death of *Picinino*, and the defeat of his forces, the pope, not daring to trust to the king of *Naples*, employed the *Florentines* to mediate a peace for him with *Sforza*; in which they succeeded, and by it *Oscimo*, *Recanati*, and *Fabriano*, a village equal to most cities, were yielded to the pope, and *Sforza* was continued in all his other possessions in the marquisate of *Ancona*: and thus the peace of *Italy* seemed to be for some time secured, when it was again disturbed by the *Bolognese*. *Annibal Bentivoglio*, who had driven *Picinino* out of *Bologna*, had formed a league between the *Bolognese*, the *Florentines*, and *Venezians*, at which the duke of *Milan* was secretly uneasy. *Battista Cannefchi*, the head of a powerful family in the *Bolognese*, and in alliance, but not in friendship, with that of *Bentivog-*

A peace concluded.

^a MACHIAVEL, book vi.

Affairs of
Bologna.

lio, knew that the duke of *Milan's* great ambition was to become master of that city; and *Battista* engaged to put him in possession of it, by dispatching his rival *Bentivoglio*, which he actually did on the twenty-fourth of *June*, 1445. He had been promised to be supported by the duke of *Milan*; and the *Venetian* and *Florentine* deputies then residing at *Bologna*, not knowing how far the conspiracy might extend, confined themselves to their own houses. The *Bolognese*, however, in general detesting the assassination of *Bentivoglio*, ran to arms, defeated the *Canneschi* family and party, drove them out of the city, and, dragging *Battista* from a corn-chest where he had concealed himself, put him to death, no succours from the duke of *Milan* having appeared. The *Bolognese* were now at a loss for a head. They adored the *Bentivoglio* family; but *Annibal* had left behind him only a son of six years old, and his relations began to quarrel amongst themselves about the government of the city. The count of *Poppi*, whom we have already mentioned, was then at *Bologna*; and, perceiving how the city was divided, he intimated to some of the leading men, that he could furnish them with a descendant from *Annibal Bentivoglio*, who could head them. Upon enquiry, he affirmed that *Hercules*, the son of *Annibal*, happening about twenty years before to be at *Poppi*, had begot a son called *Santi*, whose countenance resembled *Hercules* so much, that it was a sufficient proof of his original. He added, that *Hercules* had always acknowledged him to be his, though the mother, who was married, had educated him as the son of her husband, who was now dead, and whose name was *Agnolo Cascese*. The *Bolognese*, eagerly attached to the *Bentivoglio* family, eagerly embraced the proposal, and sent deputies to the *Florentines*, in whose possession the count's estates were, to send the young man, who was now about twenty years of age, to take upon him the administration of their affairs. The matter was referred to *Cosmo de Medici*, and *Neri di Capponi*; but they proceeded cautiously. The youth was then living with his reputed uncle *Antonio Cascese*, who being rich, and childless, intended to make him his heir; a prospect which the young man thought preferable to his promised greatness. Being sent for to appear before *Cosmo* and the *Bolognese* deputies, the latter no sooner saw him than they recognized and almost adored him; but still the youth seemed to be backward as to the proposal. At last, *Cosmo* taking him aside, talked to him, according to *Machiavel*, in the following terms. "None can in this case advise thee better than thyself, for thou art to make that choice which thou findest thy own soul inclinable to; and if thou be the son of *Hercules Bentivoglio*, thou wilt dispose thyself to actions worthy that house and family; but if thou be the son of *Agnolo Cascese*, thou wilt content thyself to stay in *Florence*, and follow his mean trade of dressing wool." Those words aroused the youth to ambition. He resigned himself entirely to *Cosmo* and *Capponi*, who persuaded the *Florentines* to furnish him with dress and equipages suiting the station to which he was called; and he set out for *Bologna*, where he received the charge of the *Bentivoglio* family, which he managed with so much prudence, that he lived with honour, and died in peace; a happiness denied to his ancestors.

Ciarpellone
put to death.

THE duke of *Milan*, after *Picinino's* death, being at a loss for a general to command his troops, treated with *Ciarpellone* before-mentioned, to whom he had given some possessions in the *Milanese*. *Sforza* had some notice of the negotiation; and when *Ciarpellone* applied for leave to repair to the *Milanese*, he laid him under arrest, and then put him to death. This incident was far from being displeasing to the *Florentines*, who were apprehensive of nothing more than they were of the good understanding between *Sforza* and the duke of *Milan*, who hearing the cause of *Ciarpellone's* death, resolved to be revenged upon *Sforza*, whose son-in-law was *Gismond Malatesta* lord of *Rimini*.

The duke of
Milan applies
to the king of
Naples.

THIS *Gismond* had pretensions upon *Pesaro* and *Urbino*; the first of which *Sforza* gave to his brother *Alexander*, and the other to *Frederick of Montefeltro*, *Gismond's* professed enemy. The duke of *Milan* sided with *Gismond*, and brought the pope and the king of *Naples* over to the same party: *Ancona* thereby became the seat of war; and the *Florentines* and *Venetians* favouring *Sforza*, he seized upon all *Gismond's* estates. On the other hand, the duke attempted to take from *Sforza*, *Cremona* and *Pontremoli*; but failed in both undertakings; the latter being defended by the *Florentines*, and the former by the *Venetians*. *Francis Picinino* was then general of the duke of *Milan's* army; but was totally defeated at *Casal* by *Michalotti* the *Venetian* general. The duke being then blind, aged, and infirm, the *Venetians* pushed their conquests beyond the *Adda* to the very gates of *Milan*. Upon this the duke applied for assistance to the king of *Naples*, who could send him no troops without their fighting their way through the *Florentine* territories, and those of *Sforza*.

Sforza joins
the duke of
Milan.

THE reader is not to imagine, amidst all those complications of affairs, either enmity or friendship had the smallest share. Both of them were produced by interest; and the balance of power in *Italy*, was the great aim for which all parties either negotiated or fought. No sooner were the *Venetians* victorious, than *Sforza* grew jealous of their greatness, and

- a began to listen to terms with his father-in-law, who, in the most moving manner, solicited his friendship. *Sforza* was the more disposed to this, as he perceived the *Venetians* began now to trust to their own power, and were slow in supplying him with money. The *Florentines*, from the like motives, were equally backward; but it must be acknowledged that *Sforza* on this, and indeed on most other occasions, behaved like an able politician. He knew that the great aim of the *Venetians* was to deprive him of his succession to *Milan*; but, though the duke offered to make him general of all his forces, provided he would leave the service of *Venice*, and compromise affairs with the pope, he kept himself undetermined. The *Venetians*, sensible how extremely advantageous the duke's offers were to *Sforza*, reminded him of the obligations he lay under to them for preserving *Cremona*, and
- b promised to him *Milan* if they should conquer it, together with the perpetual command of their armies, if he would continue the war and obstruct the march of the *Neapolitan* forces to *Lombardy*. *Sforza*, after long deliberation on a choice so difficult in its own nature to determine, thought that the *Venetian* offers were too extravagant to be sincere; and that, if he was successful, he must take the law from them. He therefore hesitated upon his answer; and the *Venetians*, afraid that he would determine himself in favour of the duke, attempted to surprise *Cremona*, but were baffled by *Sforza's* garrison; upon which he immediately resolved to take part with his father-in-law.

- SFORZA* at that time lay at *Cotignola*, and was preparing to march to his father-in-law's assistance when he heard of his death, which happened on the last day of *August*, 1457. *quo dies.*
- c This news threw him into infinite perplexities. Through the backwardness of the *Venetians*, he was greatly in arrears to his troops, who he was afraid would mutiny. He could not trust to the *Florentines*, whom he knew to be strictly allied with the *Venetians*, now his declared enemies. He could expect little assistance from the reigning pope, who was *Nicholas V.* because he was in possession of great part of the church's patrimony; and the king of *Naples* had always professed himself to be his implacable adversary. He therefore wisely resolved to depend on his own courage and fortune. He instantly marched into the *Bolognese*, passed by *Modena* and *Reggio*, and offered his service to the *Milanese* to defend them against the *Venetians*. The state of *Milan* was then greatly divided. Some were for *Sforza's* converting their government into a republic, resembling that of *Florence*; some were for *submitting* to *Alphonso*, king of *Naples*; and some for receiving *Sforza* for their master; while others inclined to the *Venetians*. Those differences were not unfavourable to *Sforza's* views: he repaired to *Cremona*, and there he received deputies from the *Milanese*, who offered to make him general of their troops upon the terms he had concluded with the late duke, and to give him *Brescia* and *Verona*, as soon as he could conquer the latter. Pope *Nicholas*, upon his accession to the popedom, with a view of making a general peace in *Italy*, had proposed to the *Florentine* deputies a congress at *Ferrara*, to which all the princes and states of *Italy* should send plenipotentiaries. This was agreed to by the *Florentines*, and their ambassadors, with those from *Venice* and *Milan*, repaired to it; but the king of *Naples* stood out. He had advanced as far as *Tivoli* to the assistance of the late duke, and
- d threatened to force his way through the *Florentine* territories. Notwithstanding this, the congress at *Ferrara* still went on; and, after many debates, it was agreed, that the duke of *Milan* should make his choice either of a perpetual peace, or a truce for five years; but the deputies, who were to carry him the option, found him dead. *A congress at Ferrara.*

- NOTWITHSTANDING this, the regency of *Milan* would have stood to the agreement; but *Lodi* and *Piacenza*, two places of great importance, having submitted to the *Venetians* after the duke's death, the latter thought that all the *Milanese* would follow their example, and that they either would force or persuade the rest of the late duke's subjects to submit to them. They were the more encouraged in this, because the *Florentines*, whom they knew to be extremely jealous of the ballance of power in *Italy*, had at this time sufficient employment in opposing *Alphonso's* passage through their state. He had already made himself master, by a conspiracy, of the castle of *Cennima*, in the upper vale of *Arno*; which alarmed the *Florentines* so much, that they immediately appointed their ten field-deputies, and made preparations for war with so much vigour, that *Alphonso* marched into the *Siennese*, in hopes to bring that city to join him. The inhabitants, however, were so faithful to their attachments to *Florence*, that all he could obtain from them was some provision for his army, which they durst not refuse him. By this time the *Florentines* had an army on foot, and had retaken *Cennima*. *Alphonso*, upon that, took several forts in the *Volterranean*; and from thence he marched to the *Pisan* territories, and made himself master of some places, by the favour of the counts of *Ghirardesca*; but he failed in his design upon *Campegli*, the winter being far advanced, and the place making a strong resistance; so that, after throwing garrisons into the places he had taken, he went into winter-quarters in the *Siennese*. *Progress of Alphonso.*
- f
- g

HE was no sooner retired than the *Florentines* took the field, in the depth of a most bitter winter. Their generals were *Frederic* lord of *Urbino*, and *Gismond Malatesta*; and some

Siege of Piombino,

which is raised.

Progress of Sforza.

The Florentines assist the Venetians.

differences, that subsisted between them, being reconciled by the prudence of *Capponi* and *Bernardo de Medici*, they not only retook all the towns the *Florentines* had lost in the territories of *Pisa* and *Volterra*, but straitened the *Neapolitans* in their quarters. Spring coming on, both armies received reinforcements; though that of *Alphonso*, consisting of fifteen thousand men, was by far the strongest. The *Florentines* marched to *Spadaletto*, and the *Neapolitans* to *Campegli*, but, turning suddenly off, they besieged *Piombino*, a place of the utmost importance both to *Florence* and *Pisa*. This laid the *Florentines* under great difficulties: they armed four vessels which they had at *Leghorn*, and sent them to *Piombino*, with three hundred men on board; while the main body of their army took post at *Caldacce*, from whence they could harraßs the besiegers. While they were in this station, they suffered great distress for want of provisions, especially wine; while they perceived that their enemy's army had plenty of every thing brought them by sea. They attempted to supply themselves in the same manner: but their ships were intercepted by *Alphonso's* gallies, and two of them taken, while the others were obliged to put back. This disappointment raised a kind of mutiny in the *Florentine* army, so that many of them deserted to *Alphonso*; and even those that remained refused to serve longer in a place where they were exposed to parching heats, without either wine or wholesome water to drink. This obliged the generals to move their camp. But *Alphonso's* army, though plentifully supplied with provisions, began now to be infected with pestilential diseases, and a treaty of peace was set on foot. The terms demanded by *Alphonso* were, that he should be paid fifty thousand ducats for the expence of the war, and be put in possession of *Piombino*. The *Florentines* were so tired of the war, that they were inclinable to have accepted of those terms; when *Capponi*, arriving at the army, persuaded them to reject them, and to indemnify the lord of *Piombino* for the vigorous defence the place had made, which the *Florentines* unanimously agreed to do. When *Alphonso* heard of this resolution, he found himself under the necessity of shamefully raising the siege, after losing two thousand men before the place; and he retreated first to *Sienna*, and from thence to his own country, menacing to return next spring, and to be revenged for the affronts and injuries he had received. In the mean while, *Sforza* brought over to his views young *Picinino*; and taking the field, he marched against *Pavia*. The inhabitants were in no condition to resist him; but had a strong aversion to the *Milanese* government, and therefore offered to give up their city to *Sforza*, provided he did not subject them to the *Milanese*. He would gladly have embraced their offer, and have performed the condition; but he had some measures still to keep with the *Milanese*; and a new power, that of the duke of *Savoy*, now started up in *Italy*, and threatened an alteration in her political system. By accepting of the government of *Pavia*, he was afraid of exasperating the *Milanese*, so as to make them throw themselves under the protection or government of the *Venetians*; and if he did not accept of it, there was a party within the place ready to give it up to the duke of *Savoy*. He thought, however, the consequence of accepting was preferable to that of refusing it. He accordingly took possession of *Pavia*, for which he apologized to the *Milanese* by urging, that it was much safer for them that he should have it, than either the *Venetians* or the duke of *Savoy*. This excuse would not have satisfied the *Milanese*, had they not been beset with other difficulties, and secretly detested the *Venetians*. They seemed therefore to take all that *Sforza* had done in good part, and he continued to head their troops.

CHARLES of *Orleans*, nephew to the late duke of *Milan* by his sister, was a pretender, in right of blood, to that duchy, and he was abetted by the duke of *Savoy* and the *Genoese*; but his pretensions were soon quieted by *Sforza*, who was employed against him; while the *Venetians*, supported by a strong party amongst the *Milanese* themselves, carried on the war with great advantage, being still masters of *Lodi* and *Piacenza*. *Sforza*, with great difficulty, retook *Piacenza*; and had the *Venetians* been willing to have given up *Lodi*, a peace must have ensued: so much did they smart under the burden of the war, and so jealous they were of their general, whom they were obliged to trust. They sent him orders to besiege *Caravaggio*, which, against his inclination, he obeyed; and the *Venetians*, in attempting to raise the siege, received the greatest defeat they had ever sustained, not above one thousand of their horse, out of twelve thousand, escaping. After this, *Sforza*, who, according to *Machiavel**, behaved with great magnanimity, marched into the *Brescian* territory, within two miles of that city.

THE *Venetians*, after their defeat at *Caravaggio*, and collecting the broken remains of their troops, perceived that their surest resource lay in the *Florentines*. All they aimed at, was to be in a condition to make a tolerable peace; which they soon effected by the fresh levies they made, and the assistance of two thousand horse and one thousand foot sent them by the *Florentines*, who were now unmolested by *Alphonso*. Their view was to make a se-

a parate peace with *Sforza*, to render him the more odious to the *Milanese*. *Sforza*, on the other hand, knowing on what terms he stood with the latter, readily came into the proposal. A treaty was concluded, by which *Sforza* agreed to return to the *Venetians* all the plunder, prisoners, and places, that had been taken from them in the course of the war; while they were to assist him with twenty-five thousand florins a month, four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, till he had conquered *Milan*. The news of this treaty arriving at that city, reduced the *Milanese* to such despair, that they sent ambassadors, not to treat with *Sforza*, but to revile and upbraid him with his conduct. This they did in the most bitter manner, denouncing the heaviest imprecations upon him and his posterity for his treachery and ingratitude towards their state. *Sforza* heard them without any apparent emotion, and re-
b criminated upon them the charge of ingratitude, appealing to heaven for the rectitude of his conduct. The deputies leaving him, *Sforza* immediately advanced with his army to *Milan*, which was defended by the inhabitants under *Francis* and *Jacob*, the two sons of *Picinino*, from their hereditary hatred to *Sforza*. The *Milanese* hoped to defend themselves till *Sforza* and the *Venetians* should quarrel, an event by no means improbable. *Sforza*, on the other hand, to keep the *Venetians* firm to his interest, relinquished to them the fine city of *Crema*, situated on the river *Serchio* in the *Crema*so, if they could conquer it; and having subdued all the *Milanese* to the gates of that capital, he formally besieged it.

THE inhabitants, finding that they must submit, made an attempt upon the humanity *A peace.* of the *Venetians*, whom they conjured, by all the bonds of liberty and ancient friendship, not to give them up to a tyrant, whose ambition was insatiable, and which, if successful, would prove a scourge to *Venice* itself. The *Venetians* were then pressing the siege of *Crema*, which they resolved to make themselves masters of, before they gave the *Milanese* an explicit answer. They however privately promised them assistance; and having taken *Crema* while *Sforza*'s soldiers were plundering the suburbs of *Milan*, they then openly declared their intention to make peace with the *Milanese*, which they soon did, by promising to defend *Milan* in the possession of its newly acquired liberty. They next intimated the peace they had made to *Sforza*, and ordered their troops under him to withdraw from his army, allowing him twenty days to come to a resolution upon his being included in the peace or not. *Sforza*, though he had long foreseen it, was shocked at this agreement. He kept the
c *Venetian* deputies for two days about his person, without returning them any answer; but at last he pretended a readiness to accede to the peace, and nominated ambassadors to repair to *Milan*, and ratify it. He gave them, however, secret instructions to raise quibbles and difficulties, in order to gain time, and not to ratify it at all. We are now to return to the affairs of *Florence*, which, in the subsequent part of the history, could not have been understood, without relating what had happened in *Lombardy*.

THOUGH *Florence* at this time was neutral in the disputes between the *Venetians* and the *Milanese*, yet it was the scene of great intrigue and action. The *Turks* were then so powerful, that they threatened the extinction of the *Greek* empire; the head of which, *John Paleologus*, had promised to submit to the *Latin* church, provided the western powers would assist him against the infidels. Though this offer was highly against the sentiments both of his
c clergy and his people, yet the glory of converting a *Greek* emperor was too important a circumstance for the pope to disregard. The council of *Basil*, who declared itself superior to the pope, had voted money and ships for bringing the emperor over to that city, where they intended to settle the reconciliation. The pope was then at *Florence*; but he had his emissaries at *Basil*, who surreptitiously voted, that the emperor should be received at *Florence* or *Ferrara*, to which last city the pope had adjourned the assembly. They even broke open the box where the seals of the council lay, and affixed them to this impudent forgery, which they had reduced into the form of a decree. The pope's galleys, being ready before those of the council, repaired to *Constantinople*, with money sufficient for the expences
f of the emperor; and there they took him on board, with his patriarch, and a few of his clergy, who were willing, for conveniency, to follow his example. The pope received them at *Ferrara*, where, after a few ridiculous disputes, they were reconciled to the *Roman* church; but neither the emperor nor his clergy kissed the toe of his holiness, or in the least descended from the dignity of their characters.

Arrival of the Greek emperor in Italy.

FROM *Ferrara* the pope adjourned the council to *Florence*, as being a nobler scene for his triumph, and there the reconciliation was to be fully and finally completed. According to *Arctin*, no fewer than five hundred *Greeks* were then at *Florence*; amongst whom, besides the emperor and the patriarch, were the emperor's brother, many archbishops and bishops, and other persons of the highest distinction and learning. Every thing succeeded as the pope, who was a man of great temper as well as abilities, proposed. The *Greek* ecclesiastics
g embraced the opinion of purgatory; and the emperor, the patriarch, and the other prelates, subscribed to the supremacy of the *Roman* church.

SCARCELY was this great transaction finished, when the state of affairs in *Lombardy* fell

Disputes between Cosmo and Capponi.

under the consideration of the *Florentines*, and revived the factions in their city. The temporizing conduct of *Sforza*, who made a truce for a month with the *Milanese*, and had withdrawn his troops, deceived both them and the *Venetians*. The former, no longer oppressed by his army, grew indolent and unguarded; and the *Venetians*, thinking peace as good as concluded, gave over all preparations for continuing the war. *Sforza* improved this breathing time to his own purposes. During it, he recruited and refreshed his army, and applied to the *Florentines* for assistance. His chief reliance was on *Cosmo de Medici*, who had always proved himself his friend, and in his greatest difficulties had supplied him out of his private purse; but when *Cosmo* proposed to the magistracy that *Sforza* should be supported, he met with great opposition, *Neri di Capponi* was at the head of a powerful party who declared for assisting the *Milanese* to the utmost in preserving their liberty; and that it was for the interest of *Florence* that *Italy* should be divided into as many small states as possible. They added, that, if either *Sforza* or the *Venetians* should acquire the mastery of *Milan*, *Florence* would then have too powerful a neighbour; but that, separately, each might be a useful ally.

COSMO's party thought that *Capponi* urged those reasons, however specious and indeed solid they might be, against *Sforza*, only because he was *Cosmo*'s friend. This rendered the latter more vigorous in defence of his opinion: he urged, that the *Milanese* were so over-run with faction, and were so imperfect in their ideas of civil government, that, if left to themselves, they would soon forfeit their liberty; and that *Sforza* was an ally far preferable to the *Venetians*; that it was more probable that *Milan* would yield to him than to the *Venetians*, because he had within it a strong party, and they none; and that the *Florentines*, by their indecision, might forfeit his favour.

Those debates, managed by two citizens of such eminence and abilities as *Cosmo* and *Capponi* were, kept *Florence* for some time in suspense; and at last the magistracy came to a resolution, favouring of the policy of the times, which was to send deputies to *Sforza*, who, if they found him powerful and prevalent, were to agree to grant him all his demands; if otherwise, to accuse him with delays and difficulties. But, by this time, both *Sforza* and the *Venetians* had taken the field. Though it was still winter, the *Venetians* had advanced to the banks of the *Adda*; from whence they sent agents to *Milan*, with mighty promises of success against *Sforza*, if the inhabitants could be prevailed upon to hold out for a little time. The eldest *Picinino* was now dead, and the command of the *Milanese* garrison devolved upon his brother *Jacob*; and, during the winter, *Sforza* had several skirmishes with the *Venetians*, who were hated by *Pandolfo Malatesta*. After many deliberations, whether *Milan* should be relieved by hazarding a battle, or by the *Venetians* keeping the posts where they were, by which they greatly straitened *Sforza*'s army, now in want of forage and provisions, *Pandolfo*'s opinion prevailed for the latter, and the rather because the greater the necessities to which the *Milanese* were driven, they would the more readily submit to the *Venetians*.

Siege of
Milan.

BUT necessity, on this occasion, cut asunder the lines of policy. In proportion as *Sforza* himself was straitened, he straitened the inhabitants of *Milan*, till multitudes died of mere want in their streets, and discontent and murmurs filled the whole city. Two persons, who had entered into a discourse about the public miseries, being overheard by others who joined them, as they were by others, till the company grew great, and their clamours outrageous. They then chose one *Jasper* of *Vicomariato* for their leader, broke into the palace of their magistrates, where they put to death all who did not save themselves by flight, and tore in pieces *Leonard Vinetto*, the *Venetian* ambassador, whom they looked upon as the main spring of all their miseries. They next began to consider how they were to proceed. Some were for submitting to the *French* king, some to the king of *Naples*, and some to the duke of *Savoy*; but so inveterate they were against *Sforza*, that none mentioned him. At last *Jasper*, who had gained great authority over the assembly, finding them irreconcilably undetermined amongst themselves, proposed *Sforza* to be the master of *Milan*. He proved to his fellow citizens that their present condition was such, that it could admit of no uncertainties or delays; that though *Sforza* had been their enemy, yet he was a brave man, and the most likely person in the world to protect them; and that he had been forced by the faithfulness and injustice of the *Venetians*, and the other states of *Italy*, to do all that he had done against them. In short, that as it was now evident they must part with their liberty, they could not chuse a better master. This speech was received with wonderful applause, and the assembly were more unanimous in making *Sforza* their master, than they had been in declaring him their enemy. *Jasper* was then sent their ambassador to give him the invitation; and *Milan*, on the 26th of *February*, 1450, with the utmost joy and magnificence, received *Sforza* as its master.

State of
Italy.

THIS news reaching *Florence*, couriers were dispatched after the deputies, now on their road to *Sforza*'s camp, with orders not to treat with him, but to congratulate him upon his accession to the sovereignty of *Milan*. *Sforza* received the *Florentine* ambassadors with demonstrations of the most cordial friendship, as coming from the only people in *Italy* on

- a whom he could rely as his natural allies. Thus *Italy* was divided into two parties; the one consisting of the *Neapolitans* and the *Venetians*, and the other of the *Florentines* and the *Milanese*. *Alphonso* and the *Venetians* entered into a formal league, by which it was agreed, that he should fall upon the *Florentines*, and they upon the *Milanese*. To give some colour of justice to this proceeding, both *Alphonso* and the *Venetians*, who had leagues still subsisting with the *Florentines*, sent ambassadors to *Florence* to declare that their league was purely defensive; and yet the *Venetians* entered complaints which they thought might justify their acting offensively. They accused the *Florentines* of having given passage to *Alexander*, *Sforza's* brother, with his troops into *Lombardy*; and that they had been the means of *Sforza's* reconciliation with the marquis of *Mantua*.
- b COSMO de Medici was, by the *Florentine* senate or magistracy, appointed to answer their complaints. He did this by putting the *Venetian* ambassadors in mind of the vast acquisitions of power and territory their republic had made by the assistance of *Florence*; that the matters they complained of were trifles; and that, in all events, the *Venetians* might find their enmity as prejudicial to them, as their friendship had proved advantageous. With this answer the ambassadors departed; but *Sforza* and the *Florentines* knowing their own danger, entered into fresh engagements with each other, and prepared for the worst. The engagements between *Alphonso* and the *Venetians* soon began to unfold themselves, by all the subjects of *Florence* being banished, without any reason given, out of the territories of *Naples* and *Venice*. Immediately after this, the *Venetians* collected together all the exiles of *Bologna*, which still continued to be governed by *Santi Bentivoglio*, the firm friend of the *Florentines*. Their design was to introduce those exiles, and a body of troops by the common sewers, in which they succeeded so far, that they never were discovered till they were in the heart of the city. *Santi* was awakened out of his sleep with an alarm that the rebels were in possession of *Bologna*. He was advised to save himself by flight, as the city was thought to be irrecoverably lost; but he bravely faced danger, put himself at the head of his friends and the well affectioned citizens, defeated the conspirators, drove them out of the city, and by his valour fully proved himself to be of the *Bentivoglio* blood.
- c THE *Florentines* considered this attempt upon *Bologna* as being aimed against them; and prepared for war by levying new troops, and creating the council of ten field deputies. Before they proceeded to action they sent deputies to *Rome*, *Naples*, *Venice*, *Milan*, and *Sienna*, which last state of late had linked itself with the *Venetians*, to justify their conduct, and to complain of the late attempt upon *Bologna*. The pope was too deeply engaged in controversies with the council of *Basil*, to take any part in the quarrel, farther than by giving the deputies good words. *Alphonso*, who by this time secretly thought the *Venetians* were becoming too powerful, invented excuses for having banished the *Florentines* out of his dominions, and offered passports to all those who chose to return: but, notwithstanding this fair language, the deputies could easily see that he harboured resentment in his heart against their country. The *Venetians*, who in reality at that juncture aspired to the sovereignty of all *Lombardy*, excused themselves, on account of their engagements with *Alphonso*, from admitting the *Florentine* deputies into their territories; and they went so far in their enmity to the *Florentines*, as to solicit the emperor of *Constantinople* to prohibit their trading in his dominions; but he rejected their request. The *Siennese* gave the *Florentine* deputies a courteous reception, because their allies were not yet prepared to support them.
- d THE implacable spirit the *Venetians* discovered against the *Florentines*, served but to strengthen the connections of the latter with *Sforza*, who brought the *Genoese* into their alliance, and compromised all ancient differences between them and the *Florentines*. Soon after, the *French* king became a party in the same league; and his accession to it was proclaimed by the *Florentines* and their allies with great pomp, throughout all their dominions.
- e THE *Florentines*, thus encouraged and strengthened, refused to admit the *Venetian* ambassadors into *Florence*, where they intended, in conjunction with *Alphonso's* minister, to justify the conduct of their respective masters; and *Alphonso's* ambassador refused to go by himself. In the mean time *Frederick III.* emperor of *Germany*, arrived in *Italy*. His business there was to receive the crown of *Lombardy* from the pope, and to meet *Eleanora*, the daughter of the king of *Portugal*, who had been espoused to him in marriage, and who arriving at *Pisa* was conducted to *Sienna*. As to the emperor himself, various are the reports concerning his journey. Some say he was so poorly attended, that he was attacked and robbed by the banditti, and scarcely escaped with his life; while others pretend^a that he travelled with great magnificence. The latter is most probable, as *Machiavel*^b tells us,
- f that on the 30th of *January*, 1451, he entered *Florence*, attended by four hundred horse, and stayed till the 6th of *February*, receiving from the senate all the honours due to his high station. We know of no particular affairs he transacted in *Florence*. *Sforza's* establish-
- g

Alliances between the Florentines and Sforza.

The Florentines enter into war with the king of Naples.

The king of France and the Genoese join the Florentines.

The emperor comes to Italy.

^a HEISS'S Hist. of Germany.

^b MACHIAVEL, book vi.

ment in *Milan* was but yet new, nor was he well affected to the emperor; so that the latter durst not venture to repair to *Milan*, to receive what is called the iron crown, by which the *Germanic* emperors were crowned kings of *Lombardy*. The pope however crowned him at *Rome*; and in the following *May* he and his empress returned to *Florence*, where he was received with the same honours as before; and during this journey, he made *Borgi d'Este*, marquis of *Ferrara*, duke of *Modena* and *Reggio*, as a reward for his services in persuading the people to grant him the tutelage of young *Ladislavus*, king of *Bohemia*.

A. D. 1452.
Sforza of
Sforza.

Much of this year, and the beginning of 1452, was spent by the *Florentines*, as well as the *Venetians* and the other powers concerned, in forming alliances, or making preparations for the ensuing war. In the month of *May* the *Venetians*, and their ally the marquis of *Montferrat*, entered the *Milanese* at the same time; the former with fourteen thousand horse and six thousand foot by the way of *Lodi*, and the latter by that of *Alessandria*. *Sforza* was not wanting to himself: his army consisted of eighteen thousand horse and three thousand foot; and having thrown strong garrisons into *Alessandria* and *Lodi*, he carried the war into the enemies country by destroying *Bresciano*, and taking many inconsiderable places, tho' without forming any important siege: but the marquis of *Montferrat* was defeated near *Alessandria* by *Sforza's* troops.

The Neapolitans invade
Tuscany, but
are baffled.

ABOUT the time that the war in *Lombardy* was renewed, the *Neapolitans* invaded *Tuscany* with twelve thousand men, commanded by *Ferdinand*, eldest son to *Alphonso*, and *Fredrick* of *Urbino*. *Machiavel* gives us the most contemptible idea of this expedition. The operations of the invaders began by the siege of *Foiana* (perhaps the modern *Vecognano*) in the vale of *Chiana*; the only defence of which was a pitiful castle and a very weak wall, the whole garrison being no more than two hundred men. *Ferdinand*, favoured by the *Siennese*, through whose country he marched, besieged this place with all his army, thirty-six days before he could take it. The *Florentines* made use of this time to strengthen their garrisons and reinforce their army, whilst the *Neapolitans* marched further into the vale of *Chiana*, where they were baffled in all the sieges they attempted before castles and towns, which in the days of *Machiavel* were, for their weakness, deemed to be untenable, and therefore slighted. The *Florentines* at that time had on foot an army of eight thousand men, under *Asterra* of *Faenza* and *Gismond Malatesta*; but perceiving their enemies to be so awkward and unexperienced in the field, they kept upon the defensive, knowing well that their chief towns were in no danger, and that their enemies must waste themselves in their idle attempts. *Ferdinand* at last laid siege to *Castelma*, which lies in the vale of *Chiana*, within ten miles of *Siena*; but though it was a very inconsiderable place by art and nature, he was obliged, after laying forty-six days before it, shamefully to abandon the siege. *Ferdinand*, however, all this time sent out parties, which scoured the open country within six miles of *Florence*, but were unable to take the smallest town.

WHILE the siege of *Castelma* was carrying on, the *Neapolitans* had brought up a squadron of about twenty galleys, carrying some land troops, which lay off *Pisa*, and surprized the town of *Vada* in the *Volterrana*, situated at the mouth of the river *Cecina*, whence they annoyed the neighbouring country; but they were soon confined within their walls and ships by some troops which the *Florentines* sent against them. The inactivity of this campaign is some proof that *Alphonso* was irresolute as to the part he had to act, and that his jealousy of the *Venetians* encreased. Hitherto the *Florentines* seemed rather to sport with, than to be terrified by his arms; but in the spring of the year 1453, they thought it was high time to retake the places they had lost. Being reinforced with two hundred horse under *Alexander Sforza*, brother to the duke of *Milan*, they besieged and retook *Foiano*, and with some difficulty re-peopled it, having been abandoned by its former inhabitants. The town of *Vada* was likewise regained by the *Florentines*, after being set fire to and deserted by the *Neapolitans*, who now behaved like robbers rather than soldiers, subsisting by plunder and violence, without daring to face their enemies in the field.

Their attempt
on the vale
of Bagno dis-
appointed.

THEIR sovereign *Alphonso* perceiving how little he gained from the *Florentines* by force of arms, now tried that of money. The vale of *Bagno* had been subject to the *Florentines* many years, and the lord of it, *Gerardo Garribatorti*, had always served in their armies. His castle, which was called *Corzano*, and estate, lay convenient for making incursions into the *Casentini* and the valley of *Tevere*; and *Alphonso* tampered with him to give them up to him in exchange for an estate in the kingdom of *Naples*, to which *Gerardo* agreed. The *Florentines* had some intimation of the negotiation, and sent a messenger, who taxed *Gerardo* with it; but he not only solemnly disclaimed it, but, pretending that he himself was indisposed, sent his son to *Florence* as a pledge of his fidelity, of which the *Florentines* seemed now to be quite satisfied. In the mean while the bargain being finished between *Alphonso* and *Gerardo*, the former sent one *Puccio*, a knight of *Jerusalem*, with some troops, who took possession of all the vale of *Bagno*, excepting the castle of *Corzano*, greatly against the inclination of the inhabitants. A brave young *Pisan*, one *Antonio Gualandi*, was with

a *Gerardo* when *Puccio* came to take possession of the castle; and *Gerardo* going to the gate to admit him, *Autonio*, who detested his treachery, thrust him out of the gate, which he locked, and took upon himself the command of the garrison, who declared for the *Florentines*. The news of this spirited well timed action flying abroad, the people of *Bagno* had the courage to take up arms under the *Florentine* standards, and drove the *Neapolitans* out of their country; *Gerardo* himself escaped with difficulty, but left his wife, family, and effects, in the hands of the *Florentines*, who imprisoned his son the hostage, and sent troops into the country, who took possession of all *Gerardo's* estate.

b THE pope was too wise a man, and too intent upon securing, or rather regaining, his own power at *Rome*, to concern himself in the wars either of *Tuscany* or *Lombardy*. His dominion, and that of his clergy, was at that time detested by the *Romans*; and a hair-brained enthusiast had almost expelled them out of *Rome*. His name was *Stephen Porcari*, a man of family and learning; but his head being turned by reading poets, especially *Petrarch*, whom he believed to be divinely inspired, and that in one of his sonnets he had pointed him out as the deliverer of *Italy*, he began to affect many particularities in his living and dress, which coming to the pope's ears, made him conclude that the man's brain was affected, and therefore he committed him to the custody of the governor of *Bologna*, not under strict confinement, but with orders that no day should pass without *Stephen* appearing before him. This restraint served but to render *Stephen* the more expeditious and assiduous in his great design. He often went and returned from *Bologna* to *Rome*, where he concerted matters with his friends with such expedition, that the governor always saw him once a day; till, thinking his design was ripe for execution, he invited all the heads of them to a supper at *Rome*, and appearing amongst them in a most sumptuous habit, he laid down the plan for executing the conspiracy next day, by seizing the papal palace, calling the people to arms, and delivering *Rome* from the tyranny of the pope and his ecclesiastics. The assembly, however, were in the mean while in the papal toils; all of them were that very night seized, and *Stephen*, and the principal conspirators, put to death.

A conspiracy against the pope defeated.

c THO' *Alphonso's* invasion of *Tuscany* had done no great damage to the *Florentines*, yet it had obliged them to keep up an army at a great expence, of which they sought to ease themselves. For this purpose they sent *Agnolo Acciaiuolo* as their ambassador to the court of *France*, to engage *Regnier*, commonly called *René of Anjou*, who, as we have seen, had a great claim upon the crown of *Naples*, to come to *Italy*, and assert the same by joining the *Florentines* and the duke of *Milan*. *Regnier* listened to the proposal; and it was agreed, that the *Florentines* should pay him thirty thousand florins ready money, and ten thousand florins a month, upon his entering *Lombardy* at the head of two thousand four hundred horse, against the *Venetians*: but when *Regnier* was ready to march, the duke of *Savoy* and the marquis of *Montferrat*, allies to the *Venetians*, gave him to understand, that if he proceeded they would oppose his passage, which *Regnier* was in no condition to force. Upon this, by *Acciaiuolo's* advice, he put part of his troops on board transports which carried them to *Lombardy*; and the king of *France* dealt so effectually with the duke of *Savoy*, that the rest went by land. *Regnier*, who now took upon himself the title of king of *Naples*, was received with great marks of respect by *Sforza*, and the *French* and *Milanesé* troops joining, they recovered from the *Venetians* all that they had taken in the *Cremonese*, with a great part of the *Bresciano*, and obliged the *Venetian* army to retire under the walls of *Brescia* itself. The winter then coming on, both armies went into quarters.

Regnier of Anjou comes to Italy.

f BEFORE the spring the politics of the court of *France* took an unexpected turn; and when the duke of *Milan* prepared to take the field, and to finish the conquest of the *Bresciano*, *Regnier*, who had wintered at *Piacenza*, informed the duke that he was obliged to return to *France*; nor could *Sforza's* personal application and intreaties detain him. The truth is, *Regnier* had been drawn into *Italy* by the *Florentines*, without any intention to serve the duke of *Milan* (to whose dominions another prince of the blood royal of *France* laid claim) farther than as he was connected with the *Florentines*. The latter, on the other hand, never had any design of aggrandizing *Sforza* farther than was consistent with the ballance of power they wished to maintain in *Italy*, which they thought had been sufficiently established by his late successes. They were therefore under no concern at *Regnier's* departure, especially as they had nothing now to apprehend from *Alphonso*. All that *Regnier* could be prevailed on to do, was to leave part of his troops in *Lombardy*, and to promise to end his son *John* to command in his place. This young prince accordingly came to *Lombardy*, but he resided at *Florence*, where he met with an honourable reception.

and returns.

g THE system of public power all over Christendom, but in *Italy* especially, now received a great alteration. The *Greek* empire was little benefited by its emperor and patriarch submitting to the supremacy of the western church. This submission was so hateful at *Constantinople*, that it was there commonly said, that they had rather see in their churches a turban than a cardinal's hat. The emperor however, still hoping to be assisted by the western princes, conformed to the *Roman* ritual, and was publickly attended by *Isidore* a *Roman* car-

The reconciliation of the Greek with the Latin church.

cardinal. But all the assistance he received from *Italy* consisted of four *Genoese* ships, one of which was furnished by the emperor *Frederick III.* so that the great city of *Constantinople* fell into the hands of the infidels, and the emperor lost his life in defending it.

THE princes and states of *Italy* could not with indifference see such an accession of power to the *Othmans*. *Constantinople* was then reckoned the first city in the world, and the infidels were strong enough at sea fully to avail themselves of all the advantages of its situation. Their fleets had already made great depredations on the subjects of the pope and *Venice*, and it was every day expected they would invade *Italy*. The pope was incessantly exhorting the *Italian* princes and states to reflect upon their own danger; and indeed the state of their affairs favoured his admonitions. The duke of *Milan* being deprived of the assistance of *France*, sought to apply himself to the regulation of his own dominions. The *Venetians* had more than any other power to fear from the *Turks*. The *Florentines* had attained all they aimed at; and though *Alphonso* still held out, yet it was plain that he must yield at last. At the pope's earnest request, all the powers at war sent their ministers to a congress at *Rome*. Great altercations happened between the duke of *Milan* and the *Venetians*: the former insisted upon their giving up to him *Bergamo*, *Brescia*, and *Crema*; and they, that he should yield to them *Cremona*. Those differences which were thought insuperable at *Rome*, were accommodated in *Lombardy*. On the 6th of April, 1454, a peace was concluded between *Sforza* and the *Venetians*, by which each was to be restored to the towns and lands they had possessed before the war, and the duke was left at liberty to recover all that had been taken from him by the duke of *Savoy*, the marquis of *Montferrat*, or their allies. The pope, the *Florentines*, the *Siennese*, and other *Tuscan* states, immediately acceded to this treaty, which was followed by a triple alliance, to be in force twenty-five years, between the *Florentines*, *Sforza*, and the *Venetians*. *Alphonso* thought himself ill used both by his allies and his enemies, and not being considered as a principal in this treaty; but his obstinacy was at last overcome by the solicitations of the pope, and by a double marriage of his son and daughter with those of *Sforza*; so that he acceded to the peace, reserving however to himself a liberty of making war upon the *Genoese*, *Gismond Malatesta*, and *Asterra* of *Faenza*. After this he recalled his troops under *Ferdinand* out of *Tuscany*.

A peace concluded.

A. D. 1455.

Picinino renews the war.

IT soon appeared that *Alphonso* was far from being sincerely disposed to the continuance of the peace. *Jacob Picinino*, who was in the *Venetian* service, was now dismissed from it; and *Lombardy*, the *Romagna*, and *Tuscany*, were filled with officers and soldiers, who had no employment. This led them, as usual, to associate amongst themselves; and they chose for their leader *Jacob Picinino*, who, in right of his father, had many family claims both in *Tuscany* and the *Romagna*. Having assembled a small army, which *Alphonso* privately assisted him in doing, he marched into the *Siennese*, where he took many strong towns, and threatened *Sienna* itself. Pope *Nicholas* was now dead, and was succeeded by *Calixtus III.* a zealous active pontiff, who gave orders to his general, *Giovanni Ventimiglia*, to join his forces with those of the *Florentines*, and to march against *Picinino*. They accordingly engaged him near *Bolsena*, where *Ventimiglia* was taken prisoner; but *Picinino* was entirely defeated, and fled to *Castiglione*, where he must have been obliged to surrender himself prisoner, had he not been supported by *Alphonso*. As *Picinino* was considered by the other *Italian* states to be little better than a free-booter, *Alphonso's* abetting him was highly reprobated by them; and that king, to regain their favour, brought *Picinino* to restore to the *Siennese* all their towns for twenty thousand florins, and then to retire to *Naples*.

A crusade published.

THE progress of the *Turks*, and the detestation in which they were held, bade fair at this time, to revive the spirit of crusading in *Europe*. The pope filled all the Christian courts with his nuncios, legates, preachers, and other ministers, to awaken them to a sense of their danger; and they were no where more successful than in *Florence*. There the chief citizens liberally contributed by their purses, and in their persons, towards an expedition against the infidels; and many of them even wore the sign of the cross, which had not for many years been seen in *Europe*, as a proof that they designed to take upon themselves the crusade. Public processions were every day seen in their streets, and their pulpits resounded with the merits of the expedition, and the mighty rewards that would attend, in this and the next life, those who should enter into it. This fervour, however, soon came to cool, and at last wholly subsided, upon some slight advantages gained by the Christians over the infidels on the side of *Hungary*.

A hurricane.

FLORENCE was in profound tranquillity in the year 1456, when, on the 26th of August, *Tuscany* was visited with one of the most dreadful hurricanes mentioned in history. Castles and churches were unroofed, and the roofs carried to a mile's distance: the most stubborn oaks were torn up by the roots and tossed about. In other places, houses and churches were levelled to the ground; men and beasts were buried under the ruins, and all the elements seemed conspiring to return to a chaos. *Machiavel* however observes, that

a this hurricane moved in a particular line of direction, and did not affect any of the great cities, where the consequences must have been still much more fatal. But we shall now, after a long interval, return to the internal affairs of *Florence*.

THAT city and state had been for some years under an excellent direction, while *Cosmo de Medici* and *Neri di Capponi* acted with unanimity in the public councils. *Capponi's* services to his country had gained him more friends to his virtue, than followers to his person; while the liberality, the beneficence, and affability of *Cosmo*, gave him as many followers as he had friends. The conduct of both in the state was irreproachable, their judgments equal, and each supporting the other, the government was firm and unshaken. Sometimes, it is true, they differed, as in the case of *Sforza*; but this difference arose from the natural severity of the one, and the opposite character of the other; nor did it proceed to any rancour of party. *Cosmo*, however, lived long enough to be sensible that he was mistaken in his opinion of *Sforza*, whose mind was formed more for ambition than friendship. *Cosmo* had been over lavish in assisting him; and it was owing to him that he was now duke of *Milan*. In their hours of intimacy together, *Cosmo* had secretly opened his heart to *Sforza*, and told him, that his great ambition was to be the means of putting *Lucca* one day in the possession of the *Florentines*; and *Sforza* solemnly promised to assist him in the attempt as soon as he became master of *Milan*. This promise greatly influenced *Cosmo* in supporting *Sforza's* interest; but the matter for a time was kept private, and when *Cosmo* called for *Sforza*, when he was duke of *Milan*, to perform his engagements, he was answered with sorry excuses and affected delays.

CAPPONI's death occasioned a great abatement of *Cosmo's* interest. Divisions went so far, that it was proposed to discontinue the *Balia*, or the extraordinary powers, by which the city had been governed under *Cosmo* and *Capponi*, and to return to the old method of imborfations, and filling up the chief posts by lot. Secret ambition was at the bottom of this proposal; for many who had all along appeared attached to *Cosmo*, seeing him now deprived of *Capponi's* assistance, and that it was unlikely he should be succeeded by a son of equal authority and virtue with himself, thought that a proper time to lay the foundations of their own greatness. *Cosmo* perceived their drift; and though he might easily, by force, have seized upon the government, yet he chose to shew them their own insignificance, by suffering their plan to take place, which it did, especially as he knew that few or none but his own friends would be returned by the imborfations; so that he was safe in all events.

THE other party made the experiment, but they soon perceived they had mistaken their measures. Popular elections being restored, put the meanest inhabitants, in that respect, on a footing with the highest. *Cosmo's* pretended friends, instead of being treated as they had formerly been, with reverence and respect, met now with the most bitter insults and reproaches in all public places, though none of them were returned by the imborfations as persons fit to serve the commonwealth, but those of his party. *Cosmo* had foreseen this; and the great men who restored the popular system, now saw plainly that, instead of diminishing his authority, they had ruined their own: so firmly was *Cosmo* rivetted in the affections of his fellow citizens; but he wisely dissembled all that had happened, and his secret enemies had themselves only to blame.

COSMO being now well assured, that no revolution of state, or form of government, could affect him, gave way to the re-establishment of the tax catasto, which subjected all imposts to the law, and not to the discretion of any man, or set of men. This political self-denial had great effects in his favour; for the law being passed, and the commissioners for executing it appointed, all the great nobility and citizens repaired in a body to *Cosmo*, intreating him to deliver himself, as well as them, from the tyranny of the people. *Cosmo* seemed very willing to agree to their request, provided the imposts could be regularly repealed, and a new *Balia* take place without force, and with the consent of the people. The great men attempted this in vain, and renewed their applications to *Cosmo*, who gave them a flat denial; and thus shewed how insignificant the aristocratical power was, while he, who was at the head of that aristocracy, was upon good terms with the people.

DONATO COCHI was then gonfalonier of justice, and would have gratified the demands of the great citizens, had not the other magistrates, who were intirely in *Cosmo's* interest, treated him with such taunts and reproaches as drove him mad; and he actually was confined as a lunatic. He was, by the connivance of *Cosmo*, succeeded by *Luca Pitti*, who, being bold and enterprising, raised himself upon the dissensions of his country, as we shall have occasion to observe in the course of this history.

WE have already seen, that *Alphonso* king of *Naples*, when he acceded to the late pacification, reserved to himself a liberty of carrying on war with certain powers. He employed *Jacob Piccinino*, though with little or no success, against *Gismond Malatesta*; but he directed the chief force of his kingdom against the *Genoese*. *Fregosa* was then doge or duke of

of *Genoa*, which was torn into so many factions within itself, that, despairing to make head against *Alphonso*, he offered the sovereignty of that republic to *Charles* king of *France*, who accepted the offer, and gave the government of the city to *John*, the son of *Regnier* of *Anjou*, *Alphonso's* rival in the crown of *Naples*. *John* accordingly took possession of *Genoa*, with a view of carrying his arms from thence into *Naples*. This was an event unforeseen by *Alphonso*, whose fleet then lay at *Capo Fino*, where he himself died, leaving his dominions to his son *Ferdinand*, who afterwards proved one of the greatest princes of that or any other age. He came to his crown, however, under great difficulties. He was engaged in a doubtful and unpromising war with the *Genoese*; and he knew that great numbers of his chief nobility were in the interest of *France*. The pope openly pretended, that the kingdom of *Naples* belonged to the *Roman* see, and that he intended to annex it to the church's patrimony, and to give the government of it to his nephew, *Peter Lodowic Borgia*. Surrounded with so many difficulties, *Ferdinand* had no resource so natural as in *Sforza* duke of *Milan*, who knew that the *French* laid claim to his dominions, and therefore thought it his interest above all things to exclude them from *Italy*. To him *Ferdinand* applied, and received from him all kind of encouragement. In the mean while pope *Calixtus* died, and with him fell all his family's towering projects. He was succeeded by the famous *Aeneas Sylvius*, a *Siennese*, of the house of *Piccolomini*, who took the name of *Pius II.* and, by his writings, had been a great advocate for the council of *Basil* against the pope; though he afterwards retracted that doctrine. He affected to govern by maxims different from those of his predecessor, who had ventured to lay *Ferdinand* under ecclesiastical censures, and had declared him a bastard. He disclaimed all thoughts of annexing the kingdom of *Naples* to the see of *Rome*, or of favouring the *French* claim upon that kingdom. He pretended to have no passion but for the good of *Christendom* and the church; and having bestowed the crown of *Naples* upon *Ferdinand*, the latter in return gave his natural daughter in marriage to *Antonio*, nephew, as he was called, to his holiness, created him prince of *Malphi*, and restored *Benevento* and *Terracina* to the church.

Genoa possessed by John of Anjou.

A. D. 1459.

THE dissensions of *Genoa* interrupted the internal tranquility of *Italy*, where every thing again seemed disposed towards a general crusade against the Infidels. *John* of *Anjou* was still in possession of that city; but *Peter Fregosa*, the late doge, who was the cause of his advancement, not thinking his services sufficiently repaid, had retired to a castle of his own, where he first broke off all communication with *John*, and then came to open war with him. *Fregosa* was supported by *Ferdinand*; and *John*, having received some reinforcements from *France*, marched to dispossess him of his castle; but *Fregosa* was so well prepared to receive him, that he failed in his attempt, and retired to *Genoa*. Soon after *Fregosa*, in the night-time, entered the extensive fortifications of that city, where he made himself master of some posts; but next day, being surrounded by *John's* troops, he, and almost all his followers, were put to the sword. *John*, elated with success, in the year 1459 equipped a considerable fleet, with which he made a descent upon the kingdom of *Naples*, where his party was very strong, and he was received as king by many princes and states.

JOHN king of *Arragon*, brother to the late king *Alphonso*, seeing his nephew *Ferdinand's* crown in danger, sent ambassadors to *Florence*, requiring them to assist *Ferdinand*, in terms of their treaty with his father. To this request the *Florentines* answered, that they did not conceive themselves obliged to assist the son in a war which had been entailed upon him by the father, who had begun it without their consent or advice. This resolute answer threw the ambassadors into great perplexities; so that, after entering several protests and instruments, they left the city in a rage. The truth is, the *Florentines* thought it more for their interest, that *Genoa* should be in the hands of the *French*, than in those of the *Spaniards*.

His progress in Naples.

FERDINAND, the more effectually to oppose *John*, made peace with *Gismond Malatesta*; upon which *Jacob Picinino*, the sworn enemy of the *Malatesta* family, left his service, and entered into that of *John*. *Ferdinand*, however, raised a good army, and gave the command of it to *Frederick Urbino*; but coming to a general engagement near the river *Sarno*, it was entirely defeated by *John*, and most of his best officers were taken prisoners. *Jacob Picinino* advised *John* instantly to follow his blow, and to march against *Naples*, which still remained faithful to *Ferdinand*. But he impolitically rejected this advice, and proceeded to reduce places and towns of less importance, saying, that *Naples* must of course fall to him. In the mean while, *Ferdinand* having strengthened himself in his capital, to which all the great men of his party likewise repaired, applied to the pope, and to the duke of *Milan*, for assistance in men and money, which both of them liberally gave him. He then again took the field, and was recovering some of the places he had lost, when he was favoured by a fresh revolution in *Genoa*.

a THAT inconstant city took an opportunity, in *John's* absence, to throw off the *French* yoke, by the assistance and instigation of the duke of *Milan*, who reconciled together the families of *Adorni* and *Fregosa*, and supplied them with troops and money. The *French* sent a fleet to *Genoa*, under *Regnier* of *Anjou*, *John's* father, to make good his party; but, while his forces were landing, he was defeated, and obliged to return to *France*. This misfortune served to render *John* the more intent on the conquest of *Naples*; but he was entirely defeated by *Ferdinand*, and obliged likewise to return to *France*.

LUCA PITTI still remained gonfalonier of *Florence*, where *Cosmo*, partly out of disgust, *Diffractions in Florence.* and partly because he was now old and infirm, concerned himself very little in public business. *Luca*, being a bold enterprising magistrate, attempted to revive the *Balia*, or high commission, that had been abolished upon *Capponi's* death: but not succeeding, he brought troops into the city, and forced the people to agree to all he demanded. He then proceeded to humble his chief opponents, amongst whom was *Girolamo Machiavel*, whom he banished, and who, after wandering up and down *Italy*, exciting its princes and states to revenge his quarrel, was at last sent prisoner to *Florence*, where he died under confinement. *Pitti*, by this time, had succeeded to all *Cosmo's* power in the state; but he was intemperate in the use of it. He ordered the name of president of the trades, or artists, to be exchanged for that of president of liberty; and instead of sitting, as the gonfaloniers used to do, on the right hand of the magistrates, he took place in the middle of them, as being their superior. He even carried his insolence so far as to claim the sanction of heaven for what he did, and ordered public processions and thanksgivings to be made for the restoration of his country's liberty. The presents he received from the wealthy citizens, are said to have amounted in one year to twenty thousand ducats, and his magnificence was answerable. He built two sumptuous palaces; one within a mile of the city, the other within it. The latter, which, to this day, is called the palace of *Pitti*, is one of the most stupendous piles in *Europe*. It became afterwards the residence of the great dukes of *Tuscany*, and still attracts the admiration of foreigners. To carry on those fabrics, *Pitti* neglected no means that his high station put in his reach; and assassins, thieves, and robbers were pardoned, on condition of their assisting to build it. Though *Pitti's* rapaciousness was applied to noble purposes, yet it set the most detestable example to his inferiors, who plundered their inferiors, as he did them. Notwithstanding this, *Florence* was become the admiration of the world for riches and magnificence, especially in buildings, by keeping itself neutral in all the dissensions of *Italy*, particularly between the *Malatesta* family, and the pope, who endeavoured to deprive them of *Rimini* and *Cesena*. Thus, for several years, the *Florentines* applied themselves entirely to the cultivation of the civil arts, and nothing else remarkable is recorded of them.

In the year 1464 died *Cosmo de Medici*, who, though the private subject of a republic, A. D. 1464. had more riches than any king in *Europe*, and laid out more money in works of taste, magnificence, learning, and charity, than all the kings, princes, and states of that, the preceding, or the subsequent age, those of his own family excepted. The riches he was possessed of would appear incredible, did not the monuments of his magnificence still remain, and did not his contemporaries give us unquestionable testimonies both of them and his liberality. They were such, that we are tempted to believe that he and his family knew of some channels of commerce, that have been lost probably by the discovery of *America*, and the frequency of the *East-Indian* commerce by sea, to which the *Europeans*, in his time, were almost strangers. He lent vast sums of money to the public, the payment of which he never required; and there scarcely was a citizen in *Florence* whom he did not, at one time or other, assist with money, without the smallest expectation of its being returned. His religious foundations were prodigious. He founded the convents and churches of *St. Mark* and *St. Laurence*, the rich monastery of *S. Verdiano*, the church of *Girolamo*, the abbey belonging to it in the mountains of *Fiesole*, the church of the *Friars Minors* in *Mugelli*, with the abbeys of the *Servi Agnoli* and *S. Minuato*. Not contented with having founded so many religious edifices, he endowed them likewise with rich furniture, magnificent altars, and chapels. His private buildings were equally sumptuous. His palace in *Florence* exceeded that of any sovereign prince in his time: and he had other palaces at *Correggio*, *Fiesole*, *Casagivolo*, and *Febrio*. His munificence even reached *Jerusalem*, where he erected a noble hospital for poor distressed pilgrims. *Death and character of Cosmo.*

In those works of more than royal expence, he might have been equalled by men equally rich; but his deportment and manner was unexampled. In his private conversation he was humble, unaffected, unassuming. Every thing regarding his own person was plain, modest, and nothing differing from the middling rank of citizens; thereby giving a proof at once, of his virtue and his wisdom, because nothing is more dangerous in a commonwealth, such as *Florence* was, than pomp and parade. The expences of *Cosmo* were laid out for the embellishments of his country, and begot no envy, because all his fellow-citizens partook.

His love of
learning.

and patri-
otism.

partook of them. He declined ostentation, even in his family-settlements. He matched his two sons, *John* and *Peter*, into families of reputable citizens; and he married his grand-daughters in the same manner. *Cosmo*, however, with all that simplicity of life, had towering bold notions of his country's dignity and interest. His intelligence was beyond that of any prince, and there scarcely was a court in *Europe* where he did not entertain a private agent. By this means, he always had it in his power to disappoint, perplex, and confound the intrigues of his country's enemies. His long continuance in power, for thirty-one years, is a proof of his great abilities; and his so often disappointing and countermining the formidable confederacies and leagues which brought *Florence*, more than once, apparently to the brink of destruction, gives us the highest idea of his dexterity and management in the greatest undertakings. According to *Machiavel*^a, his wealth and credit were so extensive, that he forced the *Venetians*, the duke of *Milan*, and the king of *Naples*, into his own terms, merely by distressing them for money. After being recalled to his country, the short exile he suffered served to make him appear with the greater lustre, and to establish his influence in the commonwealth, whose dominions he increased, by adding to them *Borgo di Sepolchro*, *Montidoglio*, *Casentino*, and *Valdibagna*. The former part of his life, to his fortieth year, was tumultuous, and may be said to have been unfortunate, being sometimes obliged to save his life by flying in disguise from his enemies. But the noble spirit he shewed in making all his friends partakers of his riches and good fortune, at last fixed his felicity. His presence is said to have been venerable, though his stature was mean; and, by the pictures we have of him, his features were strong and harsh. He is not celebrated for learning, though he was the greatest patron of learned men of his age. By his own purse, he hired several learned *Greeks* to reside in *Florence*, and thereby revived the study of that tongue, and consequently of those arts that have rendered *Italy*, and that city in particular, so celebrated ever since his time. He entertained the famous *Marsilius Ficinus* about his own person, assigned him apartments near his own palace of *Coreggio*, that he might study with the more freedom and conveniency. He has been reproached with implacability towards his enemies, and for having driven a great many of his fellow citizens into exile; but it is easy to clear him from that charge, by considering the nature of parties in *Florence*, which left *Cosmo* no choice between the destruction of his enemies or his country. He never was known to regret but two things. First, that he had not done all the good he wished to do to mankind. Secondly, that he had not sufficiently aggrandized his country. Notwithstanding his many religious endowments, *Cosmo* was no bigot; for one of his usual sayings was, That a commonwealth was not to be defended by beads in men's hands. Towards the end of his life, some family misfortunes are said to have given him uneasiness; and he was ashamed of having been duped by *Sforza*, duke of *Milan*. But all reproaches on his memory are wiped off by the unanimous consent of his fellow-citizens, who inscribed his tomb with the title of "Father of his Country."

S E C T VIII.

Containing the History of Peter de Medici's Administration. The Venetians invade Tuscany; a Peace; Peter succeeded by his two Sons; their joint History; Conspiracy against them; Julio de Medici murdered. History of Florence under Lorenzo de Medici, and his Son Peter, who is ruined. New Model of the Florentine Government.

State of
Italy.

LEWIS XI. of *France* was at this time so employed in civil wars against his own nobility, that he could give little or no assistance to the duke of *Anjou*, in his claim either upon *Genoa*, or upon *Naples*. He therefore endeavoured to gain the friendship both of *Sforza* and *Ferdinand*, by suffering the latter to remain unmolested in his kingdom, and by enabling the former to become master of *Genoa*, which was the great object of his ambition. *Sforza* succeeded in his attempt, and sent his son *Galeazzo* at the head of fifteen hundred horse to the assistance of *Lewis*. The alliance between *Ferdinand* and *Sforza* was productive of great revolutions in *Italy*. *Jacob Picinino* was still formidable, though he had no territory. The reputation of his family, and his own valour and courage, had attached many to his service; and neither *Sforza* nor *Ferdinand* thought themselves in safety, while he continued in a state of independence on both, and yet always ready to hire himself to the best

^a MACHIAVEL, book vii.

- a paymaster. *Ferdinand*, therefore, having compromised matters with his great nobility, and ruined the duke of *Anjou's* party in *Naples*, endeavoured to make them sensible of his and their danger from *Picinino*, who, being without dominions, and at the head of the old *Brachian* army, the irreconcilable enemies of *Naples*, would not fail to acquire territorial possessions at their expence. *Picinino*, whose troops lay at *Salmona*, foresaw or understood his danger; and not suspecting the secret connections that had been formed between *Ferdinand* and *Sforza*, he offered his service to the latter, and threw himself into *Milan* with no more than one hundred horse. *Sforza* received him with the greatest demonstrations of friendship, and *Picinino* was even married to his natural daughter. *Sforza*, however, could not without jealousy behold a soldier of fortune so popular, and so respected all over the *Milanese*, as *Picinino* was; and, under pretence of serving him, he undertook to reconcile him with *Ferdinand*, who actually took *Picinino* into his pay, and gave him one hundred thousand florins in advance. But after *Picinino*, with his wife and the *Milanese* ambassador, repaired to *Florence*, he and his son were decoyed by *Ferdinand* into the castle of *Naples*, and there put to death.

Picinino put to death.

FLORENCE, and all *Italy*, was at this time in peace, through the indefatigable pains of pope *Pius II.* in promoting a crusade against the infidels. *Matthew* king of *Hungary* and *Charles* duke of *Burgundy*, were by his holiness declared generals of the armaments that were to be employed in this expedition; the *Venetians* having promised the shipping that was necessary for transporting the troops to *Sclavonia*, and *Ancona* was appointed to be the place of general rendezvous, and the pope accordingly repaired to that city. The resort of people thither was prodigious; but the whole proved to be a rope of sand. No arms had been provided, no magazines had been erected, and no money raised for the troops; so that the great numbers assembled in or near *Ancona*, served only to create a famine. The king of *Hungary* and the duke of *Burgundy* neglected to appear at the rendezvous; and the *Venetians* sent only a few galleys, to make a shew of having kept their word. Those disappointments, and his own advanced age, being now sixty-four, threw the pope into a chagrin, which proved mortal in the year 1464; and he was succeeded by *Barbo*, a *Venetian*, who took the name of *Paul II.* Soon after died *Sforza*, duke of *Milan*, and he was succeeded by his son *Galeazzo*.

An unsuccessful crusade.

- d THOSE events produced great alterations in *Florence*. The expedition against the *Turks* was dropt at the death of pope *Pius*; and the death of *Sforza* dissolved the union, in which the dread of his power had confirmed the *Florentines*. To add to the public distractions, *Peter de Medici*, son and successor to the great *Cosmo*, was far inferior to his father in abilities, though he was a well meaning man, and might have made a great figure in another station. *Diotisalvi Neroni* had been the intimate companion and counsellor of *Cosmo de Medici*, who, upon his death bed, recommended him in the same capacity to his son *Peter*. The latter, in strict obedience to his father's will, admitted *Diotisalvi* into his most private councils, and consulted him not only upon the management of the commonwealth, but upon his family affairs, which, it seems, then stood in need of œconomy. As *Peter* was e possessed of a great estate, he ordered his stewards, and all he had concerns with, to send in their accounts to *Diotisalvi*, on whom he relied so implicitly, that he looked very little into his own affairs. This gave the other a hint, that it might be easy to supplant *Peter* in his authority and power; and, after pretending to have examined the accounts laid before him, he told *Peter*, that the ready money he was in possession of was not sufficient for supporting his figure, and maintaining his credit in the state, without calling in his father's debts. *Peter* inadvertently followed this plausible advice, and *Cosmo's* debtors were accordingly required to pay what they owed to his estate. This had not been foreseen or expected; and as there scarcely was a family or man of note in *Florence* to whom *Cosmo* had not lent money, *Peter*, by his demands, acquired a vast number of enemies, who upbraided him for deviating from his father's principles, and for oppressing his fellow-citizens by his avarice.

Peter of Medici betrayed.

- f WHEN the reader reflects, that the power of the *Medici* in *Florence* was rather personal than constitutional, and that it rested in a great measure upon private attachments to the family, he will not be surprised at the effect of so general a clamour, which was increased by the then state of parties in the republic. *Luca Pitti*, whom we have already mentioned, continued still to be possessed of great power in the state; but *Diotisalvi* knew, that, now *Cosmo* was dead, his abilities would appear insufficient for supporting his ambition, which was to succeed *Cosmo* in the intire direction of affairs. *Agnolo Acciaivoli* and *Niccolo Soderini* were two other citizens of great weight and authority, but both of them secret enemies to the house of *Medici*. *Soderini* thought their power was unconstitutional, and inconsistent g with public liberty. The enmity of *Acciaivoli* was personal, and arose from the following grounds. His son *Rafael* had married *Alessandra*, of the *Bardi* family, with a large fortune; but family discontents arising, one of her friends, by force of arms, took her from her husband and his family, who complained of this violence; and the matter was referred to the

Reflection upon his power.

He grows un-
popular.

decision of *Cosmo de Medici*. His sentence was, That the lady's fortune should be restored to her and her family, and that she should be intirely at her own disposal. *Acciaiuoli* resented this determination, and resolved to be revenged on *Peter*, though he could not upon *Cosmo*. All those citizens disguised their private sentiments under plausible pretexts. They exclaimed against the monopoly of power in one family; and that it was necessary to restore the constitution to its first principles, by restoring the magistrates to their regular functions in the government. The numerous bankruptcies, which happened by *Peter's* demands, soon increased this spirit of discontent, which was crowned by a treaty of marriage entered into by *Peter* between his son *Lorenzo* and a *Roman* lady of the noble family of *Orsini*. This match corresponded so little with his father's principles, that *Peter* was publicly reviled as being ambitious and arrogant, in not marrying his son into a *Florentine* family. b

Public exhibi-
tions.

NOTWITHSTANDING all those murmurings and discontents, the *Medici* family had still a vast sway in *Florence*; and, *Cosmo* being now dead a year, it was thought proper to exhibit some public shews, that might divert the minds of the people from state-affairs. The *Florentines* were excessively fond of such exhibitions; one of which represented the three kings of the East, following the star of our Saviour's nativity to *Bethlehem*, and was performed with such pomp and magnificence as employed all *Florence* five months in preparing it. This exhibition was succeeded by jousts and tournaments, in which the *Florentine* youth challenged those of all *Italy*; but *Lorenzo de Medici*, the eldest son of *Peter*, bore the praise of address and valour from them all. c

Peter takes
part with the
duke of Mi-
lan.

THOSE shews being over, the public discontents revived. The authority of the *balia* was near expired; and a great party was for discontinuing it, and putting the government upon its ancient foundation. But other difficulties now occurred. *Galeazzo*, the young duke of *Milan*, demanded that the subsidy paid by the *Florentines* to his father should be continued to him. This was strongly opposed by a great party, who thought that *Galeazzo* did not deserve the same consideration his father had done; and that the payment of the subsidy ought to cease at the latter's death. *Peter de Medici* was of a very different opinion. He reproached the other party with avarice and ill-timed frugality; and urged, that the liberty of *Florence* must be ruined by the *Venetians*, if she should separate herself from the duke of *Milan*, whose youth and inexperience would render him an easy prey to that republic. The people, in general, did not relish *Peter's* reasoning; and his enemies now held private meetings, and subscribed to associations for his ruin. But when they came to deliberate upon particulars, *Peter's* enemies could agree in nothing. The wisest and most public-spirited part of them were for immediately putting an end to the power of the *balia*, and for restoring the old form of government. They urged, that this must ruin *Peter's* power, without doing any injury to the peace of the public; and that any violent methods would give him great advantages, by affording him a specious pretext for arming himself and his party. They who were of the opposite opinion urged the danger of delays, and the folly of suffering *Peter* to live in a city where his interest was so powerful, and where he might make a bad use of it; and that the other opinion was more plausible than practicable. They added, that they never could have so favourable an opportunity, as then presented itself, for *Peter's* ruin; and that they ought immediately to take the marquis of *Ferrara* into their pay, to put themselves in arms, and to call a senate, which should finish the work. One *Niccolo Fiaino*, who was secretary to the meetings of *Peter's* enemies, suffered himself to be corrupted; and he made a full discovery to *Peter* of all his enemies, with their debates and practices against him. He was startled at seeing the power and numbers of his enemies, and had recourse to a counter-association, in which he succeeded so well, that he prevailed with great numbers to subscribe for him, though they had subscribed against him before. d e

Conspiracy a-
gainst Peter
discovered.

He retains his
power.

THE time for the choice of a new magistracy being now arrived, *Niccolo Soderini*, whom we have already mentioned, was chosen gonfalonier, with such unanimity and applause of his fellow-citizens, that he was crowned with an olive-garland, upon his exaltation to that dignity, as a sign they depended on him for restoring peace and liberty to the state. *Niccolo* had good intentions, and was bold and spirited; but his brother *Thomas* was a wiser man, and a determined friend to the house of *Medici*. He advised *Niccolo* to persevere in his design of restoring the old constitution of government, of making new impositions, and establishing a set of magistrates who should be at once friends to the peace and the liberties of their country. *Niccolo* attempted all this; but found it impracticable to be executed, through the opposition it met with from the violent party. The time of his magistracy therefore expired, without his doing any thing answerable to the high idea conceived of him. This inefficacy gave great advantages to *Peter*, whose party was now more united and strengthened than ever; and his enemies found it advisable to temporize for some months. Finding, however, that they lost ground every day, they resolved to make use of force, to kill *Peter*, who then lay sick at his house of *Coreggio*, and to invite the marquis of *Ferrara* with f g

a with his troops to their assistance. They then resolved to rush armed into the senate-house, and to oblige the members to come into their measures, by establishing such a magistracy as they should prescribe. *Diotisalvi* had a great hand in those resolutions; but disssembled so well, that he every day attended *Peter*, and gave him his advice, relating to public affairs, seemingly with great sincerity.

PETER had early and certain intelligence of all his enemies designs, and resolved to be beforehand with them. Summoning his friends, he put himself and them in arms; and declared, that he had received a letter from *Giovanni Bentivoglio* of *Bologna*, informing him, that the marquis of *Ferrara* was in full march, at the head of an army, against *Florence*. He then set out for that city, and, without his enemies suspecting his design, entered it. They immediately ran to arms likewise; but were inferior, both in numbers and appearance, to *Peter's* friends. *Diotisalvi*, in consternation, ran about, sometimes persuading the senators, and sometimes *Pitti*, to oblige *Peter* to lay down his arms. *Niccolo Soderini* put himself at the head of the common people of that quarter of the town where he lived, and repaired to *Pitti*, whom he strenuously exhorted to appear on horseback against *Peter*, and to encourage the senators to oppose him. But *Pitti*, who had been before this time brought over to the party of the *Medici*, was so far from following *Soderini's* advice, that he obliged him to return to his house, declaring, that his intention was to refer all matters in dispute to the senate, and that every man should lay aside his arms. This declaration of *Pitti* was of great service to *Peter*; and many, who had been the most forward against him, now appeared on his side. The senators still continued to be shut up in the palace, without coming to any determination; but an accommodation was now set on foot, and it was resolved, that a deputation should be sent to *Peter*, who remained indisposed at his house, to complain of the tumults in the city, which had been begun by his taking arms, and to know his meaning and reasons for so doing. *Peter's* answer was, that he had been constrained by the injustice of his enemies, and by their secret unwarrantable cabals against his life and dignity, to put himself in arms; that he had remained, ever since his re-entering *Florence*, upon the defensive, without stirring from his own house; that his enemies were mistaken, if they imagined he had any intention of reviving the power of the *balia*, or of depriving the magistrates of their authority; that neither he nor his father had ever had such intentions; and that it was not owing to them that the powers of the *balia* were continued. He then reproached them with ingratitude to *Cosmo*, and the family of the *Medici*; and with their not thinking themselves safe to live in the same city with him, who was the son of their greatest benefactor. He next addressed himself, in a more particular manner, to *Diotisalvi*, and others, who lay under the greatest obligations to his father and his family, in so spirited a manner, that it was with difficulty he restrained his friends from putting them to death. He concluded by declaring, that all he meant was to live in peace and security, and that he was ready to refer all matters in dispute to the senate.

The heads of the opposite party, however, were far from trusting to *Peter's* professions. *Niccolo Soderini*, after committing the care of his family to his brother, retired to his house in the country; and it was easy to see that the city was upon the eve of a new revolution. *Bernardo Lotti*, one of *Peter's* adversaries, was then gonfalonier; but upon the expiration of the time of his magistracy, he was succeeded, in 1464, by *Roberto Lioni*, who no sooner entered upon his office than he summoned the people, and created a new *balia* and magistracy, composed of *Peter's* friends.

UPON this, *Agnolo Acciaiuoli* fled to *Naples*; *Diotisalvi*, and *Niccolo Soderini* to *Venice*; *Giovanni Neroni*, archbishop of *Florence*, took refuge in *Rome*: and thus the whole faction, that had opposed the house of *Medici*, were dissipated and attainted; for all who fled were declared rebels. Those who had the courage to stay were put under confinement, and some were even put to death, while others underwent the rack. *Luca Pitti*, relying upon the connections he had formed with *Peter de Medici*, had the courage to remain in *Florence*; but fell from the height of popularity into the most abject contempt: all his friends were either ruined themselves, or had abandoned him, and none ventured to take any public notice of him. A stop was put to the magnificent edifices he had begun, and many now demanded restitution of the presents they had made him for carrying them on.

THE exiled *Florentines*, as usual, formed cabals and conspiracies for restoring themselves to their country. But *Agnolo Acciaiuoli*, before he entered upon any practices of that kind, sent an apology for his conduct in a letter to *Peter*; putting him in mind of his fidelity and sufferings for the house of *Medici*, and for *Cosmo* in particular. He declared at the same time, that he had no motive for opposing *Peter*, but the service of his country, which he was afraid might suffer, if *Peter*, who was in a bad state of health, should die. *Peter* answered this letter in a very sarcastical manner, and put *Acciaiuoli* in mind of the great rewards he had received for his services to his father; and concluded with the following expression, "If you have been rewarded for your merits, it is but just you should be punished for your offences. You never can plead the love of your coun-

and tale.
arms.

His enemies
baffled.

and banished.

Fall of Pitti.

Intrigues of
the exiles.

“ try as an excuse, as it is well known that the family of *Medici* have been as good friends
 “ as ever that of *Acciaivoli* were to *Florence*. Live therefore where you are in disgrace, as
 “ you knew not how to live here with honour.”

The Venetians declare
 against Florence,

THIS remarkable letter breathes the spirit of those times, and shews the rancour of the two factions against one another. *Acciaivoli*, finding his application defeated, went to *Rome*, where many of the other exiles resided, and did all they could to blast the credit of the house of *Medici* there; but to no purpose. *Diotisalvi* and *Niccolo Soderini*, on the other hand, applied to *Giovanni Francisco* of *Ferrara*, the son of *Palla Strozzi*, who had been banished from *Florence* in 1438, and brought him to join with them in soliciting the doge and senate of *Venice*, in assisting them to drive the *Medicean* faction out of *Florence*. They put the *Venetians* in mind, that all the losses they had sustained in *Lombardy* were owing to *Cosmo de Medici*; and they represented *Peter* and his party as a treacherous bloody set of men, who had usurped the government of their country, and had banished, or put to death, her best friends and patriots; and they concluded with imploring the compassion of a state which enjoyed its liberty, in favour of one that was enslaved. Those arguments were so well received by the *Venetians*, that they ordered their general *Bartolomeo Coglione* to invade the *Florentine* territories, and to join his troops with those of the duke of *Ferrara*, under *Ercole d'Este*.

and invade
 Tuscany.

It appears that the *Florentines* did not expect this invasion. *Peter de Medici*, and his friends, had celebrated days of solemn thanksgiving for the preservation of the state, and the re-union of their government; but they had taken no measures for warding off the blow that now fell upon them. The combined army having entered the *Florentine* territories, committed great ravages, and the *Florentines* applied for assistance to the king of *Naples*, and the duke of *Milan*, appointing the count of *Urbino* at the same time their general. *Ferdinand* readily promised them his assistance, and sent them some troops under the command of his son *Alphonso*; but *Galeazzo* came in person to their relief. We are however to understand, that the *Florentines* were to pay for their succours, and had advanced great sums for that purpose. The rendezvous of their army was appointed to be at *Castracuzo*, a *Florentine* town between *Tuscany* and the *Romagna*; but before the armies could be assembled, the *Venetians* and their allies had retreated to *Imola*, with little or no loss. This created great discontents amongst the *Florentines*, who loudly accused their field-deputies, or council of war, with mismanagement, and blamed them with having squandered the public money to no purpose. It soon appeared that the fault lay in *Galeazzo*, a young inexperienced prince, and without any talents for war. A few inconsiderable skirmishes however ensued, and the *Florentine* council of war declared, that they could expect no success while *Galeazzo* commanded. Upon this deputies were sent to persuade him to return to *Milan*, on pretence that if he should come to any misfortune in the field, his person was of so great consequence to the common cause, that their state must be ruined. They represented at the same time, that having but lately succeeded to his dukedom, his presence might be necessary in his own dominions. An application so seemingly respectful, prevailed on *Galeazzo* to return immediately to *Milan*.

Discontents at
 Florence.

A remarkable
 battle.

A peace con-
 cluded.

THIS obstacle being removed, the *Florentines* and their allies took the field, and one of those ridiculous battles, which was so common in those days, was fought: for though it lasted for half a day, no person was killed on either side, and neither gained the least advantage; only a few horses being wounded, and some prisoners made. This battle, however, though it may be said to have been bloodless, was decisive. Winter coming on, the *Venetian* general was obliged to retire to *Ravenna*. The *Milanese* and the *Neapolitans* returned to their several countries, and the *Florentines* to *Tuscany*. The *Florentine* exiles, animated by resentment and despair, would have kept the field; but their followers beginning to clamour for money, they were obliged to disperse. *Diotisalvi* took refuge in *Ferrara*, where he met with a kind reception from that duke. *Niccolo Acciaivoli* fled to *Ravenna*, where the *Venetians* settled a pension upon him, and he there died in old age. Unsteadiness and want of resolution occasioned his misfortunes; but he had the reputation of being brave and honest. The *Venetians* now found that the *Florentine* exiles had been too sanguine in their expectations of an insurrection in that city; and seeing that they were no longer to be depended upon, began to listen to an accommodation, which was concluded with little or no difficulty. The *Florentines* might now have lived quiet, had not the remains of faction still been alive amongst them. To complete the public misfortunes, *Peter de Medici*, though not much above fifty years of age, was so infirm and feeble, that he could not stir abroad, and was ignorant of the intrigues and heart-burnings that prevailed amongst his fellow-citizens, who seemed to make use of the peace they had acquired abroad, only that they might prosecute their dissensions more furiously at home. Many of the wisest and most virtuous among them, had behaved with moderation, during the late troubles, and all such were branded by the violent as being friends to the exiles and the outed

a outed faction. *Bardo Altoviti*, who was then the gonfalonier of justice, encreased the disorders of the public by displacing from their offices many citizens, and banishing others.

At last the oppression, pride, and tyranny of those in power, came to *Peter's* ears; but being confined to his bed, he could apply no other remedy but earnest exhortations for unanimity, and remonstrances upon the danger of their enemies returning and driving them out of the city. To give some amusement at the same time to their restless spirits, the marriage of his son *Lorenzo* with *Clarice* of *Orsini*, was now celebrated with all the profusion of pomp and magnificence which *Peter's* great wealth could furnish, and the fertile genius of the *Florentines* invent. After many luxurious days, the representation of a battle on horseback, and the storming of a town, were exhibited and conducted with the utmost decorum and address. Those amusements diverted the public for some time; but the spirit of faction recurred with such violence, that *Peter*, whose infirmities every day increased, found himself under the necessity of altering the whole system of his conduct. For this purpose he called before him the chief *Florentines*: he bitterly reproached them for their ambition, their rapaciousness, their having monopolized to themselves the revenues of the public, the estates of their exiles, with all the honours and dignities in the city; and not contented even with that, had exercised their power with injustice and cruelty over the innocent, by their violence and venality. He concluded his speech by solemnly assuring them, that unless they amended their behaviour, he should repent of his successes, and find means to make them repent the abuse of their power.

Peter de Medici checks the Florentines of his party.

c It appears from this speech, that the spirit and intellects of *Peter* were still vigorous, and his name was so much respected, that they to whom it was addressed returned him a respectful answer. In a few days, however, they relapsed into all their former disorders, and *Peter* privately invited *Acciaiuoli* to come to his house at *Caffagivolo*, to consult with him about the reformation of the state; and according to *Machiavel*^k, they had resolved to recal all the exiles, and to repress the fury of the factious citizens, when *Peter de Medici* died, in the fifty-third year of his age.

His designs,

death,

WHEN a great family or man is illustrious for private virtues, their public conduct often meets with applause that it does not deserve. Nothing seems to be more certain, than that the fundamental constitution of *Florence* had been more than once subverted by the two last heads of the house of *Medici*, and that *Peter* particularly had been too inflexible and vindictive against some of the greatest and worthiest of the *Florentines*. He saw his error when it was too late to mend it; and he would gladly have reinstated in their country the very men whom he had but some years before so ignominiously spurned out of it. In other respects, *Peter* seems to have been no unworthy descendant of his race. In his person he appears to have been brave and resolute. The unpopularity into which he fell at one part of his life, proceeded from his trusting too much to his father's friends; and to this he was partly obliged, by his not being able, through his infirmities, to look into his own affairs in person. He certainly wished as well to his country as the violence of the factions formed against him gave him leave; and he had the art, when her original constitution was restored, still to retain his influence and authority in the state. He was buried near his father in the church of *St. Laurence* with vast pomp.

and reflections on his character.

SEVERAL other deaths of great consequence happened in *Italy* at the same time, particularly those of *Borso d'Este*, marquis of *Ferrara*, who was succeeded by his son *Hercules*; and of *Gismond* of *Rimini*, whose son and successor was *Robert*. The next death of consequence was that of pope *Paul II.* which happened in 1471. He was succeeded by *Sixtus IV.* one of the most enterprising pontiffs that had ever mounted the papal throne, and likewise one of the most successful, though a man of no family, and of as little virtue: he owed his advancement to hypocrisy, and the appearance of sanctity. He had two sons, *Peter* and *Girolamo*, whom he called his nephews: he made the former a cardinal, an order which now appeared in its greatest lustre: he stripped *Antonio Ordellaff* of the city of *Forli*, which his family had possessed many years, and gave it to *Girolamo*, who likewise received the city of *Imola* in dower with his wife *Catharine*, natural daughter to the duke of *Milan*. In short, the lustre and power of the popedom never had been so high as now; and it was owing to a cause that naturally ought to have contributed to diminish both, I mean the growing power of the infidels, who were now masters of *Negroponte*. The consternation this occasioned in *Europe*, but more particularly in *Italy*, united the Christian princes amongst themselves; and all turned their eyes towards the pope, for stopping the progress of the infidels, which could only be done by his bulls and exhortations. Neither *Paul II.* nor *Sixtus IV.* had any such intention; but they were of great use to princes who wanted to raise armies, and maintain them cheap, under pretence of crusades; for after that pretence was dropt, the pope generally gave those princes who favoured them most, an in-

A. D. 1471.
Deaths of other princes.

^k MACHIAVEL, book vii.

indulgence or power to apply in their own private purposes what number of troops they pleased. Thus most of the Christian potentates, about this time, found their account in paying a most slavish submission to the see of *Rome*, which the popes, especially the *Medicis*, well knew how to improve to the utmost.

Peter succeeded
ed by his two
sons.

PETER *de Medici* left two sons, *Lorenzo* and *Girland*, both of them, particularly the eldest, of great hopes, but as yet too young for taking into their own hands the reins of government. Not only the people of *Florence* therefore, but most of the princes of *Italy*, turned their eyes upon *Thomas Soderini*, who was then the leading man in *Florence*, and as such paid him their compliments; but *Thomas* gave on that occasion a noble and disinterested proof of the attachment he had always professed to the family of *Medici*. He did not even deign to answer the letters of felicitation which the *Italian* princes sent to him: and he took all occasions to recommend the sons of *Peter de Medici* to his fellow citizens, as the proper objects of their love and regard. At last, that he might confirm them in their interests, he summoned the heads of all the *Florentine* nobility to the convent of *S. Antonio*, and presented to them the two young noblemen, requesting them to maintain them in the full possession of the honour and authority of their house, as being the surest means of consulting the tranquillity and independency of *Florence*; adding, that every other power set up in the state, than that of the *Medici* family, must be tumultuous and short lived. *Thomas* having finished his speech, *Lorenzo*, the elder brother, addressed the assembly in so manly, yet moving a manner, as to convince them that he would one day become an honour and ornament to his country; insomuch that all present, before the assembly broke up, swore solemnly to stand by *Lorenzo* and his brother, as if they were their own children; while the two brothers promised to obey the nobility present as their fathers; and from thenceforth those young men were looked upon as the princes, or leading persons of the city, and they were so wise as to be directed by *Thomas Soderini*.

Fidelity of
Soderini
to them.

Conspiracy a-
gainst Prato,

WHILE every thing was thus quiet in *Florence*, a dangerous conspiracy broke out in its territory. The two heads of the family of *Nardi* had, during the late commotions, been first banished, and then declared rebels; their names were *Silvester* and *Bernardo*. The latter being poor, head-strong, and resolute, consulted how he might raise a war in *Tuscany*, that might weaken and divide his countrymen. Having many acquaintances amongst the *Pistoians*, a people remarkably turbulent and warlike, especially in the family of *Palandri*, who had a great estate in the country of *Pisiccia*, he consulted with them how he could surprise *Prato*, another city and district belonging to the *Florentines*. He was encouraged in his design by the discontents which appeared against the *Florentine* magistrates in *Pisiccia*, and likewise in *Prato*; and he opened his mind upon the subject to *Liotfalvi*, to know his opinion, whether he was to expect support from other states and princes if he should succeed in surprising *Prato*? *Diotisalvi* thought the attempt was both hazardous and improbable; but glad of every opportunity to be revenged upon his countrymen, he dissimulated his sentiments, and undertook to engage both the *Ferrarese* and the *Bolognese* to lend assistance to *Bernardo*, if he could surprise *Prato*, and maintain possession of it fifteen days. Upon this assurance, *Bernardo* secretly renewed his application to the *Palandri* family, who promised to back him; and repairing privately to *Prato*, he formed a small party of the discontented, who engaged to favour his admission into the town. As the force with which *Bernardo* proposed to execute this enterprize was very disproportioned to its importance and danger, he proceeded by stratagem: he knew that in time of peace the governors of the towns in *Tuscany* are not very scrupulous of admitting the inhabitants by night; and it was agreed between him and his party in *Prato*, that they should be in arms by a certain hour, to favour his entrance, when he should present himself before the town, and *Diotisalvi* was punctually informed of all that passed.

which is de-
feated, and
the conspira-
tors punished.

ALL the force that *Bernardo* could collect, consisted of about one hundred horse, and being exact to his time, one of his party within the place applied to *Cesar Petrucci*, the *Florentine* governor, for the keys of the gates to admit a citizen, and *Petrucci* readily sent them by one of his own servants, whom the conspirators secured before he reached the gate; and forcing the keys from him, they admitted *Bernardo* and his attendants into the town, where he was joined by the other conspirators. They then divided themselves into two parties; one of them headed by *Silvester*, a *Pratense*, who surprised the citadel, and the other by *Bernardo*, who took possession of the palace, and made *Petrucci* and his family prisoners. After this they ran through the town and proclaimed liberty; but no sooner did day break, than the inhabitants, rather amazed at than favouring the revolution, assembled in the market-place without joining *Bernardo*. The administration of the civil government of *Prato* was held under the *Florentines* by eight of the citizens, who immediately met in their palace to deliberate how to behave. By this time *Bernardo* and his party, after traversing the town, found that they had been joined by few or none of the inhabitants; and therefore, as his last tentative, he demanded to be admitted to a conference with the

eight

a eight magistrates. This being granted, he declared, that he wanted to rescue them from slavery, and to restore them to their ancient liberties: he expatiated upon the glory that would attend their joining him: he laid before them the certainty of being succoured, if they would hold out the place but for a few days; and he assured them, that they would be supported by a strong party in *Florence*, who were ready to declare for them as soon as they heard that the townsmen joined him.

The magistrates answered with great steadiness, that the *Florentine* government had always been such, as to give them no reason for revolting from it; they therefore thought that his best course would be to abandon his desperate enterprize, to release the podesta and his family, and to leave the town. *Bernardo* was so far from following this advice, that b he gave immediate orders for bringing forth the podesta, and hanging him before the windows of the palace. This inhuman command was on the point of being executed. The podesta appeared at the window with the halter about his neck, but before he was turned off, addressing himself to *Bernardo*, he put him in mind of his folly in ordering him to be hanged, by assuring him, that his murder would render the *Pratense* his irreconcilable enemies; and that if he granted him his life, he had a chance of accomplishing his design, because he (the podesta) would be then able to do him service.

This artful speech saved the podesta's life. *Bernardo* thought he could not do better than to take his advice: and after obliging him to harangue the people in favour of the conspiracy, he re-committed him to prison. By this time the inhabitants, having recovered from their consternation, and seeing what a despicable handful followed *Bernardo*, c they began to look upon the conspiracy rather as ridiculous than dangerous; and the *Florentines*, who then lived at *Prato*, with the best affected citizens, putting themselves under the command of *Georgio Ginori*, a knight of *Rhodes*, attacked *Bernardo* as he was haranguing the people in the market-place, wounded and took him prisoner, released the podesta, and either killed or took prisoners the rest of the conspirators. *Florence* was filled with most dismal relations of this conspiracy, which represented the place to be taken, the podesta and his family to be put to death, the *Pistoians* all in arms, and many of the *Florentines* themselves to favour the revolt. The magistrates immediately ordered as many troops as the shortness of the time would permit to be got together, and gave the command of them d to *Robert di St. Severino*, who was reckoned to be a good officer, with orders to march directly towards *Prato*; but he soon had reason to return, by the news which met him from *Petrucchi* on the road. When *Bernardo* was brought to *Florence*, being questioned by the magistrates about the madness of his attempt, he excused it by saying, that he chose to die in *Florence* rather than live in exile, and that his latter end should be signalized by some memorable event.

Death of the chief conspirator.

It is observed by *Machiavela*, that the tranquility restored to *Florence* by the prudence and moderation of her government, and the defeat of the above ill-judged conspiracy, introduced an alteration of manners among the citizens. Their dress, their entertainments of all kinds, and their diversions, especially amongst the younger sort, were now extravagant. Their estates were lost by gaming, or spent upon women. New modes of speech and talking were invented, and a sarcastical turn of wit was introduced into conversation. The truth is, the cultivation of the polite arts, which flourished now more in *Florence* than in any part of the world, was, perhaps, of no service to the morals of its inhabitants, whose estates could afford them the refinements and luxuries of life, especially at a time of profound tranquility and great opulence. But those abuses and innovations were greatly heightened by the arrival of the duke and duchess of *Milan* at *Florence*, under pretence of performing a vow of devotion. They were attended by their whole court, which was very splendid; and their reception was equally so, the *Florentines* thinking they could not sufficiently express their gratitude for so good an ally, and their regard for so great a prince. e The *Milanese* courtiers, however, though *Italians*, were of a very different cast from those of the rest of *Europe*; for, though it was *Lent* time, and though they were in the very neighbourhood of the holy see, they would taste nothing but flesh and animal food of all kinds. Public exhibitions were now renewed, for the entertainment of the illustrious guests; and the church of *St. Spirito* was burnt down, in representing in it the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the disciples; so that when the court of *Milan* left *Florence*, those extravagancies had proceeded to such a height, that a sumptuary law was passed, by the interest of the more wise and considerate citizens, for restraining such expences in time to come; and this law extended not only to apparel and entertainments, but to funeral expences. f

Change in the manners of the Florentines.

g As *Lorenzo de Medici* advanced in years, he found himself more and more uneasy under the tutelage of *Soderini*, and began to listen to those who advised him to throw it off. A *Volterra*.

difference that happened at this time between the *Florentines* and the *Volterrans*, served to widen the breach. A mine of allum was discovered by certain private citizens of *Volterra*, who applied to those of *Florence* for their assistance and protection in working the mine. The community of *Volterra* at first disregarded this undertaking; but, perceiving what profits arose from it, they claimed the mine as lying in grounds belonging to the public, and sent a deputation to *Florence*, who made that demand. The matter was referred to a committee of citizens, who reported it as their opinion, that the claim of the *Volterrans* was unjust, and that as private persons had been at the trouble and expence of working the mine, it was their property, they paying only some acknowledgment to the community, because it lay in their grounds. This report threw the city of *Volterra* into a flame, the people insisting upon the mine being delivered up to them, and the proprietors urging the expences they had been at in working it, and the judgment of the *Florentines* in their favour. Those disputes produced tumults, in which a citizen of rank, one *Pecorino*, was killed, the houses of many of his party were sacked or burnt, and the lives of the *Florentine* magistrates, who resided there, were endangered. Those disorders produced another deputation from *Volterra* to *Florence*; and the deputies, by order of their principals, declared, that the maintaining their citizens in their rights, was the price of their subjection to *Florence*.

THOMAS SODERINI and *Lorenzo de Medici* differed upon this occasion. The former was of opinion, that the *Volterrans* ought to be gratified, and that the flames of war, raised so near themselves, might reach *Florence*. He urged the restless ambition of the pope; his connections with the king of *Naples*, who was a powerful prince; and the uncertainty of *Florence* being supported by the *Venetians*, or the duke of *Milan*, as neither the good faith of the former, nor the courage of the latter, was to be depended on; and concluded with observing, that a lean peace was preferable to a fat victory. *Lorenzo de Medici*, on the other hand, urged, that if the insolence of the *Volterrans* went unpunished, all other states and places in subjection or dependence to *Florence*, would follow their example; and that they never would be without pretexts for so doing. *Lorenzo's* opinion prevailed; and the *Florentine* senate sent back the *Volterranean* deputies with this answer, that they must either submit to the terms prescribed them, or prepare for a war. The *Volterrans* chose the latter, and applied for assistance to the princes and states of *Italy*, who, all but the *Siennese* and the lord of *Piombino*, were deaf to their representations. All, therefore, the *Volterrans* could do, was to fortify their city, and to hire one thousand mercenaries for defending it.

Which is
sacked.

IN the mean while the *Florentines*, sensible how dangerous delays are in such cases, raised an army of ten thousand foot and two thousand horse, and gave the command of it to their general *Frederick*, lord of *Urbino*, who immediately reduced all the open country of *Volterra*, and laid siege to the city itself, which he battered with great violence on its most accessible side. Upon this the *Volterranean* mercenaries, in a manner, deserted the defence of the city; but were very forward in insulting the citizens, who made the best resistance they could; but were obliged to submit to the mercy of the *Florentines*. No capitulation having been made, the magistracy of *Volterra* was dissolved, and the city given up for a whole day to the plunder of the *Florentines*, who were joined by the soldiers who had been hired to defend it. The news of this success was received with great joy at *Florence*, and *Soderini* was insulted upon it by the friends of *Lorenzo de Medici*. The event, however, did not alter that wise man's opinion. He declared, that he looked upon the conquest of *Volterra* to be a loss rather than an acquisition to *Florence*, which might have been benefited by it, had it been taken by capitulation; but that, as it was taken by sack, it would, in time of war, be a thorn in the sides of the *Florentines*, and in time of peace a useless burden upon them.

Ambition of
the pope.

THE ambition of pope *Sixtus* every day disclosed itself more and more. His professed design was to re-annex to the church all the territories and places that ever had belonged to her; and with that view he had stormed *Spoletto*, and laid siege to *Citta di Castello*, then in possession of *Niccolo Vitelli*. This nobleman was the intimate friend of *Lorenzo de Medici*, who, upon his application to him, sent him some assistance; a proceeding which laid the foundation of many calamities to the house of *Medici*. The pope took the place, and sent his son *Peter*, whom he had created cardinal of *Sisto*, to endeavour to form a league amongst the *Italian* princes against *Florence*. This cardinal, under all the disadvantages of birth and education, which was in a convent, had great abilities both for peace and war, and an equal share of ambition; so that his father employed him as his chief confident and first minister. Under pretence of doing honour to the nuptials of the marquis of *Ferrara*, he made a kind of tour through *Lombardy*, and other parts of *Italy*, and particularly to *Venice*, which he wanted to engage in the league against the *Florentines*. But, by this time, both the *Venetians* and the duke of *Milan* were alarmed at the ambition, and the great progress of the pope, when served by such a counsellor and minister; and the former, it is said, secretly

- a secretly gave him poison, which, upon his return to *Rome*, put an end to his life. After this the *Florentines* joined in an alliance with the duke of *Milan* and the *Venetians*; but time was left for the pope and the king of *Naples* to accede to it. Another league was formed between the above three contracting powers, into which they invited the lesser states to enter, for maintaining the balance of power in *Italy*, which was endangered by a new dispute between the king of *Naples* and the *Venetians*. The former laid claim to the island of *Cyprus*, which the latter was in possession of; and the pope taking the king's part, all *Italy* was engaged in the quarrel. *Frederick* of *Urbino* still continued to head the *Florentine* army; and his reputation as a general was so high, that the pope and *Ferdinand* offered him very high terms to enter into their service. *Urbino* made some difficulty of this;
- b but the pope prevailed upon him to undertake a journey to *Naples*, which the *Florentines* as strenuously endeavoured to dissuade him from, by putting him in mind of the fate of *Jacob Piccinino*. *Frederick*, however, went to *Naples*, where he was received with a profusion of honours, and accepted of the proposed service, and thus became general of the league against the *Florentines*.

Parties and intrigues in Italy.

- NOTWITHSTANDING those dispositions, and the dread or ambition of all the parties concerned in them, no war broke out in *Italy* for two years; but every thing was managed in the way of intrigue or negotiation. The *Florentines* took into their pay, as their general, *Robert* of *Rimini*, renewed their league with the *Perugians*, and entered into new connections with the government of *Faenza*. The pope and the king, on the other hand;
- c strove all they could to detach the *Venetians* from the *Florentines*, as being the only means of maintaining the pope's late acquisitions to the church, and of preserving his son *Giralamo* in the possession of his estates in the *Romagna*.

New alliances.

- CHARLES*, the youngest son of the famous *Braccio*, was still alive, and had, for some years, served in the *Venetian* armies. The time of his engagements being expired, he refused to renew them, and informed the *Venetians* that he designed to attempt to recover his right to *Perugia*, which was his inheritance from his father. The *Venetians* consented to this, notwithstanding the league between the *Perugians* and the *Florentines*. The latter so strenuously supported the former, that *Charles*, despairing of making any progress against them, turned his army against the *Siennese*. His pretext was, that they were
- d debtors to his father, for services done their state; and he attacked them so furiously, as to put their government in great danger. The *Siennese*, upon this, from their natural inclination always to believe the worst of the *Florentines*, complained of them to the pope and the king of *Naples*, alledging, that all the misfortunes of *Sienna* were owing to the *Florentines* having persuaded *Charles* to attack them, instead of the *Perugians*. They sent deputies to *Florence* with the like complaints. The *Florentines* not only firmly denied the charge; but, to prove their innocence, ordered an embassy to be sent to *Charles*, requiring him to abandon his expedition against the *Siennese*, under pain of their displeasure. It is probable, that this embassy was more the effect of the fear of a confederacy against them, than of any regard they had for the *Siennese*: for though *Charles* was obliged to submit,
- e yet he reproached the *Florentines* as cowards, and enemies to themselves; because, as he gave out, he intended to have delivered up the city of *Sienna*, which he was upon the point of taking, to the *Florentines*; a present we cannot well imagine he would have made them, but upon some previous contract. The *Siennese* were so much of that opinion, that they did not even thank the *Florentines* for their deliverance, though apparently it was owing to them. But an amazing revolution now happened at *Milan*, in the following manner.

- GALEAZZO* duke of *Milan* was, according to some writers, the picture of one of the tyrants of antiquity. His love of money was the source of his misfortunes, as it led him to violate the honour of his greatest subjects, in the most tender point. He generally
- f ruined those whom he injured; some of them he put to death, and others he deprived of their rights and possessions, that none of them might retain in their hands the means of resentment. At home he was despotic; abroad he was powerful in his relations and alliances; and the instruments of his tyranny being likewise the companions of his pleasures, no time was left him for reflection. His cruelty proceeded so far as to torture those whom he put to death: and it was even said, that he dispatched out of the world his own mother, because he thought her an obstacle to the perpetration of his crimes. Notwithstanding all this complicated guilt, *Galeazzo*, perhaps, might have reigned and died in peace, had he not openly gloried in his vices, and published to all the world the names of those whose beds he had dishonoured.

Character.

- g A SCHOOL-MASTER, a profession at that time exercised in *Italy* sometimes by the greatest ministers of state, and held in the highest esteem, became an instrument in delivering the world from this monster. His name was *Cola*, a native of *Mantua*, to whose lessons the noblest youths in *Milan* repaired. He was a man of learning; but had applied himself so

and murder of the duke of Milan.

much to reading, studying, and teaching the *Greek* and *Roman* classics, that he became an enthusiast in favour of republican government. The general topics on which he declaimed, was the unhappiness of being governed by a single man, whose subjects were his slaves and beasts of burden, and the glory of being born in a republic, where alone true merit and virtue met with protection, rewards, and honour; and he endeavoured to prove from history, that the greatest men of all ages were republicans. He had three noble pupils, *Giovanni Andrea Lampognano*, *Carlo Visconti*, and *Girólamo Ogiato*, whose brains were touched by his repeated declamations; and to them he opened himself without reserve, by acknowledging that he meant all he said should be applied to their sovereign the duke of *Milan*; and that the most glorious action human nature could perform, was to remove a tyrant out of the world. The noblemen were too young as yet to execute his doctrine, by assassinating their sovereign; but he obtained from them a promise that they would do it, and thereby deliver their country as soon as their strength and age would permit them. This resolution, instead of being weakened, was every day strengthened in them, by the growing vices and tyranny of the duke, and by the private injuries he inflicted upon their persons, particularly by his amours in the families of *Visconti* and *Ogiato*, and by keeping *Andrea* from the possession of the abbey of *Miramondo*, which had been given him by the pope, on the resignation of a kinsman. The design being thus fixed, the chief care of the conspirators was to make sure of their blow, rather than to guard against the consequences; but they were far from neglecting even those; for they vainly imagined that the moment the tyrant was dispatched, their countrymen would unanimously embrace their liberty. The frequent meetings they held, created no suspicions at the duke's court, where their ancient friendship and intimacy was well known. In those meetings they generally practised upon one another, with their daggers in their sheaths, the methods of giving the most mortal blows, and of stabbing the most vulnerable parts of the body. Being complete in this exercise, their next deliberation was to fix on the spot of assassination, which they resolved should be when the duke went to *St. Stephen's* church in procession upon that saint's day. It does not appear that they opened their real design to any of their friends; but, as arms at this time were almost the only laws known to the *Italian* states, they found pretexts for persuading many of their companions to arm themselves, and their servants, and to attend them to *St. Stephen's* church on that day, where they proposed to pay their respects to the duke before they set out upon an expedition, which they pretended was to assist a friend, who had some differences with his neighbours in the country. They used other stratagems and pretexts for assembling, at the same place and time, all who they thought would join them when the blow was struck. Some prudential considerations likewise mingled in their plan. The *Milanese* at that time were afflicted with famine, and the conspirators proposed to give up the palaces of the most obnoxious of the duke's favourites, to be plundered by the people.

EARLY in the morning of *St. Stephen's* day, the three conspirators met in the church; and one of them, *Giovanni Andrea*, most devoutly prayed, after he had heard mass, before an image of *St. Ambrose*, the tutelar saint of *Milan*. They then took the stands they had pitched upon; and when the duke entered the church, *Lampognano* and *Ogiato* wounded him with their daggers, which were so short that they were concealed in their sleeves, in the throat, breast, and belly, as *Visconti* did in the back; so that he instantly expired with the words, "O Lady, save me!" The bye-standers, far from rejoicing at the tyrant's death, revenged it by killing *Lampognano* and *Visconti*. *Ogiato* escaped, and for some time lurked about disguised like a friar; but being discovered, he suffered death, under exquisite tortures, though he was no more than twenty-three years of age, with incredible resolution, comforting himself by repeating from the *Latin* classics, verses, and sentiments suiting to his attempt and fate. The assassination, however, was far from producing the effects the conspirators expected. Their cause was not backed by a single man, and the public seemed to have no sentiments but those of detestation for the murderers.

THE house of *Medici* was now, viz. in 1477, possessed of more power in *Florence* than it had ever been. Its branches and private alliances were numerous and well-cemented; and *Lorenzo* seemed to possess the popular virtues of his ancestors. All the opposition which his father had met with contributed to *Lorenzo's* greatness; for they who secretly hated and envied him durst not oppose, because they well knew that in republics, especially in that of *Florence*, there is no forgiveness amongst factions; and they had seen many instances of it in the differences between the *Medici* and their antagonists. This flourishing state of the house of *Medici* increased the aversion of the pope to it, and made him resolve, if possible, to ruin it. The archbishop of *Pisa*, who was of the *Medici* family, happening about this time to die, the pope nominated *Giacomo Salviati*, a professed and determined enemy of the house of *Medici*, to be his successor. The *Florentines* remonstrated strongly

a strongly against this nomination ; but finding all their efforts vain, they refused to suffer *Salviati* to take possession of his new dignity.

The pope, attributing this obstinacy to the influence of the house of *Medici*, set up against it that of *Pazzi*, the second then in *Florence* for riches and authority. The head of this family was *Jacob Pazzi*, who had received signal honours from the people ; and though he had no children of his own but a natural daughter, he had seven nephews, *William*, *Francis*, *Renate*, *John*, *Andrew*, *Nicholas*, and *Galeato* : *Cosmo de Medici* had, from a sagacious foresight of the rivalry between the two houses, given his niece *Bianca* to *William Pazzi*, thereby hoping to cement the interest of the two families. But in proportion as that of *Pazzi* advanced in riches and popularity, *Lorenzo de Medici* grew the more jealous of their obtaining any share in the government ; so that *Jacob Pazzi* and his nephews, notwithstanding their riches, remained no more than private, though illustrious, citizens of *Florence*. Their rank, however, gave them a right to be present at popular assemblies ; but the magistrates who presided there, paid little or no regard to their opinions. They even went so far as to summon *Francis Pazzi*, who happened to reside some time at *Rome*, to repair to *Naples* ; a proceeding which plainly shewed they either were jealous of his business at *Rome*, or that they wanted to affront the *Pazzi* family. *John Pazzi*, another of the nephews, having married the daughter and heiress of *Giovanni Borromeo*, a dispute at law happened between the daughter's husband and *Borromeo's* nephew, about the succession to the estate of *Borromeo*, who was now dead ; and the cause was given in favour of the nephew by the judges, not quite agreeably to the principles of justice. The *Pazzi* had long been secretly exasperated against the *Medici* ; but as there was no disguising that this iniquitous sentence was procured by their influence, the *Pazzi* lost all patience, and every where accused and reproached the *Medici* for their injustice and partiality against their family. This was looked upon by *Lorenzo* as an open attack upon his authority, and was far from producing any steps towards an accommodation. *Giulian de Medici*, who had less ambition, and more sentiments of justice, than his brother, often regretted the breach between the two families, and advised *Lorenzo* to moderate measures : but the latter, who, with all his judgment, was young and fiery, continued still to carry it with a high hand towards the *Pazzi*.

d *FRANCIS PAZZI*, the most considerable of all the nephews for spirit, abilities, and wealth, was then a merchant, or rather a banker at *Rome*, where the vast estate he acquired, introduced him to the company and intimacy of the principal personages in that city ; and he lived in the strictest friendship with *Girolamo*, the pope's son or nephew. This gave him an opportunity of consulting about the ruin of the *Medici* family, which was equally obnoxious to *Girolamo* as to *Pazzi*, because the former, while their power subsisted, did not think himself secure in the possession of his estates. Nothing, however, but the deaths of *Lorenzo* and his brother could answer their purposes ; and it was necessary to bring the pope and the king of *Naples* into their party. To succeed in this, they applied to *Salviati*, the archbishop of *Pisa*, who readily promised them his assistance. It was then determined that *Francis* should repair to *Florence*, to bring *Jacob Pazzi* into their design, while the other two should remain at *Rome* to keep the pope steady in their party. *Francis* could make little interest with his uncle ; and *Montesecco*, the pope's general, was applied to second him. *Montesecco* disliked the office ; but, overpersuaded by the archbishop, he at last undertook it, and, under pretence of recovering to *Girolamo* certain towns near *Faenza*, he took *Florence* in his way. By this time the pope had fully approved of the horrid design of the assassination, and had ordered his general to further it to the best of his power. *Montesecco* behaved with great address ; pretending business with *Lorenzo de Medici*, he was surprised at his affability and politeness ; but, devoted to the pope his master, he at last, in conjunction with *Francis Pazzi*, prevailed on *Jacob* to consent to the conspiracy, provided it was backed by the pope's army. Nothing was now wanting but the consent of the king of *Naples*, which was soon obtained. The whole plot was carried on with such profound dissimulation, that the *Florentines* admitted the archbishop into their city ; and thro' his interest, which was very powerful, the conspiracy was greatly strengthened by the accession of several young noblemen of great families and interest. The better to cover their designs, cardinal *Riario*, nephew to count *Girolamo*, came to *Florence*, where he hired a magnificent palace, in which the chief conspirators were concealed and held their consultations. Many of their deliberations proved abortive, from various causes ; but at last they resolved, that the two brothers *de Medici* should be assassinated in the church of *St. Rapparata*. *Giovanni Battista*, who was appointed to murder *Lorenzo*, refused the horrid office, which was therefore committed to *Antonio* of *Volterra*, and one *Stephen*, a school-master, but at the same time a priest ; while *Francis Pazzi* and *Bernardo Bandini* undertook to murder *Giulian*, at the same time that the archbishop *Salviati*, and *Poggio*, another of the conspirators, were to seize the palace, and force the senators to come into their measures.

The

The hour for the assassination being arrived, *Giulian de Medici*, not coming as was expected ^a to the church, *Francis Pazzi* and *Bernardo*, who were destined to murder him, went to hail him, which they endeavoured to do, by the most tender expressions of friendship, even to the embracing him, that they might discover whether he had about him any private armour, and with such an openness of behaviour, that *Giulian* lost all mistrust, and entered the church along with them, *Lorenzo* being already in the church. The first wound given to *Giulian* was by *Bernardo*, with a short dagger, in the breast, which proved mortal; but, tho' he almost immediately fell to the ground, *Francis Pazzi* threw himself upon the body, and gave it several stabs with such fury, that he even desperately wounded his own leg. The other two assassins, who were destined to the murder of *Lorenzo*, attacked him; but he bravely stood upon his defence, and obliged the assassins to fly: they were ^b however afterwards found, and put to a shameful death. In the mean while *Lorenzo*, and the friends whom he happened to have about his person, had barricadoed themselves in the vestry of the church; and *Bernardo Bindini*, after killing *Francis Neri*, because he was a friend to the *Medici* family, ran about in search of *Lorenzo* to dispatch him; but in this he failed. The cardinal took refuge at the altar, where he was saved with the utmost difficulty from the rage of the people, by a guard which the senate sent him, and which escorted him to his palace. As to the archbishop, he went with some fugitive *Parugians* to the public palace; and leaving a party to secure the gates, he went up into the apartments of the gonfalonier, who was *Cesar Petrucci*; but the archbishop's confusion was so great, that his design was soon known; and the senate being alarmed, he and *Poggio*, with two ^c kinsmen who attended him, were seized, and the rest of his party, who had by this time entered the palace, were either killed or thrown alive from the palace-windows, out of which the archbishop, the two *Salviati*, and *Jacob Poggio*, were immediately hanged. The conspirators, however, who had been left below, had forced the guards and the gates of the palace; but could proceed no farther, the senators and their attendants making good the upper rooms. *Francis Pazzi's* wound was so severe, that he could not, as he proposed, get on horseback to proclaim liberty to the people; but he prevailed on *Jacob Pazzi* to undertake that office. *Jacob*, at the head of about one hundred horse, accordingly sallied into the Great Square; but his success was very indifferent. The people, who had not been sensible of the loss of their liberty under the *Medici*, refused to join him: the senators pelted him with stones from the palace; and he himself, now old, infirm, and naturally unambitious, was persuaded by his brother-in-law to retire, which he did, at the head of his troop, towards the *Romagna*. ^d

LORENZO DE MEDICI was now greater than ever; his enemies were subdued or dissipated, and his name was joyfully proclaimed through every quarter of the city, by the people who dragged *Francis Pazzi* out of his house, and hanged him up in company with the archbishop and his other confederates; a fate to which he submitted with invincible fortitude. *Lorenzo's* house was now the rendezvous of all the citizens, who offered to serve him with their lives and fortunes. As to the rest of the family of *Pazzi*, *Jacob* was taken in his flight, as likewise was *Renate*; and both of them, though the latter was ^e innocent, were brought to *Florence*, where they were ignominiously executed. *William Pazzi* was confined, as were the rest of his kinsmen who remained alive; and the other chiefs, who had been seized, were put to death. After this, the funerals of *Giulian de Medici*, who left a posthumous son of his own name, were magnificently celebrated. All this time a body of troops, under *Lorenzo de Castello*, in the vale of *Tevere*, and another under *Giovanni Francisco Tolentino*, in the *Romagna*, both of them in the pay of the pope and the king of *Naples*, were advancing in full march towards *Florence*, to support the conspirators; but hearing of their defeat, they returned.

THE miscarriage of this detestable conspiracy served only to increase the rancour of the pope against the *Florentines*; and both he and the king of *Naples* ordered their generals to ^f march their armies into *Tuscany*, but publickly to declare, that they had no other enemy for their object than *Lorenzo de Medici*. Upon this, *Lorenzo* summoned a meeting of the nobility and chief citizens, to the number of three hundred, where he pronounced a speech in vindication of his own and his family's conduct, that, if it has not been embellished by *Machiavel* ^a, shews him to have been one of the greatest orators that ever lived. Speaking of the late attempt against himself, "Where parricides, says he, and assassins are secure, the *Medici* meet their murderers." He then modestly recounts the virtues of his predecessors, and exposes the designs of his enemies, who had stirred up the pope and the king of *Naples* against their country; and concludes in the following noble manner: "This ^g war, they say, is made against me and my family; I wish to God it were true: then the remedy were both ready and certain; for I never will be so bad a citizen as to value ^g more my own safety than your danger: much rather should I quench your flames with

Giulian Medici murdered.

Lorenzo escapes.

Punishment and deaths of the conspirators;

and of the Pazzi family.

Tuscany invaded by the pope.

Speech of Lorenzo de Medici.

^a MACHIAV. book viii.

- a “ my own ruin ; but because injuries done by the mighty are always covered with some
 “ more seemly pretence, they have chosen this veil to cast over their present injustice :
 “ but if you think otherwise, I am in your hands ; you may support, or you may suppress
 “ me, you, my fathers, you my defenders ; for whatever you shall command, I shall rea-
 “ dily obey : nor will I refuse, if you shall think fit, to end this war with my own, which
 “ was begun with my brother’s, blood.”

b THE citizens answered him with tears of affection ; and one, who was their spokesman, by their order, assured him, That with the same readiness and affection with which they had revenged his brother and defended him, they would still preserve his life and reputa- *Assured.*
 tion ; nor should he lose either till they had lost their country. A guard to be maintained
 by the public was then voted, and raised, for his person ; and levies of men and money
 were every where made through their state, to defend them from the impending storm.

c It cannot be denied, that the conduct of the *Florentines* on this occasion was great and
 manly, and such as scarcely can be paralleled in a *Roman* catholic state. The pope had *Summary of*
 excommunicated them ; but they were so far from regarding his censures, that they forced *the Floren-*
 their priests to perform divine services. They summoned before them all the prelates *tines against*
 under their dominion, enjoining them to pay no regard to the pope, from whom they ap- *the pope.*
 pealed to the next general council ; and they published a manifesto against him, in which
 they reproached him as being the very worst of tyrants and parricides, for having given
 sanction to murderers in a church, and during the very celebration of the holy sacrament.
 In short, none of the *German* reformers afterwards behaved with more spirit against the
 see of *Rome*, than the *Florentines* did on this occasion. The pope, on the other hand, had
 nothing to oppose against those dreadful allegations, but the stale arguments of the inde-
 pendency of the ecclesiastic upon the civil power, and the illegality of the latter imprison-
 ing cardinals, hanging archbishops, and quartering priests. But, notwithstanding all the
 just causes of provocation which the *Florentines* had received from the pope, they delivered
 up to him the cardinal, because it appeared he had been employed only as a blind, and
 had not been active in the conspiracy ; for, if he had, it is more than probable he would
 have undergone the fate of the archbishop.

d THE combined army of the pope and the king of *Naples* had advanced by the way of *Sienna* to *Chianti*, the army of the church being commanded by *Frederick* count of *Urbino*, *The war pro-*
 and that of *Naples* by *Alphonso*, the eldest son of *Ferdinand* duke of *Calabria*. The first *ceeded.*
 enterprize was against *Castiglione*, belonging to the *Florentines*, which they took, after a
 siege of forty days. The truth is, the *Florentines* had little at this time to depend upon,
 but their own courage and spirit. The *Milanese* government was then unsettled, and in
 the hands of the young duke’s mother, who was at variance with all her husband’s relations ;
 but, in virtue of the late confederacy, she sent the *Florentines* some assistance ; which the
 republic of *Venice*, the other party, declined to do, on pretence that the quarrel was of a
 private nature. Notwithstanding this disappointment, the *Florentine* army, under *Hercules*
 marquis of *Ferrara*, took the field, and would have destroyed their enemies, who besieged
 and took *Monte S. Savino* in the *Arezzan*, had it not been for the incapacity or treachery of
 e their general, who granted them a truce for some days. After this, both armies retired
 into winter-quarters.

f THE pope and the king of *Naples*, perceiving the *Florentines* supported by the duchess
 of *Milan*, employed the rebel princes of the *Sforza* family, and the *Adorni*, to shake off *Revolution in*
 the *Milanese* yoke ; whilst *Fregoso*, by favour of the duchess, who was unable to recover *the Milanese.*
 the city for her son, got possession of it, and drove from thence the *Sforzi* and *S. Severino*, a
Neapolitan general of great reputation, who putting himself at the head of some troops,
 ravaged the territories of *Pisa*, and advanced almost to the gates of that city ; and thus
 the *Florentines*, in the spring, found themselves oppressed by the confederate army on the
 side of *Sienna*, and by *S. Severino* on that of *Pisa*. It was, at the same time, with the ut-
 most difficulty that they could keep the *Lucquese* faithful to their engagements. But the
Venetians having lately made peace with the *Turks*, the *Florentines* took into their pay
 Charles, *Braccio*’s son, and count *Deiphobo*, *Jacob Piccinino*’s son. Those two generals,
 bringing with them a body of mercenaries, forced *S. Severino* to desist from his attempt
 upon *Pisa*, and recovered all the places he had seized. But the animosities which had
 subsisted between their grandfathers broke out afresh, which obliged the *Florentines* to put
 them upon separate services. The body under *Deiphobo* remained at *Poggiobonzi* ; that
 under *Charles* marched against *Perugia* ; while *Nicholas Vitelli*, with the third party, at-
 tempted to retake *Citta di Castello*. *Charles* died in the career of his victories and successes,
 and was succeeded by *Robert* of *Rimini* ; and all that *Vitelli* could do was to spoil the open *Death of*
 country about *Citta di Castello*. The death of *Charles* gave such spirits to the pope’s army, *Charles*
 Mod. Hist. Vol. XIII. 5 R that *Braccio.*

that they attacked that under *Robert* near the lake of *Parugia*, anciently that of *Tringum*,^a (on the very spot where *Hannibal* beat the *Roman* army under *Flaminius*) but were defeated. This advantage was counterbalanced by a mutiny of their troops at *Poggiobonzi*, which obliged the *Florentines* to dismiss the marquis of *Ferrara* from their service. Upon this, *Alphonso* duke of *Calabria*, *Ferdinand's* eldest son, attacked and totally routed their army, which left all their ammunition, carriages, artillery, and baggage, a prey to the enemy; for, as *Machiavel*^b observes, in those days the motion of one horse, either to retreat or charge, gave defeat or victory. A pestilence, which at that time raged in *Florence*, had driven most of its inhabitants into the country; while the council of ten was obliged to recall the army under *Robert*, which was then besieging *Parugia*, to the defence of their capital; and it encamped at *S. Cassiano*, within eighteen miles of *Florence*. This gave the duke of *Calabria*^b an opportunity of extending his conquests on the side of *Sienna*. He took *Poggiobonzi*, *Vico*, and *Cortella*; and laid siege to the strong castle of *Celle*, which, notwithstanding all the efforts of the *Florentine* army to relieve it, yielded on the 13th of *November*; on which both armies went into winter-quarters.

The state of affairs in *Italy*, at this time, induced the pope and the king of *Naples* to offer the *Florentines* a truce for three months, which was accepted. This respite enabled the *Florentines* the more coolly to reflect on their own disagreeable situation. They perceived they had nothing to trust to, either from *Venice* or *Milan*; and that their victorious enemies would probably, next year, be at the gates of their city. Each blamed the other: but the great charge of misconduct lay against *Lorenzo de' Medici*; and one of the *Florentines*, in a public assembly, bluntly told him, that he must, some way or other, think of giving them peace. *Lorenzo*, one of the wisest patriots any state ever had, wanted no inducement to follow this counsel; and after many deliberations with his friends, in which they resolved not to trust the pope, he came to the generous resolution of going in person to *Naples*, to treat of an accommodation. Leaving the charge of affairs in the city to *Thomas Soderini*, then gonfalonier or justice, he repaired, without any public character, and without acquainting the senate, to *Pisa*; from whence he sent them letters, informing them of his intention, which they answered by sending him full powers to treat, as the ambassador of the people of *Florence*, with the *Neapolitan* king. The commanding presence of *Lorenzo*, the force of his reasoning and eloquence, and the openness of his manner, with a thousand other circumstances that characterise a great and wise man, did more than an age of negotiation could have effected. *Ferdinand*, now old and experienced in the arts of government, no sooner heard him speak of the interests of *Italy*, and of her several states and potentates, than he was brought over to his sentiments, and resolved, at any rate, to make him his friend. Notwithstanding this, *Ferdinand* could not lay aside his insidious habits. He protracted the negotiation, that he might see the turn which affairs might take in *Florence* during the absence of *Lorenzo*, who had many enemies there. But at last a league offensive and defensive, was concluded between the king and the *Florentines*; and on the 6th of *March*, 1479, *Lorenzo* set out on his return to *Tuscany*.

The amazing sagacity that gave rise to this negotiation, the abilities with which it was conducted, and the success that attended it, form an extraordinary period in civil history, and were worthy the genius of the first man in the *Florentine* state. *Lorenzo* had the glory and satisfaction to see his labours rewarded by the gratitude of his country, in the reception he met with at his return, and in the extinction of party-spirit, which now centered in the admiration of his virtues. Two days after his arrival, the articles of the offensive and defensive league were proclaimed. By them the king was to dispose of the places he had taken from the *Florentines* as he pleased. The *Pazzi*, who had been imprisoned, were to be freed; and the duke of *Calabria* was to receive from the *Florentines* a subsidy for a certain time. The *Venetians* and the pope complained of the disrespect shewn them by this peace, as they neither had been invited to the negotiation, nor were they included in the terms. They expressed their resentment in such a manner, that the *Florentines*, to prevent the consequences, probably by *Lorenzo's* advice, constituted their supreme council of seventy citizens, who were invested with the highest powers in government. This council ratified the peace with *Ferdinand*, and nominated ambassadors to go to *Rome*; but they perceived, through various accidents, that they had still great difficulties to encounter.

The duchess of *Milan* had been obliged to resign that government to *Lewis the Moor*, so called from his swarthy complexion, brother to the late duke, one of the most extraordinary characters in history. Though politic and penetrating, he was irresolute and timid, and fear generally determined him to the most dangerous courses. *Serazana*^g

^b MACHIAVEL, book viii.

- a was taken from the *Neapolitans* by *Fregoso* the *Genoise*, who made all the garrison prisoners; and, what was more afflicting than all to the *Florentines*, the duke of *Calabria* still lay on their confines with his army, and not only totally disclaimed the late peace, but endeavoured to possess *Sienna*, as the first step towards his becoming master of all *Tuscany*. It is difficult to lay what the consequences might have been, had not the *Turks*, who had been repulled before *Rhodes*, made a descent upon *Italy*, and, after ravaging the sea coasts, taken *Otranto*, the most convenient port for them in all the kingdom of *Naples*, and fortified it, with a view of continuing their conquests. This alarming event delivered *Tuscany* from the duke of *Calabria's* ambition; for he was obliged to return with his army to *Naples*; and the pope now declared himself willing to treat of an accommodation with the
- b *Florentines*, notwithstanding all the provocations he had received from them. They, on the other hand, not standing on forms where essentials were preserved, named twelve deputies to go to *Rome*; where, after a great variety of submissions on their part, and of tines on that of his holiness, the pope gave them his benediction, and ratified the peace. Notwithstanding that, he insisted upon the *Florentines* maintaining fifteen armed galleys against the *Turks*. This demand, which the *Florentines* complained heavily of, was afterwards mitigated by the address of *Guido Antonio Vespucci*: and thus the *Florentines* were placed in a situation the most desirable of any they had known for many years.

Discontent of the duke of Calabria.

The Florentines reconciled to the pope.

- Their first care was to obtain restitution of the towns that had been taken from
- c them by the duke of *Calabria*, and which had been left to the disposal of *Ferdinand*, but were now in the hands of the *Siennese*. *Ferdinand* was warmly plied by the *Florentines* to resist their importunities, because he might have thereby kindled a new war in *Italy*, which might have deprived him of the assistance he expected against the *Turks*. The towns were restored; by which, says *Machiavel*^d, it appears, that neither treaties nor oaths, but necessity, makes princes honest. Fortune thus seconding the virtues and abilities of *Lorenzo*, he was in his own country as great and glorious as a good citizen could wish to be; and even accidents were now construed as the effects of his policy.

A peace.

- The surrender of *Otranto* soon after by the *Turks*, tho' it quieted the fears, renewed the
- d diffensions of the *Italian* princes and states. The *Venetians* had pretensions upon the *Ferrarese*; and gaining the pope to their side, they made *S. Severino* their general. The *Florentines* placed *Constance*, lord of *Pesaro*, at the head of their army, and that of the *Milanese* was commanded by *Frederick* of *Urbino*. The pope not having declared himself, *Ferdinand* ordered the duke of *Calabria* to demand a passage for his troops through his dominions, for the assistance of the marquis of *Ferrara*, which was denied. The *Florentines* joining with *Ferdinand*, considered this denial as a commencement of hostilities on the pope's part, and took the field against him. The duke of *Calabria's* troops, assisted by the family of *Colonna*, carried their incursions to the gates of *Rome*, and *Nicholas Vitelli*, by the assistance of the *Florentines*, recovered *Citta di Castello*, from the pope's governor. His holiness being thus straitened on every side, took into his pay *Robert* of *Rimini*,
- e whose great reputation and experience gave so much spirit to the *Romans*, that they marched out of *Rome*, and obliged the duke of *Calabria* to come to a battle. The event was glorious for his holiness, or rather for his general. The battle was more bloody than any that had been fought in *Italy* for fifty years before, for almost one thousand men were killed on both sides; but at last the *Neapolitans* were entirely defeated, and the duke of *Calabria* himself must have been taken prisoner, had he not been saved by some *Turks*, who had entered into his service after the surrender of *Otranto*. A few days after, *Robert* of *Rimini*, who is stiled the *Magnificent*, died; and his holiness, to testify his gratitude to a general who had served him so faithfully, after giving him a magnificent burial, sent his nephew, count *Girolamo*, to deprive his infant son of his inheritance of *Rimini*. The
- f *Florentines*, on this occasion, generously interposed in favour of the infant and his mother; and the pope was baffled by them, not only in that attempt, but in another that he had formed against *Citta di Castello*. The war all this while went on in the *Ferrarese*, where the *Venetians* took *Figarola* from the marquis of *Ferrara*, and must have taken *Ferrara* itself, had not *Ferdinand* and the *Florentines* threatened the pope with the authority of a general council, which the emperor had then convoked at *Basil*. His holiness, obliged to give way to necessity, at last sent ambassadors to *Naples*, where a league, or rather a truce, for five years was concluded upon between him, *Ferdinand*, *Lewis the Moor*, and the *Florentines*; and the pope signified his pleasure to the *Venetians*, that they should desist from their war in *Ferrara*.

The pope desists.

the duke of Calabria.

- g THE *Venetians*, at that time, were so excessively powerful, as to become formidable to the other states of *Italy*. They defeated both the *Milanese* and the *Neapolitan* troops, that

Alarming power of the Venetians.

^d MACHIAVEL, book viii.

*At length
they did.*

had been sent to the assistance of the marquis of *Ferrara*, and were actually besieging *Ferrara* itself, when *Lorenzo de Medici*, the pope's legate, and the other allies of the *Florentines*, assembled at *Cresenza*, to consult about doing something decisive against the *Venetians*. At first it was proposed, that *Louis* should give them a diversion in their own country, which he declined doing; and then they resolved to march and attack the *Venetians* before *Ferrara*. It was, however, judged expedient to begin with destroying the *Venetian* fleet, which they effectually did. The land army of the *Venetians* consisted of two thousand two hundred men at arms, and six thousand foot; that of the *Florentines* and their allies, of four thousand men at arms, and eight thousand foot (B). The *Venetians*, not daunted with this great superiority of numbers, sent *S. Severino* across the *Adige*, where he proclaimed the young duke and his mother the sovereigns of *Milan*, under the walls of that city. This measure produced no commotion in *Milan*, and exasperated *Louis* so much, that he now agreed to the diversion he had rejected before; and in conjunction with the duke of *Calabria*, he fell into the *Bergamase*, the *Bressan*, and the *Veronese*, where they destroyed all the open country; and it was with difficulty that *S. Severino*, the *Venetian* general, could prevent their becoming masters of the cities. This happened in the year 1483.

It is broken.

Notwithstanding now but dissension amongst themselves, could have prevented the allies from driving the *Venetians* out of *Lombardy*. But the interests of the duke of *Calabria* and *Louis the Moor*, became then incompatible. *John Galeazzo*, nephew to *Louis* and the true duke of *Milan*, had married the duke of *Calabria's* daughter: and *Genzaga*, the marquis of *Mantua*, who had always kept them in friendship, being now dead, the duke insisted upon *Louis* putting his son-in-law in possession of his inheritance, hoping, that as *Galeazzo* was but a weak prince, he himself would succeed *Louis* as administrator of that duchy. This demand made *Louis* fall off from the confederacy, and threw him into the arms of the *Venetians*, with whom he made a peace in *August* 1484. By the articles of it, the *Venetians* were restored to the possession of all the towns taken from them, which had been put into the hands of *Louis*, while they retained all they had taken from the marquis of *Ferrara*. It was in vain for the *Florentines* and their allies to remonstrate against this treaty. They stood in need of peace, and they were obliged to accede to it. In the mean while, the allies had agreed with his holiness to withdraw all assistance from *Vitelli*, who remained in possession of *Citta di Castello*, which was besieged by his forces: but they were defeated by *Vitelli*, with whom his holiness was obliged to come to a compromise. The pope then joined the *Ursini* against the *Colonnas*, who favoured the *Neapolitans*. But at last each party beat the other into peace, neither being able to continue the war.

*The Florentines at war
with the Genoese.*

THE *Florentines* all this time had employed *Antonio de Marciano* to lie with some troops near *Serazana*, in hopes of having an opportunity to retake that city. Nothing however but slight skirmishes passed on either side. It may therefore be said, that all *Italy* was at this time in a state of tranquility; a circumstance so disagreeable to his holiness, that it broke his heart. His death filled all *Rome* with uproar and blood, occasioned by the differences between the families of *Ursini* and *Colonna*, and count *Giralamo* possessed himself of the castle of *S. Angelo*, which may be considered as the citadel of *Rome*. He, however, being desirous to oblige the next pope, retired to his own estates; and cardinal *Cibo*, who took the name of *Innocent VIII.* succeeded to the popedom, and restored the tranquility of *Rome*.

*They besiege
Pietra Santa,*

THE *Florentines* still continued very uneasy under the loss of *Serazana*, and the more so, as it had been taken from them by *Fregoso*, a private *Genoese*. They therefore made vigorous preparations for retaking it; upon which *Fregoso* yielded up the possession of it to the proprietors of the bank of *St. George*, who then possessed almost all the territories belonging to the *Genoese*, without the walls of their city. By this cession the *Florentines* had no pretext for making war against the *Genoese* as a community; and yet they could have no hopes of succeeding in the recovery of *Serazana*, without taking *Pietra Santa*, a town belonging to the *Genoese*. That they might have a good colour for a breach, they ordered a great quantity of provisions, under a very slight convoy, to be sent from *Pisa*

(B) It may be here necessary to explain one circumstance to the reader, which may have puzzled him in the course of this history, in which he sees the number of horse in armies commonly superior to those of foot. This was owing to the pride of the *Italian* noblemen and gentlemen, who generally served on horseback, and were themselves attended by a number of attendants on horseback, who were all of them reckoned to

be soldiers, tho' perhaps not above two or three hundred out of one thousand were properly armed for the field. But a distinction amongst the cavalry now prevailed. Men at arms, were men completely armed, who served on horseback, and their attendants, who are called light horse, are seldom mentioned. This distinction, tho' new in *Italy*, was very ancient in *France*.

to their army before *Serazana*, by the way of *Pietra Santa*. That garrison could not resist the bait: they sallied out, and easily became masters of the plunder. Upon this the *Florentine* army abandoned the siege of *Serazana*, and undertook that of *Pietra Santa*; and the war thus becoming general between them and the *Genoese*, the fleet of the latter took and burnt the fortrels of *Vada*, and ravaged the territory of *Volterra*. Their ravages were repressed by *Euongiammi Gianfigliuzzi*, a *Florentine* officer, who was sent with a party of horse against them. The *Genoese* navy, however, made an attempt upon *Leghorn*, a place which now began to make a figure in *Tuscany*, from whence it was repulsed with loss, though they had been at vast expence in engineering to reduce it.

b THE siege of *Pietra Santa* still went on; but so remiss was the *Florentine* army in its discipline, that they were surprised by a sally from the besieged, and driven from their works to the distance of four miles from the town. There they deliberated about abandoning the siege, and retiring into winter-quarters. This news coming to *Florence*, filled the whole city with indignation. *Antonio Pucci* and *Bernardo del Nero*, two of the most respectable citizens in *Florence*, were immediately dispatched with a large sum of money to remonstrate to the army, which it seems was numerous and well-appointed. The shame of being baffled before so inconsiderable a place, joined to the good conduct of the new commissaries, especially *Antonio Pucci*, was so successful that the soldiers stormed the works they had lost before, but with the loss of their general *Marciano*; and the town itself, perceiving their resolution, proposed a capitulation. To give the more honour to the defence made by the besiegers, *Lorenzo de Medici* came in person to the *Florentine* camp, and in a few days after the castle, as well as the town, surrendered. This siege cost the *Florentines* some of their best troops and officers, and amongst the latter *Antonio Pucci*, who died through the unwholesome heats of the country during the autumn season.

c THE *Lucquese* did not fail to claim from the *Florentines* *Pietra Santa*, as a place that had formerly belonged to their state. The *Florentines*, without denying that fact, told them, that before they gave it up, they must be satisfied for the vast loss of blood and treasure which the reduction of the place had cost them, and a treaty of peace being now set on foot by the pope, they were not sure whether they might not be obliged to restore the town to the *Genoese*. In those altercations the winter past, and all the next spring. *Lorenzo de Medici* was so afflicted with an hereditary gout, that he could do no business, and none could be done by the *Florentines* without him. This delayed the siege of *Serazana*: and the ambition of the duke of *Calabria* threw fresh obstacles in their way. The city of *Aquila* was so little dependent on the crown of *Naples*, that though it lay in that kingdom, it might be said to have been free. The duke of *Calabria* being in the neighbourhood with his troops, under pretence of business, trepanned the count of *Montorio*, who had the greatest sway in *Aquila*, into his power, and sent him prisoner to *Naples*, in hopes of reducing *Aquila* to an absolute subjection to that crown. The *Aquilians* upon this flew to arms, and not only put to death the king's commissary, and several of *Ferdinand's* friends in that city, but erected the papal banners, and invited the pope to take them under his protection. His holiness greedily accepted of the invitation; and taking into his pay *S. Severino*, who had been dismissed from the *Milanese* service, all the friends of count *Montorio*, and many of the *Neapolitan* barons, declared in his favour. *Ferdinand* applied to the *Florentines* for assistance; and tho' they were extremely averse from either entering into a war with the holy see, or prosecuting the advantages they had obtained over the *Genoese*, yet they sent an army to his assistance, by which *Alphonso* remained master of the field against his holiness, and all his other enemies. At last, the *Spaniards* offering their mediation, a peace was concluded, by which all *Italy* was once more restored to its tranquility, the *Genoese* alone being excluded, for having shaken off the yoke of *Milan*, and detaining the *Florentine* possessions.

f THE punctuality with which the *Florentines* had fulfilled their engagements with *Ferdinand*, gave them vast credit with the pope, who, during the war with the *Neapolitans*, had been betrayed by his general *S. Severino*, and he publicly declared, that he would do every thing in his power to serve and oblige them. This being reported to *Lorenzo de Medici*, he omitted nothing that could cement or improve the growing friendship, and actually gave one of his daughters in marriage to *Francis*, son to the pope, who had been married before he was exalted to the popedom. From that time the interests of *Florence* and the holy see became the same, as *Lorenzo* had agreed to every thing proposed for the advancement of his son-in law in *Italy*. The pope, on the other hand, insisted strongly with the *Genoese* that they should restore *Serazana* to the *Florentines*, as holding it from an iniquitous title derived from *Gregoso*. The *Genoese* were so far from paying regard to the remonstrances of his holiness, that they fitted out a fleet of galleys, then landed three thousand foot at *Serazanella*, and after taking and plundering the town, and the neighbouring places, all which belonged to the *Florentines*, they planted artillery against the castle. This being done

and at last takes it.

It is claimed by the Lucquese.

Revolution in Aquila.

A peace.

A. D. 1446. The pope favours the Florentines.

Serazana
taken.

done while a truce was subsisting under the pope's mediation, the *Florentines* complained loudly of it at *Rome*, but ordered their general *Virginio Orsini* at *Pisa*, to draw their troops together. They then sent ambassadors to require aid from their allies. But *Ferdinand* excused himself because of his war with the *Turks*, and *Lewis* of *Milan* trifled with them; so that they received none. Depending, therefore, on themselves alone, they appointed *James Guicciardini* and *Peter Vittori*, to command against the *Genoese*, who still pressed the citadel of *Serazanella*, and lay encamped on the river *Magra*. A battle quickly ensued, in which the *Genoese* were entirely defeated; and *Lorenzo de Medici* arriving in the *Florentine* camp, *Serazana* itself was besieged and taken, after an obstinate resistance, by the *Florentines*.

Events in Ro-
magna.

DURING those transactions on the *Magra*, *Lewis Sforza*, under pretence of sending some troops to the assistance of the *Florentines*, sent them to support an insurrection which he privately procured to be made in *Genoa*, by which that city once more fell into the hands of the *Milanese*. About the same time the *Venetians* were defeated near *Trent* by the *Germans*, and their general *S. Severino* was killed. But the *Venetians* soon made a peace, by which they gained more than all they had lost by war. The connections between the pope and *Lorenzo de Medici* grew every day stronger; for the latter persuaded *Boccalino* of *Osimo*, in the marquisate of *Ancona*, to restore that town to his holiness, after making it rebel. *Boccalino* afterwards lived in splendor at *Florence*, from whence he removed to *Milan*, where he was put to death by *Lewis Sforza*. In the *Romagna*, *Francis del Orso* assassinated count *Girolamo* in his own house, and made his wife and children prisoners, but could not master the citadel. The countess offered to prevail with the governor to surrender it, and the conspirators accordingly suffered her to enter it, detaining her children as pledges. But far from performing her promise, she threatened the governor and all the garrison with death if they did not make a vigorous defence, and slighted all the menaces of the conspirators against her children. This resolute conduct, and the approach of some troops to her assistance from *Milan*, made the conspirators fly with all their effects to *Citta di Castello*; but the countess pursued them and amply revenged her husband's death. The *Florentines* were no farther concerned in this incident, than as it gave them an opportunity of recovering the castle of *Piancaldoli*, which had been usurped from them by the count.

The Floren-
tines become
the admini-
strators of
Faenza.

THE *Florentines* were more interested in another tragical event, but of a more different nature, which at the same time happened near *Forli*. *Galeotto*, lord of *Faenza*, was married to the daughter of *John Bentivoglio* of *Bologna*, and by her had a son called *Astorre*. The lady conceived so intolerable an aversion to her husband, that she resolved to have him murdered, and she brought her father into the same unnatural design, in hopes of becoming master of *Faenza* after his son-in-law's death. She counterfeited sickness, and her husband coming to visit her, the assassins rushed out and slew him. Upon this, she took refuge with her son in the castle, while *Bentivoglio*, and one *Bergamino*, a *Milanese* officer, took possession of *Faenza*, where there happened to reside at that time *Antonio Boscoli*, a *Florentine* commissary. But while the state of affairs in *Faenza* was unsettled, the country people took arms, and breaking into the town killed *Bergamino*. made *Bentivoglio* prisoner, and recommended the government of the state, and young *Astorre*, to *Boscoli*. The *Florentines* readily undertook the charge, but set at liberty *Bentivoglio* and his daughter, who had continued blocked up in the citadel.

State of Flo-
rence.

FLORENCE was now at a very high pitch of happiness and prosperity. The *Venetians* were in no condition to hurt her; *Lewis Sforza* had no inclination, nor was it his interest. The pope and the king of *Naples* were her friends; and she might have been said to have possessed the ballance of power in *Italy*. Her people were rich, powerful, united, and flourishing in learning, arts, and sciences, beyond perhaps what any people ever were, excepting the *Albanians*. All this prosperity was owing to the wisdom and virtue of a private citizen, *Lorenzo de Medici*. For some years the tranquillity of his country was such, that it afforded no events proper for history to record, unless we mention as such, the prodigious encouragement given by the *Florentines*, after *Lorenzo's* example, to men of learning and genius, who filled their country during this happy interval with writings and works, that will ever be the admiration of mankind. *Lorenzo*, however, though honoured with the appellation of the Father of the Muses, did not forget his own family. He married his eldest son to *Alphonfina*, daughter to the chevalier *Orsini*. Though his second son *John*, afterwards the famous pope *Leo X.* was not above thirteen years of age, yet he procured for him the dignity of cardinal; but his third son was too young for any provision. He had four daughters: one of them was married to *James Salutati*, another to *Francis Cibo*, a third to *Peter Ridolphi*, all of them of great houses; and he would have given the fourth in marriage to *James Medici*, had she not died.

a Such was the happy state of *Florence* and the *Medici* family in 1492, when *Lorenzo de Medici*, worn out by a complication of distempers which settled in his stomach, died, aged no more than forty-four years. For his character we must, in a great measure, refer to those we have drawn of his illustrious predecessors, whom he resembled in all their public and private virtues; but he seems, in progress of time, to have exceeded them in personal accomplishments. He owed, as we have seen, his life to his valour, and he had a turn for military affairs, which was of infinite service to his country, though peace was the darling object of all his measures. The commerce of *Europe* began, during his time, to run into new channels, and more expensive manners prevailed in life. *Lorenzo* found that he was imposed upon by his factors, who lived like princes, and he therefore narrowed b his mercantile dealings, and laid out the money he was master of in territorial acquisitions, within the state of *Florence*, as being the most likely to give permanency to his family. He not only loved and rewarded, above any prince of his age, the fine arts, but practised them in his own person. According to *Machiavel*, compositions of his are still extant, that prove him to have been both a poet and a critic. He was a good judge of architecture, which in his time was commonly combined with painting, and of music. He founded the university of *Pisa*, to which he brought the most learned and ingenious men in *Italy*. He built near to *Florence* a monastery for father *Moriano*, who was an excellent preacher.

Death and character of Lorenzo de Medici.

He is said to have been more amorous than was consistent with the strict practice of virtue, and like *Scipio*, *Lelius*, and other great men of antiquity, to have unbent his more serious hours with juvenile recreations; so that two souls seemed to reside in his body, for c he sometimes made himself one of his own children. Though he had no opinion of distant conquests, yet he fortified *Florence* against invasion from abroad, not only by adding to the strength as well as the beauty of the city, but by putting his friends into the government of those states and places, that were in a manner the keys of the republic. He kept in his own hands the administration of *Faenza*; and, by his interest, the *Baglioni* governed in *Perugia*, and the *Vitelli* in *Citta di Castello*. To amuse his busy pragmatistical countrymen, as well as to render *Florence* more populous and frequented, he was perpetually exhibiting public jousts, tournaments, plays, entertainments, and other diversions, which had a wonderful effect upon the minds of the people, and reconciled them, in a great measure, to that d aristocracy of which they were naturally so jealous. As *Italy* was then the country of learned princes and nobility, *Florence* and *Lorenzo* became the residence of all who cultivated, practised, or studied the fine arts: and the famous *Pico*, count of *Mirandola*, after travelling through all *Europe*, chose to fix there.

LORENZO's fortune, in some respects, was equal to his merit. Several attempts, besides that of the *Pazzi*, were made upon his life; but all of them were defeated, and the assassins punished. The most distant princes were struck with reverence and esteem for his person and virtues; witness the correspondence he kept up with *Matthias*, king of *Hungary*, the ambassadors and presents he received from the reigning emperors of the *Turks*, one of whom delivered up to him the murderer of his brother, *Bernardo Bandini*, who had taken e refuge amongst the infidels. His palace was the center of unity for all *Italy*; and by his wonderful address, he brought it to a state of tranquility, which it had not known for some ages before. Upon his death, all the *Italian* states and princes sent compliments of condolence by their ambassadors to *Florence*.

By the death of *Lorenzo de Medici*, which was succeeded by that of pope *Innocent VIII.* the ballance of power in *Italy* was again destroyed. *Lorenzo* was succeeded by his son *Peter*; but he was far from being qualified, either by age or abilities, for maintaining his father's system. Both his wife and mother were of the *Orsini* family, and he resigned himself intirely to the direction of his kinsman *Virginio Orsini*, who persuaded him to strengthen his connections with the court of *Naples*; a measure which gave such umbrage to *Lewis Sforza*, that it produced the most dismal calamities to *Italy*. f

Succeeded by his son Peter.

INNOCENT VIII. was succeeded by *Roderigo Borgia*, a *Spaniard*, who called himself *Alexander VI.* a name that ever since has been another title for all manner of impiety, impurity, cruelty, and wickedness. He mounted the papal throne by open simony, and was even above the practice of hypocrisy in his vices. At the same time he was cunning and sagacious in finding out resources under all difficulties.

Borgia chosen pope by the name of Alexander VI.

As the great strength of *Italy* now lay in an union, *Sforza* proposed that the ambassadors of all her princes should present themselves in one day, as the members of one body, to make their usual congratulations upon the pope's accession, and that one should harangue him in the name of all the rest. *Peter*, and the bishop of *Arezzo*, had been named ambafadors from the *Florentines*, and both of them designed to make a great figure; the former by the magnificence of his dress, equipages, and attendance; the other, by the speech he intended to make. They therefore privately prevailed on *Ferdinand*, who had approved of *Sforza*'s scheme, to oppose it, which he did, but at the same time named his advisers. g

visers. This increased *Sforza's* suspicions. *Cibo*, who was the natural son of the last pope, and brother-in-law to *Peter*, lived then at *Florence*, and was persuaded to sell the castles of *Anguillara*, *Cervetri*, and some others, which he held in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, to *Virginio Orsini*, whom they intended should be a bridle upon the pope. *Alexander*, who had destined the crown of *Naples* for one of his own family, declared that the bargain was null, because those castles were fiefs of the holy see; and he was backed in his resentments by *Sforza*, who remonstrated to *Peter de Medici* the impolitic step he had taken, and pressed *Ferdinand* to compromise matters with his holiness. Notwithstanding this, *Virginio* took possession of the castles, at the secret instigation of *Ferdinand* himself.

Peter differs
with Sforza,

SFORZA was penetrating enough to perceive how strong the connections were between *Peter* and *Ferdinand*; and he endeavoured, but in vain, to break them, that he might preserve *Florence* still for his friend. He had usurped the power of his nephew, son-in-law to the duke of *Calabria*, who, with his daughter the dutchess of *Milan*, made no secret of their sentiments, and that the young prince and his family were in danger from the practices of his uncle. *Sforza*, at the same time, was sensible that he was hated by the people of *Milan*, and that the new alliance was necessary for his safety. He applied to the *Venetians*, who appeared cautious and backward; and to the pope, whose haughty spirit had been exasperated by the court of *Naples* refusing to give their king's natural daughter in marriage to one of his sons, with a large territory in *Naples* for her portion. The *Venetians*, at last, perceiving the pope to be irreconcilable to *Ferdinand*, in 1493 came into the confederacy proposed by *Sforza*; the professed object of which was to dispossess *Virginio* of his acquisitions. *Peter de Medici* and the duke of *Calabria* could easily, by the assistance of the *Colonnas* and the *Orsini*, have dashed this confederacy in pieces, had they not been restrained by the caution of old *Ferdinand*. In consideration of this, and of the uncertainty of the continuance of the friendship between the pope and the *Venetians*, and his own dangerous situation, *Sforza* had recourse to the desperate expedient of inviting *Charles VIII.* king of *France*, to invade the kingdom of *Naples*, under the title of the *injuried* princes, which had been made over to him. This title, it must be acknowledged, was plausible. *Charles* was a weak, giddy, young prince, both in body and mind; but had ambition, and a courage that well suited with the proposed expedition, from which he was dissuaded by his ablest counsellors; but upon *Sforza's* promising to supply him with money, he undertook it.

Charles invites
Charles of
France to
Italy.

Negotiations
on that head.

In this negotiation it is hard to say which was most absurd, the conduct of *Charles*, or that of *Sforza*, who, blinded by his fears, invited the most powerful prince then in *Europe* into *Italy*. *Ferdinand* seemed to dissemble his apprehensions; but he was dreadfully alarmed. He endeavoured, by his ambassadors at the court of *France*, where they were treating of a match between his grand-daughter (who was cousin german to *Charles*) and the young king of *Scotland*, to divert *Charles* from his resolution, by even offering *Charles* an annual subsidy. He endeavoured to compromise affairs with the pope, and to remove all *Sforza's* jealousies. He succeeded so far with the pope, that, after making great sacrifices both of honour and interest, the *Venetian* and *Milanese* troops, raised in consequence of the late treaty, were dismissed. By this time, *Sforza*, either from natural dissimulation, or inward conviction, expressed his apprehensions that he had gone too far; and promised *Peter de Medici*, that he would prevent the consequences of the invasion. But it was now too late; for *Charles*, having taken all measures that could secure his success, by alliances and negotiations with the great powers of *Europe*, required from the *Florentine* ambassadors a categorical answer, whether their state would give his army a passage through their dominions; and, upon their evading the question, he threatened to banish all the *Florentine* merchants out of *France*, if it was not instantly answered.

Death of Fer-
dinand king
of Naples.

PETER DE MEDICI, at first, endeavoured to bring *Ferdinand* to consent that he should yield to *Charles*; but *Ferdinand* remained inflexible on that head, and he died in the beginning of the year 1494. His son *Alphonso*, duke of *Calabria*, though possessed of all *Ferdinand's* faults of cruelty, oppression, and treachery, was inferior to him in address and temper. He perceived that the pope was exasperated by the difficulties he met with at home from the *Florentine* and *Neapolitan* factions, now in the *French* interest; but he brought him over, by making him a present of thirty thousand ducats, and by providing in the most extravagant manner for his three sons, one of whom was the famous *Cesar Bergia*. The *French* king, on the other hand, without minding the intrigues of *Italy*, intimated to the *Florentines*, and the other *Italian* states, his intention of marching towards *Naples*. *D'Aubigny*, son to the regent of *Scotland*, was at the head of this embassy; and when the ambassadors came to *Florence*, they put both the *Florentines* and *Peter de Medici* in mind of the infinite obligations they lay under to the crown of *France*. *Peter* had hitherto had the address to avoid giving the *French* court any positive answer; but he found the *Florentines*, in general, very averse from taking upon themselves to oppose the *French* march. *Peter's* influence,

a influence, however, was so great, that the ambassadors were dismissed without any positive answer.

THAT excellent historian *Guicciardini*^a, informs us, as he says, from good authority, that *Peter* had formed a design, by *Alphonso's* assistance, of intirely changing the *Florentine* government, by making himself prince or duke of that city. It is certain, that his father had no favourable opinion of his son's capacity^b, and that about this time two of his near relations, *Lorenzo* and *Giovanni de Medici*, men of great property, had entered into a correspondence with the *French* king and *Sforza*, for taking from him his power in the state, where all public offices were filled up by his appointment, and no measure could be concluded without his approbation. The design was discovered; but all the censure the conspirators received was a slight confinement to their own houses, though it was with difficulty that *Peter* was restrained from taking a much severer revenge. This discovery served only to render him the more irreconcilable to *Sforza*, whom he considered as author of the plot, and confirmed him the more in the measures he had proposed. A peremptory but a plausible answer was now sent to the *French* ambassadors, setting forth the inability the state of *Florence* was under of complying with the king's demands, without violating her most sacred engagements, which obliged them to defend the kingdom of *Naples* against any person that should invade it. This answer being intimated to *Charles*, he ordered the *Florentine* ambassadors immediately to quit his dominions; but, to shew that his resentment was chiefly levelled against *Peter*, he gave leave for all their merchants to remain in his dominions, excepting those who were factors or agents for him.

Design of Peter.

Conspiracy against him defeated.

Charles invades Italy.

THE invasion of *Italy* by *Charles* is one of the most shining events in modern history. But we shall confine our narrative to the share which the *Florentines* had in it. Neither they nor the pope had yet openly broken with *Sforza*; and they were so cautious, that they even refused to admit *Alphonso's* gallies into the harbour of *Leghorn*. After this, *Alphonso* and the pope, on the 13th of *July*, had an interview at *Vico Varo*, in which the operations of the war were settled, in case that *Charles* should execute his threats of invading *Italy*. *Alphonso* at that time had a noble fleet, with which he endeavoured to make an impression upon *Genoa*; but the design was defeated by the vigilance of the *French* in that city. The duke of *Calabria*, *Alphonso's* son, a young prince of great hopes, marched at the head of an army into the *Romagna*, where the *Florentine* interest was very strong. *Astorre Manfredi*, the prince of *Faenza*, was directed by them; but *Caterina Sforza*, mother of *Ottaviano Riverio*, lord of *Imola* and *Forli*, refused to expose her son's territories, unless the *Florentines* would declare themselves, and indemnify him for all he might suffer in the war. This difficulty put a stop to all the operations that had been concerted; and it now appeared, that there was in the *Florentine* senate a party against breaking with the *French*, which *Peter* durst not venture of himself to encounter. To remove his apprehensions, the duke of *Calabria*, in an interview he had with him at *Borgo San Sepolcro*, offered him, in his father's name, to employ his army as he (*Peter*) should direct. This elated *Peter* so much, that, returning to *Florence*, he obtained, against the sense of his wisest countrymen, leave from the republic, which was to defray all expences, to take *Ottaviano's* towns under the protection of the allies. *Giovanni Bentivoglio*, of *Bologna*, entered into the service of the allies upon much the same terms.

THE success of those negotiations might have been attended with the reduction of the *Milanese*, had it not been for the unaccountable slowness of the *Neapolitans*, or the *Arragonians*, as they were called, which gave an opportunity for *d'Aubigny*, the *French* general, to march with amazing celerity into the territory of *Imola*, before the duke's army had quitted *Cesena*; and thus the operations of the *Neapolitans* were confined to the *Romagna*, where the *French* and *Milanese* lived in great opulence. All this did not discourage *Peter de Medici*, who now declared himself openly against the *French*. He admitted the *Neapolitan* gallies to anchor and victual in the port of *Leghorn*, and to raise recruits all over the *Florentine* state. He sent one thousand men and some artillery to *Ferdinand's* army, which, by his order, was now joined by the troops under *Bentivoglio* and *Astorre*. We are, however, given to understand that those steps, taken by *Peter*, were far from being agreeable to the sense of the *Florentine* senate; nor did their ambassadors at *Venice* with any vigour second the warm but vain instances made by those of the pope, to induce that republic to join the league; the heads of which, at this time, applied for assistance even to *Bajazet*, the emperor of the *Turks*.

Peter favours the court of Naples.

It is probable, that *Sforza* would now gladly have restrained the vivacity of the *French*, who were making prodigious preparations for invading *Italy*; but the allies, instead of encouraging those sentiments in him, and bringing him over to a common league with all the

Conduct of Sforza.

^a GUICCIARDINI, book i. primo.

^b Annotatione in margine, fatta da Tomaso Porcacchi. GUICCIARDINI, libro

other states of *Italy*, by their conduct rendered him desperate. His minister at *Florence* had strenuously endeavoured to persuade *Peter*, by all means, to continue inviolably attached to his league with *Alphonso*; and *Peter*, by *Alphonso's* advice, disclosed to *Charles* all that passed between him and *Sforza's* ambassador on that head. He even went so far as, under pretence of sickness, to give that ambassador audience in his own bed-chamber, where he had concealed the *French* minister, who overheard all that had passed between him and *Sforza's* ambassador, who strongly insisted on *Peter's* entering into engagements for opposing the *French* invasion, and for continuing in his league with *Alphonso*. This stratagem, though natural, had a different effect from what *Peter* expected. When it became public in the *French* camp, *Sforza* had address enough to persuade the king, that all he meant was for his service: and having now nothing to hope farther from his intrigues, he applied himself in good earnest to forward the *French* expedition. *Charles* wanted no spur for that. He was then advanced so far as *Vienne* in *Dauphiny*; but destitute of every thing, but invincible obstinacy, for proceeding on the expedition. To raise money, he was obliged to pawn all the jewels of his crown and person. His subjects, in general, were averse to his proceeding farther; and even his generals, having such proofs of *Sforza's* irresolution or treachery, were very backward in their obedience. But the inviolable attachment of the *French* for their monarch overcame all difficulties. The king, obstinate and determined as he was, seemed to be startled, and to waver, at hearing of the disaffection of his troops to the service, and on being disappointed of a sum of money he had expected from *Sforza*. But the cardinal of *S. Piero* in *Vincola*, the determined enemy of the pope and the *Florentines*, having resettled his resolution, he advanced to *Asti*, where he received news that the *Napolitans* had been beaten by the duke of *Orleans* from *Rapalle*, and that *Genoa* was thereby secured in the *French* interest. In the *French* army, six thousand *Swiss*, then reckoned the best troops on the continent of *Europe*, served; and *Charles*, who, by falling ill of the small-pox, was detained a whole month, at last received from *Marseilles* a large supply of artillery, of a much more commodious construction, and far greater execution, than any which had been till then known in *Europe*. *Charles* having now entered *Italy*, affairs in the *Romagna* took an unfavourable turn for the pope and the *Florentines*, where many princes and states fell off from his and the *Florentine* interest. And though the duke of *Calabria* at first obtained many advantages over the *French* and *Milanese*, he was at last, through the treachery of those about his person, obliged to retreat, and to act on the defensive. *Charles* by this time was advanced to *Pavia*, where he found his cousin-german *Galeazzo*, the true duke of *Milan*, on his death-bed, occasioned through poison administered by his uncle *Sforza*. But neither his languishing condition, nor the tears of his beautiful wife and infant son, who threw themselves at his feet for his protection against *Sforza*, could dissuade *Charles* from proceeding; and the duke dying some days after, *Sforza* was invested with the ensigns of the duke of *Milan*, in prejudice of his grand-nephew, who was only five years of age. *Charles* was then at *Piacenza*; and neither he nor his court, abandoned as it was, could reflect without horror on the villainy and practices of *Sforza*.

He applies to
the Floren-
tines.

It is probable, that this horror, and *Sforza's* trifling with his engagements, were so strong, that *Charles*, not being joined as he expected by the *Italians*, would have repassed the *Alps*, had it not been for the encouragement he met with from the enemies of *Peter de Medici*. *Lorenzo* and *John de Medici*, whom we have already mentioned, having broken out of their confinement, repaired to *Charles* at *Piacenza*, where they represented the unpopularity of *Peter*, and the affection the *Florentines* had for the *French*, in such colours as determined *Charles*, at all events, to proceed. *Charles*, however, was so solicitous of gaining over the *Florentines*, that he sent them fresh ambassadors, offering them great advantages, if they would suffer him to proceed; and threatening them with the severest vengeance, if they obstructed his march.

He shows favour
to them.

This message had vast effects upon the minds of the *Florentine* people, who now saw themselves exposed to the wrath of a great king, merely through the imprudence of *Peter de Medici*. It was plain that *Charles*, had it not been for his resentment against *Peter*, might have marched to *Naples* without touching the *Florentine* territories; but he was determined to subvert *Tuscany* before he proceeded, and he marched by the way of *Parma*, at the instances of *Sforza*, to whom he was now reconciled, and who wanted to become master of *Pisa*. His army being strengthened by the junction of the *Swiss* from *Genoa*, he advanced victoriously, and took several places that belonged to the *Florentines* in the *Lunigiana*. The *Florentines*, or rather *Peter de Medici*, resolved to make their stand against him at *Serazana* and *Serazanella*, in a country where his army would find it difficult to procure subsistence if those places held out.

Peter submits
to him.

BUT the *French* carried on war in a manner that for many years had not been known in *Italy*. Each of their slightest skirmishes were attended with more bloodshed than had been for a century past lost in the greatest battles fought there. Their artillery was irresistible, and

a and they put a garrison which opposed them to the sword. All those considerations dismayed *Peter de Medici*, who finding so strong a dislike to him in *Florence*, came to a resolution unworthy of his rank and family, which was that of throwing himself at the feet of the *French* king. All that can be alledged in favour of *Peter* for this dastardly resolution, was the inability of the courts of *Rome* and *Naples* to support him, joined to the fresh resentments of his fellow citizens against him, occasioned by a new order issued by the *French* for all the *Florentine* merchants, without distinction, to evacuate their dominions. While *Peter* was preparing for his journey, a detachment of *Florentine* horse and foot, under *Paul Orsini*, marching to reinforce the garrison of *Serazana*, was cut in pieces by the *French*. Being admitted, with some difficulty, to the presence of *Charles*, whose army lay before *Serazanella*, and in the utmost distress, he agreed, in the most abject manner, to more than was required of him. He immediately gave up *Serazana*, *Serazanella*, *Pietra Santa*, and the citadel of *Pisa* and *Leghorn* to the *French*; that king engaging, by an instrument, to restore them as soon as he should be seated on the throne of *Naples*; and that the *Florentines* should pay for the *French* protection and friendship two hundred thousand florins (A).

and betrays his country,

PETER's concessions secured all *Tuscany* to the king, and paved his way into the *Romagna*, where the duke of *Calabria* was entrenched within the strong lines of a camp near *Faenza*, which were, with a great deal of bloodshed, forced by the *French*. The *Florentines* now submitted to *Charles*; and the duke, not knowing whom to trust to, was obliged to retire with precipitation under the walls of *Cesena*, and from thence towards *Rome*; so that the *Neapolitan* affairs began now to wear a very gloomy aspect. It was plain, that the unexpected progress of the *French* in *Italy*, was owing to the pusillanimity of *Peter de Medici*; and the magistrates of *Florence* sent some of his most determined enemies as their ambassadors to the king. Upon this *Peter*, under pretence of executing his late engagements with *Charles*, repaired to *Florence*, where his best friends looked coldly upon him; and he was not only denied admittance into the palace of the republic, but proclaimed a rebel, together with his two brothers; and they all three fled to *Bologna*, where they were received by *Bentivoglio* with the most bitter reproaches upon *Peter*'s misconduct and cowardice.

and is himself ruined.

d Upon this revolution of the *Florentine* state, the *Pisans* applied to the king, beseeching him to deliver them from the oppressive yoke of the *Florentines*, which, contrary to his agreement, he promised to do. Upon this the people pulled down the *Florentine* standards: and the king, sensible of his mistake, ordered the *Florentine* magistrates to continue in their places; but took possession of the new citadel, leaving the old one, which was of small importance to the *Pisans*, to the great disappointment of *Sforza*, who was in hopes of being put into possession of *Pisa*.

Revolt of the Pisans.

CHARLES was then at *Pisa*; and sending for *d'Aubigny* to join him, he proceeded towards *Florence*, which he entered in the midst of his guards and army as a conqueror, with his beaver up, and his lance erect. This terrible array, depressed and divided as the *Florentines* were, did not dispirit them. *Charles* had again and again declared, that he expected to be put into possession of the sovereignty of that republic; and finding the *Florentines* obstinate on that head, he dispatched messengers to *Bologna*, to recal *Peter de Medici*, who, by that time, had precipitately fled to *Venice*. But the *Florentines* were resolved to live or to die free. They called all their soldiers and subjects into their capital; and the word was given, that the moment the great bell was tolled, all should run to arms. It is more than probable that *Charles* came to the knowledge of this desperate resolution; for he had every motive that could induce him to prosecute his demands, which he at last receded from, on condition that the *Florentines* would suffer his deputies, under the denomination of men of the long robe, to remain in *Florence*, with a kind of jurisdiction; but the *Florentines* continued inflexible even on that head. It was now every moment expected that *Florence* must be deluged with blood; but the calamity was prevented by the unparalleled magnanimity of *Pietro*, a descendant of the famous *Neri de Capponi*. A day being fixed for the last determination, when all parties were assembled in the king's presence, *Charles* ordered his secretary to read the terms that were to purchase *Florence* her safety. They were harsh and tyrannical; and the secretary had scarcely finished the paper, when *Pietro* started from his seat, snatched it from him, and tore it before the king's face. "Now, Sir, said he, sound your trumpets, and we will ring our bells;" and then he left the room, attended by his companions. The *French* were no strangers to the wisdom and resolution of *Capponi*, who had resided in their court as the *Florentine* ambassador. They

Charles enters Florence as a conqueror.

Resolution of Capponi brings about a peace.

(A) *Sforza* arrived in the *French* camp next day, and *Peter* told him that he had wanted to meet him, but that he had missed him, because, he supposed, he had taken a wrong road. "One of us, replied *Sforza* with a sneer, I believe has."

were

were daunted by the boldness of his behaviour, and civilly desiring the deputies to return, a convention was made, by which *Florence* was to be the friend and confederate of *France*; and it was agreed that the citadels of *Pisa* and *Leghorn*, with *Pietra Santa*, *San Miniato*, and *Serravalle*, should be restored by *Charles* as soon as he was in possession of *Naples*, or as soon as he should return to *France*; but that in the mean time their revenues should accrue to the *Florentines*. The rebellion of the *Pisans* was to be forgiven. The *Florentines* were to take no steps in the present war without previously acquainting two ambassadors the king was to leave behind him. The attainders of *Peter de Medici*, and his two brothers, were to be taken off; but *Peter* was not to come within one hundred miles of the borders of the republic; nor his two brothers within one hundred miles of *Florence*. The *Florentines* were at liberty to reduce, by force of arms, all who rebelled against them; and the king, who was to receive in hand forty thousand ducats, and seventy thousand afterwards, most solemnly swore to the performance of all the articles.

Charles enters Rome.

No people, perhaps, ever appeared greater than the *Florentines* did during the whole course of this transaction. *Charles* proceeded from *Florence* to *Sienna*, and from thence to *Rome*, where the pope was now inclined to favour him; but he was so divided between hopes and fears, that *Charles* could not fix him to any resolution. His fears at last got the better. He yielded to all that was demanded of him; and he ordered the duke of *Cababria*, with his army, to evacuate the ecclesiastical state. *Charles* entered *Rome*, as he had done *Florence*, and would have deposed the pope, at the earnest solicitation of the *Romans*, both ecclesiastics and laics, had not *Alexander* corrupted some of his principal favourites; so that an accommodation, greatly to the honour of the pope, was effected between them. We shall here but just mention, that while *Charles* was approaching to *Naples*, *Alphonso*, who was extremely disagreeable to his subjects, abandoned his kingdom, and his son was crowned; but he too in a few days was obliged to yield to the superior fortune of *Charles*, who, almost without a blow, became master of that great and populous kingdom.

Disputes between

CHARLES, before his departure from *Florence*, had neglected to give orders for paying the *Pisan* revenues to the *Florentines*. The *Pisans* availed themselves of this omission; and being favoured by the *French* governors, they drove from their city, or imprisoned, all the *Florentines*, and were supported by the republics of *Sienna*, *Lucca*, and *Genoa*; but chiefly under-hand by *Sforza*, so that the *Pisans* recovered their liberty, both within their walls, and in their territory. The *Florentines*, all this while, depended for redress on the good faith of *Charles*; but he was influenced by his courtiers, and his own natural instability, rather to favour than to quell the revolt, and he put the *Florentines* off with dilatory answers; so that they at last took arms, and recovered several places in the *Pisan*. At last, *Charles* appointed the ambassadors of both people to attend him, to hear the allegations of each.

The Pisans and the Florentines.

The *Pisans* deputed *Burgundio Lolo*, one of their townsmen, to be their spokesman; as the *Florentines* did *Francisco Soderini*, then bishop of *Volterra*, and afterwards a cardinal. Each pleaded the cause of their principals to the best of their abilities. *Lolo* inveighed against the pride, tyranny, oppression, and cruelty of the *Florentines*, who had reduced *Pisa*, once a noble republic, to misery; while *Soderini*, on the other hand, insisted upon the double right which the *Florentines* had to *Pisa*, by compact and conquest, and that *Pisa* owed her existence to *Florence*; and concluded by putting the king in mind of the oath and engagements he was under.

Charles favours the Pisans.

CHARLES favoured the *Pisans*, but proposed several expedients to keep the *Florentines* quiet; all which were rejected. He was, however, obliged to temporize, because he wanted money; and he sent the cardinal of *St. Malo* to *Florence*, under pretext of reinstating them in the possession of *Pisa*; but with secret orders to amuse them till he got the money, which was not yet due. The *Florentines*, however, generously made their next payment of forty thousand ducats; and the cardinal went to *Pisa*, where, instead of putting the *Florentines* into possession, he augmented the *French* garrison, and pretended he could do the *Florentines* no service, because, not being a soldier, but an ecclesiastic, he could not conquer the obstinacy of the *Pisans*. In the mean while the latter daily increased, both in strength and courage. *Sforza*, making use of the agency of the *Genoese*, still at war with the *Florentines*, sent them a strong reinforcement, both of horse and foot, under *Lucio Malvezzo*, one of his best generals, and privately encouraged the *Siennese* to keep possession of *Monte Pulciano*, which had lately revolted to them from the *Florentines*.

The government of Florence settled.

The latter, as if the perplexity of their affairs called for a continuance of their divisions, were at this time split into a thousand factions about resettling, or rather remoulding, their form of government. They seemed to look back with surprize and horror at their situation under the family of the *Medici*; nor did they consider all the advantages it had brought

a brought to their country, as an equivalent for the interruption which they had given to the power of the people. They had preserved the forms of the constitution, but had deprived them of the substance; and no sooner had *Charles* left *Florence*, than a meeting of the whole body of the citizens, called a parliament^b, was held in the Great Square before the palace; and there, according to our author, they formed a model, seemingly popular, but really calculated for the interest of a few. The *Florentines* quickly perceived the defects of this model; and another meeting was held soon after to alter it. At this assembly, *Paolo, Antonio Soderini* made a long speech, recommending a popular form of government, in which he made a distinction between the ordinary and extraordinary power of the magistrates. He proposed, that all the magistrates and inferior officers, both in the city and territory, should
b be chosen in an assembly of all who were legally qualified to partake of the government; and that no new laws should be enacted but by such an assembly. This method, he thought, would be an incentive for citizens to aspire to public offices by virtue, merit, and modesty. As to the extraordinary powers, those which related to peace or war, the amendments of laws, and other matters of the highest importance in the government, he proposed that the people should chuse a separate magistracy for that purpose, who were to meet and deliberate independently upon them, on all matters committed to their determination, because they require to be treated with superior sagacity, learning, and secrecy. He thought, that on those two points depended the true form of popular government, which might be leisurely polished and improved by his fellow-citizens till it arrived at perfection; and he
c said, it was owing to the partition of policy which he proposed, that the state of *Venice* had so long maintained its liberty and independency. He advised the members present to lay hold of the present opportunity, now that they were their own masters, to introduce this popular model.

Debates

SODERINI was answered by *Guido Antonio Vespucci*, a citizen likewise of great eminence, who treated *Soderini's* proposal as chimerical and impracticable, and of all people in the world the least fitted to the genius of the *Florentines*. He thought that *Florence*, under a popular government, might run from one extreme to another; and being freed from tyranny, might plunge into licentiousness, which, he said, was the worst tyranny of the two. He thought there was a specifical difference between the constitutions of *Florence* and *Venice*, because the latter had always a doge at the head of its government. He appealed to the experience of history, whether their own country, as well as *Athens* and *Rome*, had not been always saved by the wisdom of a few from the misgovernment of the many. But why, said he, should you object to the method that has been settled by the parliament, which leaves every thing to the disposal of the magistrates, who are not created for life, nor elected by a few, but are chosen by ballot from amongst those qualified, according to the ancient custom of *Florence*.
d

on that head.

It is possible our author himself composed the speeches he puts into the mouths of those two citizens, the better to illustrate the political topics then agitated amongst his countrymen. But the madness of a *Dominican* friar set at nought all their wisdom. He was of
e *Ferrara*, and his name was *Girolamo Savanarola*. He was perpetually harranguing from the pulpit; and he at last worked himself to a pitch of enthusiasm, and thought himself endued with the spirit of prophecy. An enthusiast never fails to gain proselytes, especially in a free state; and if his doctrine admits of politics, he is soon at the head of a great party. *Savanarola* was a professed advocate for the power of the people in the government. He avowed the utmost hatred to pope *Alexander*, and the house of *Medici*; and in a short time he became so popular, that he was above the reach of civil justice. Having, according to the gloomy ideas of enthusiasts, foretold the invasion of *Italy* by foreign armies, which no walls nor troops could oppose; and that the *Florentine* government was upon the eve of a change, when *Italy* was in full tranquility,
f and the house of *Medici* in power; he was considered by the people as a prophet; for he disclaimed all carnal learning and human foresight, and pretended that his information came from God himself. In short, he brought the same great authority to prove, that a new parliament ought to be summoned, in order to abolish the present form of government, and to institute one entirely popular. His arguments were irresistible, and his party so numerous, that it was at last determined that a supreme council should be formed of the whole body of the citizens, who, according to the ancient laws, were qualified to bear posts in the government. The business of this council was to chuse all the magistrates in the city and the state, to settle the public subsidies, and to strengthen, amend, or alter, the laws in being. This council being settled, a public decree passed, in the nature of an
g *Athenian* amnesty, for abolishing all heart-burnings in the state, and preventing future discords, by enacting, that all past transgressions and treasons should be forgot.

History of Savanarola.

The government never modelled.

^a Nel Parlamento, GUICCIARDINI.

THUS, from the ravings of a mad enthusiast, the foundations of a noble constitution were laid, by placing the legislative power in the hands of citizens legally qualified for posts in the government, who were to dispose of the executive power as they saw proper. This new model admitted of improvements; but these were deferred till the citizens should be reconciled to it, and sensible of its benefits.

Strange en-
thusiasm

BEFORE we proceed to other matters we shall, tho' not in order of time, recount the fate of *Savonarola*. The friends of the *Medici* and the pope, perceiving the prodigious power he had over the people, resolved to encounter him with his own weapons; and for that purpose raised up a *Franciscan*, an order of men that are mortal enemies to the *Dominicans*, who opposed *Savonarola* so effectually, that in a short time the populace was divided between them, and the parties seldom met without blows. At last a *Dominican* was found hardy enough to propose an ordeal, for proving the sanctity of *Savonarola*; and he offered to walk through a kindled pile of wood; and a *Franciscan*, to prove the sanctity of his order, offered to do the same. The challenge was accepted of on both sides, and the piles were lighted; but when the two champions were to enter upon the fiery trial, both their hearts failed them. The *Dominican* insisted upon having the host in his hand, which was obstinately opposed by the *Franciscan*, as being no part of the agreement; and, neither yielding, both escaped. The *Franciscans*, however, greatly triumphed over the *Dominicans*; and *Savonarola's* party perceiving his sanctity not to come up to the ideas they had conceived of it, abandoned him to the fury of his enemies. The magistrates, out of compassion, desired him to make his escape; but tho' he knew how very powerful and inveterate his enemies were, he refused to leave the city. Upon this he was apprehended, and seven times put to the torture. Little credit is to be given to confessions taken from a rack; but it is said, that he acknowledged himself to be a false prophet, and that he had abused auricular confessions, both those that were taken by himself and those that had been communicated to him by his brethren. He was at last condemned, with two of his fraternity, to the flames, into which their bodies were thrown, after they had been strangled.

and death of
Savonarola.

Charles forced
to leave Na-
ples,

CHARLES VIII. of France may be said not to have taken so much pains in conquering as he did in losing *Naples*. He succeeded by the panic, which his new method of making war, and the French impetuosity, had spread over *Italy*. He lost it by a series of miscarriages, which none but a weak-brained prince, surrounded by worthless sycophants, could have been guilty of. Having contracted an infinite contempt for the *Italians*, he suffered his soldiers to run into all kinds of excesses, and to practice every indecency that could wound the delicacy of his new subjects, who, in a few weeks, thought the *Aragonian* severity far preferable to the *French* insolence. Add to this, that *Charles*, far from acknowledging the zeal of the *Neapolitans* and *Italians* who had sided with him, gave away all places of posts and power to his *French* favourites. He was equally unattentive to all the other affairs of government. His scandalous breach of faith with the *Florentines*; his seizing their castles; his keeping possession of *Pisa*; and his trifling with *Sforza*, and many other circumstances, made all *Europe* believe that he intended to conquer and to hold all *Italy*: so that the neighbouring powers were now alarmed. *Sforza* became as active an instrument against him, as he had been before zealous for him. Finding himself disappointed in all his favourite views, particularly that of re-annexing *Pisa* to the duchy of *Milan*, he sounded the *Venetians*, whom he found disposed to his wish; and the emperor *Maximilian*, who had particular grounds of quarrel with *Charles*, came into their party. Before he left France, he had given up to *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* of Spain, the fine country of *Roussillon*, on their engaging not to molest him in the conquest of *Naples*; but they soon found evasions for breaking those engagements, by pretending that they had been formed under a salvo to any other person's right, and that they discovered that the kingdom of *Naples* was a fief of the *Roman* church: they likewise, therefore, came into the confederacy. As to the pope, he greedily embraced it.

by a league,

which the
Florentines
refuse to join.

THE allies, however, thought their confederacy imperfect, till they could bring the *Florentines* into it. The strongest applications were made for that purpose; and *Sforza* offered to employ all the power of the league in protecting them against the resentment of *Charles*, and in assisting them to recover *Pisa* and *Leghorn*. This offer, joined to the king's scandalous infidelity towards them, would, at another time, have moved the *Florentines*. But they had experienced, that they could have as little dependence upon the *Venetians*, *Sforza*, and the pope, as they could have upon *Charles*, and therefore they determined themselves for a neutrality. There was the more merit in this, as they had engaged the cardinal *St. Malo*, by a large sum, to befriend them with *Charles*, and he had deceived them. When they complained to *Charles* himself, and requested him to oblige the *Siennese* to restore to them *Monte Pulciano*, he treated them only with taunts and sneers; but still they thought that their interest was safer with him than with *Sforza*, who, if he came into possession of *Pisa*, would retain it for ever; whereas *Charles* would be soon obliged to abandon it.

CHARLES

a *CHARLES*, notwithstanding his natural indolence, was alarmed when he heard of the *Librafatta* strength of the league formed against him. He ordered the garrison he had left at *Asti*, under the duke of *Orleans*, to be reinforced out of *France*; but above all, he sent a new body of six hundred *French* to reinforce his garrison at *Pisa*. *Librafatta* was at that time besieged by *Malvezzo*, who was in the pay of the *Pisans*, and he had been obliged to raise the siege; but being joined by the new garrison, he renewed it, and took both town and castle, which the *Florentines* could not relieve, because of the overflowings of the *Secchia*; and after this, the garrison treated the *Florentine* territory as a conquered country. The *Florentines* complained bitterly to *Charles* of those abuses; and he had at last the complaisance to assure them, that if they would have a little patience, he would give them full redress, as

b he was now upon his return to *France*.

BUT by this time the league had acquired a formidable degree of strength. The *French* army, in the kingdom of *Naples*, had been greatly reduced, and *Charles* was under a necessity of leaving half of it behind him to preserve his conquests. Upon repeated advices of his danger, he resolved to run all risks, and to force his way to *Asti*, in his return to *France*. He first, however, endeavoured to obtain the investiture of the kingdom of *Naples* from the pope, to whom he offered great terms if he would comply; which his holiness declined to do, and sent for a party of the *Venetian* and *Milanese* army to defend *Rome*, in case *Charles* should attempt to enter it. *Sforza* and the *Venetians* at first ordered three thousand men to his assistance; but, on farther reflection, they countermanded their march; so that they, having garrisoned the castle of *St. Angelo*, left *Rome*, which *Charles* entered, and afterwards marched peaceably through all the ecclesiastical state, except at *Toscanello*, which refusing entrance to his troops, was stormed and plundered. *Charles* then arrived at *Sienna*, where, notwithstanding the urgent motives he had to continue his march, he remained for six days, and gave audience to the *Florentine* deputies, who applied to him for the restitution of their castles, according to his solemn promise. To prevail upon him to perform it, they offered not only to pay the thirty thousand ducats that were still due to him, but to escort him to *Asti* with three hundred men at arms, and two hundred foot, under their general *Francisco Secco*. *Charles*, considering his situation, would not have hesitated a moment in accepting those offers, had he been rightly advised; but *Ligni*, his kinsman, a young man, but a chief favourite, having a private pique against the *Florentines*, represented them as an inconsiderable power, and that the *French* army was able to force its way through all *Italy* without their assistance. He was joined by *de Pienes*, who expected from *Charles* the government of *Pisa* and *Leghorn*: but the wiser part of his council advised him to relinquish all to the *Florentines* but *Pietra Santa* and *Serazana*, by yielding up which to the *Genoese*, he might engage them in his interest. Thus the application of the *Florentines* miscarried; and it is probable that *Ligni* had a farther view in the advice he gave to his master on that head. Before *Charles* left *Sienna*, a party of the *Siennese* themselves, dissatisfied with the government of the nine magistrates they were under, applied to be taken under the protection of *Charles*, and to have a *French* garrison, commanded by *Ligni*. Tho' all the rest of *Charles's* counsellors dissuaded him from accepting this offer, yet *Ligni's* counsel prevailed, and *Charles* received *Sienna*, and all its territory, under his protection, excepting *Monte Pulciano*; the difference about which he left to be adjusted between the *Siennese* and the *Florentines*. *Charles* leaving to the *Siennese* the choice of their governor, they pitched upon *Ligni*, and assigned him an appointment of twenty thousand crowns, on his engaging to maintain an officer and three hundred foot for their defence. It soon appeared that this weak young man thought of no less than making himself sovereign of *Sienna*, and perhaps of other parts of *Tuscany*; but very soon after *Charles* had left *Sienna*, the council of nine recovered their authority, and beat the *French* garrison out of their city.

f THE ambassadors of *Maximilian* had now given to *Sforza* the solemn investiture of the duchy of *Milan*; and he and the *Venetians* prevailed with *Bentivoglio* to bring the *Bolognese* into the league. *Sforza*, understanding that the *Germans* were the only people they could hire to be depended on to oppose the *French*, sent to enlist two thousand *German* foot, and ordered *Galeazzo di San Severino* to besiege *Asti*, with the rest of the *Germans* in his service. *Sforza's* avarice disappointed his design. The *Germans* refused to enlist, because he did not come up to their price. Those under *Galeazzo* deserted, while the duke of *Orleans* was so well reinforced from *France*, that he not only defended *Asti*, but made himself master of the important city of *Novara*, and laid siege to its citadel; and *Sforza*, who was hated by the *Milanese*, must have been ruined, had he not been supported by the *Venetians*.

g *PETER de Medici*, as we have already observed, was at *Venice* when he received *Charles's* letter, offering him his friendship, and to restore him to his power. He communicated this offer to the *Venetians*, who not only strenuously dissuaded him from agreeing to it, but secretly planted guards over him to observe his motions, and to prevent his escape. He

The strength of the league increases.

Resolution of the Florentines.

found

Charles keeps
possession of
Pisa.

The French
gain the bat-
tle of Fornuo-
vo.

A treaty.

found means however, to repair to *Charles*, at *Sienna*. The *Florentines* expected the latter would pay them a visit, and that he would bring along with him *Peter de Medici*. Being constant to their former purpose, they immediately filled their city with troops, and put the people under arms to oppose any attempt in his favour; and this shew of resolution determined *Charles* to leave *Florence* on his right hand, and to march to *Pisa*. During the short time he remained there, news came of the prodigious increase of the force of the confederacy, which was now assembled near *Parma*; and the restitution of the *Florentine* castles was again debated before *Charles*, and opposed by the same party that had defeated it before. They added to their former arguments, that the strength of the league ought to be a powerful inducement for *Charles*, to keep possession of *Pisa*, that he might have a sea-port to which he might retire, if he should meet with any misfortune in *Lombardy*; that the *Florentines*, who were as treacherous as the other *Italians*, were by no means to be trusted with it; and that his keeping possession of *Leghorn* was necessary, for the security of his kingdom of *Naples*. *Charles* at first appeared to be undetermined, when the *Pisans* of all ages, sexes, and conditions, threw themselves in floods of tears at his feet, beseeching him, in the most moving manner, not to abandon them to their former tyrants the *Florentines*, from whom they had nothing now to expect but the extremes of cruelty. Their distress moved even *Charles's* *Swiss* guards, and one of their captains, *Salazart*, in the name of the rest, conjured the king to consult his own honour, and that of his crown, by protecting the *Pisans* against their enemies; and if he stood in need of the *Florentine* money, that they were ready to lay their collars, plate, money, pensions, and pay, at his feet. *Charles* still appearing irresolute, a kind of a tumult ensued. The cardinal of *St. Malo*, and all about *Charles's* person, who were thought to be in the *Florentine* interest, were threatened with death; and *Charles* still, to keep up some appearances of justice, desired the *Florentine* ambassadors, who remained at *Lucca*, to meet him at *Asti*, where he promised to give them satisfaction. He then left *Pisa*, after changing the governor of the citadel, and strengthening the garrisons of the other castles.

It was now perceived that *Charles* could not proceed to *Asti* without a battle. The confederates were strong in the *Parmesan*; but three-fourths of their army consisted of *Venetian* troops, who were commanded by *Francisco Gonzaga*, a brave young prince, under whom served several officers of great reputation and experience. *Charles* proceeded under great disadvantages; and when his van arrived at *Fornuova*, the marshal *de Gie* demanded, in his master's name, a passage for himself and his army. Before he had time to receive an answer, a party of the *French* was defeated by the *Venetians*; but they not following their blow, the *French* had time to collect together all their forces, and the boldness of *Charles's* attempt struck his enemies with terror. Both armies at last came to an engagement on the banks of the *Taro*, in which the *French* were victorious, notwithstanding the great superiority of their enemies in numbers, and proceeded to *Asti*. He was not equally successful in his operations where he did not command in person. *Ferdinand*, king of *Naples*, re-entered into the possession of that kingdom, and was vigorously supported both by the natives and the *Spaniards*. An expedition which *Charles* had sent both by sea and land against *Genoa*, miscarried; while the *Venetians* and *Sforza*, now dropping all their frugal maxims, engaged in their service ten thousand choice *German* troops. The turn which affairs had taken at *Naples* in prejudice of *Charles*, was favourable to the *Florentines*, because it rendered their money necessary to him. They had reduced some places which had revolted from them in the neighbourhood of *Pisa*, particularly *Pontefacco*, which had surrendered upon capitulation. The *Florentine* soldiers, however, were so exasperated by the cruel treatment they had received, that they broke the capitulation, by putting to death some of the *French* who had been in the fort, and would have killed more, had not the *Florentine* commissaries interposed. Their enemies about *Charles* made a handle of this for breaking off the treaty; but his necessities determined him at last to sign it with their deputies, which he did while he was at *Turin*.

THE terms were, that all the towns and forts belonging to the *Florentines* should be immediately restored; the *Florentines* obliging themselves, upon a valuable consideration, at the end of two years, to give up *Pietra Santa* and *Serazana* to the *Genoese*, if *Charles* was then master of that city; that the ambassadors should pay down the thirty thousand ducats, that were in arrears upon the convention at *Florence*; and that upon the restitution of the castles, for which they had security in jewels, the *Florentines* should lend to the king, upon the credit of his receivers-general, seven thousand ducats, which they were to distribute amongst his friends in *Naples*; that if they were not engaged in any war in *Tuscany*, excepting that concerning *Monte Pulciano*, they should send to the king's assistance in *Naples*, the troops that served under *Vitelli* in the *Pisan*; but if they were free of all war, they were then to send two hundred and fifty men at arms on the same service, but not to stay longer than the month of *October*; that the *Pisans* should enjoy a general indemnity; that their effects should be restored to them, and that they should be encouraged in the cultivation of

^a of the arts and sciences; and that six of the principal citizens of *Florence*, should be delivered to the king as hostages.

WHILE this treaty was negotiating, another was on foot at *Vercelli* between *Charles* and the allies, who granted him every thing with an intention to perform next to nothing. All they meant was to prevail on him to leave *Italy*, which he accordingly did. *Sforza* let all the *French* prisoners at liberty, restored the ships taken at *Rapalle*, removed his general *Fracassa* from *Pisa*, and delivered the castle of *Genoa* to the duke of *Ferrara*, and performed some other immaterial circumstances of the treaty, but evaded the rest; and such was his artful management, that he prevented the execution of the treaty of *Pisa* between *Charles* and the *Florentines*. All this he did under pretence that tho' he was sovereign of the *Genoese*, yet he had no compulsive power over their conduct; a distinction he invented after the treaties were signed. Under this evasion, he disappointed the *French* king of the succours that had been stipulated to be sent from *Genoa*, to support his interest in *Naples*; but, without having recourse to any pretexts, he stopped *Antonio Vespucci*, one of the *Florentine* deputies, in his road between *Turin* and *Florence*, with the treaty in his pocket, rifled him of his papers, and sent him prisoner to *Milan*. Perceiving by the treaty that the *Florentines*, as soon as *Pisa* was given up, were to send succours in men and money to the *French* in *Naples*, he and the *Venetians* contrived how to defeat the rendition. Each of them had an eye upon *Pisa*; *Sforza*, for reasons already hinted at, and the *Venetians*, because they aspired to the sovereignty of *Italy*, and knew that the *Florentines* could not preserve *Leghorn* without *Pisa*, which was the gate to *Tuscany*, and would give them the command of all the *Mediterranean*. *Sforza* knew their design, and countermined them. Thus *Pisa* was fed with hopes from both.

Another in favour of the Pisans.

THE *Florentines*, sensible of the difficulties they had to encounter before the treaty of *Turin* could be executed, raised an army, took the castle of *Palais*, and encamped before *Vico Pisano* almost at the gates of *Pisa*. Here it appeared, that *Entragues*, the governor of the citadel of *Pisa*, and the other *French* generals, were as backward as the *Pisans* themselves were, towards admitting the *Florentines* into that city. *Paul Vitelli*, pretending secret orders from *Charles*, threw himself into *Vico Pisano*, from the siege of which the *Florentines* were driven with vast loss and disgrace. Authentic duplicates of the treaty of *Turin*, however, arriving in *Tuscany*, *Beaumont*, the *French* governor, presently gave up *Leghorn* to the *Florentines*; but when he began to consult with *Entragues* about the rendition of *Pisa* and the other places, the latter trifled so egregiously, that the *Florentines* were obliged to complain to *Charles*, who was at *Vercelli*. He seemed to blame *Entragues*, and sent him positive orders, which were no better obeyed than the former. He still found means to evade the performance; and the *Pisans*, who had now one thousand mercenaries in their pay, erected a strong fort at the *Florentine* gate, for their defence. This fort lay under the cannon of the citadel; and *Entragues* thinking the *Florentines* could not take it, invited them to come to the *Florentine* gate, and take possession of *Pisa*. *Paul Vitelli*, whom the *Florentines* had brought, or rather bought over to their interest, knew that the *Pisans* were determined to make resistance; and instructed the *Florentines* so well, that they carried the fort, and drove the *Pisans* within it into the suburb, which they entered and took possession of. But while they thought themselves secure of success, the *French* governor all of a sudden fired upon their troops so furiously, that they were obliged to abandon the place, and retire to *Fascina*, from whence they again complained to *Charles*.

The war is renewed.

The Florentines defeated

To embarrass the *Florentines* more, the allies and the pope now espoused the cause of *Peter de Medici*, and his kinsman *Virginio Orsini*, and sought to put him in possession of his family power in *Florence*. This design was strongly supported. *Peter* was master of ten thousand ducats in ready money; *Virginio* was at the head of a body of veterans; *Bentivoglio* was hired by the *Venetians* to act in concert with *Sforza*; and *Caterina Sforza* was to harass them from *Imola* and *Forli*. This plan was formed at *Rome*, while the *Venetians* still continued at war with the *Siennese* about *Monte Pulciano*, where they beat *Giovanni Savelli's* regiment, took him prisoner, and demolished a fortress the *Siennese* had erected on the borders of the *Florentine* dominions. *Peter* was likewise encouraged to hope for assistance from the *Perugians*, whose sovereign was the pope; but their master was *Baglioni*, a friend to the *Medici* family. *Peter* and *Virginio* set out for *Rome*, with sanguine expectations of success from the assistances promised them, but chiefly from the divisions that prevailed in *Florence*. They continued for some time in the *Perugian* territory, and performed several important services to *Baglioni* and the *Perugians*. They could not, however, bring either of them to declare for them, the *Florentines* having engaged them in their interests by money, and taken some of the *Baglioni* family into their pay. *Peter* likewise failed in a design he had formed against *Cortona*, which was discovered by a mean fugitive; and not only that place was reinforced from the *Florentine* army, which still lay in the *Pisan*, but such

Design to favour the house of Medici.

measures were taken as prevented *Virginio* from joining with the *Siennese*. *Peter* and *Virginio* next endeavoured to force the *Perugians*; and this, together with the bad condition of their troops, who amounted to no more than three hundred men at arms, and three thousand foot, made their friends look cold upon them. All they could obtain of *Bentivoglio* was permission to enlist men in the *Bolognese*; and *Sforza* had encouraged *Peter* only with a view of distracting the *Florentines*, while the *Venetians* refused to act, till they had proofs from *Sforza* that he was in earnest. But the real view of both was to drive the *French* out of *Naples*.

Ferdinand
gains ground
in Naples.

In the mean while, *Peter* and *Virginio* were obliged to withdraw to *Rapclano* in the *Siennese*; but here *Virginio*, disgusted with the conduct of the confederates, entered into the service of *France*, and marched to *Naples*, where the army of king *Ferdinand* every day gained ground. *Pisa* was still in possession of *Entragues*, who, notwithstanding the most peremptory orders sent him by *Charles*, not only refused to deliver up the citadel to the *Florentines*, but in the beginning of the year 1496, he, by the intervention of *Lucio Malvezzo*, who was an agent for *Sforza*, (tho' he pretended to act for the *Genoese*) agreed to deliver up the citadel to the *Pisans*, on the payment of twenty thousand ducats. The *Pisans* struck the bargain, tho' all their state was not able to raise half the money. But the *Genoese* lent them four thousand ducats, the *Venetians* four thousand, and *Sforza* four thousand, tho' at that very time he pretended to negotiate a perpetual peace with the *Florentines*. By this means the *Pisans* were enabled to pay the twenty thousand ducats, twelve thousand of which *Entragues* appropriated to himself, and divided the remainder amongst his troops.

Disingenuity
of the French
governor to-
wards the Flo-
rentines.

THE general opinion now was, that *Charles* had either secretly authorized *Entragues* for what he did, or that the latter would lose his head. Neither was the case. *Charles* was sincere, but was weak enough to be bullied, or flattered, into an approbation of all that had been done by *Entragues*, who stipulated in the convention, that he still should be sovereign of *Pisa*. This was the more extraordinary, as the surrender of *Pisa* absolutely disabled the *Florentines* from performing to *Charles* the engagements they had entered into by the treaty of *Turin*, and greatly contributed to his losing the kingdom of *Naples*. The *Pisans*, who razed their citadel as soon as it was in their possession, did not pretend to be independent; but they had a mortal aversion to all dependency upon the *Florentines*. They implored the assistance of all the *Italian* powers, and would have directly given themselves up to the subjection of *Sforza*, had he not been afraid of incurring the resentment of his other allies. The affairs of *Pisa* were by them considered as a common cause, tho' each secretly aspired to be master of that city. As to the *Florentines*, they were now obnoxious to all the rest of *Italy*, on account of their attachment to the *French*; and all the confederates engaged to support the *Pisans* in maintaining their newly recovered liberty, which was confirmed to them even by *Maximilian*, as lord paramount of *Italy*. The dispute for the possession of *Pisa* lay now between the *Venetians* and *Sforza*, and was carried on by both parties doing the *Pisans* all the good offices, and giving them all the assistance that was in their power, even to a profusion of men and money. *Sforza*, however, partly through avarice, and partly through a natural craft, which led him sometimes to spin his politics too fine, began to slacken in his remittances to the *Pisans*, which made them apply the more assiduously to the *Venetians*, who supplied them so generously, that the *Pisans* offered to put themselves under their protection. The matter was debated in the senate of *Venice*, where the wisest members were against accepting the offer, and were for maintaining the independency of the *Pisans*; but they were over-ruled by the party of their doge *Agostino Barbarico*. A public decree was drawn up by the senate, for taking the *Pisans* under the protection of *Venice*, for the defence of their liberty. The excellent author I last quoted^b, has exhibited a true, but very extraordinary character of *Sforza*. With great wit and abilities he had a fund of vanity and weaknesses. He was the herald of his own praise, and used to boast that he was the son of fortune, and could manage his mother as he pleased. He publicly ascribed to his own merit all the great events that had happened in *Italy* for ten years before; and he vaunted in being the author of the most infamous counsels, provided they were successful. This arrogance became so habitual, that he imagined himself to possess a kind of a political infallibility; and he affected the character of cunning and treachery so greatly, that he was pleased with the appellation of *the Moor*.

Character of
Sforza.

The Floren-
tines favoured
by Charles.

ALL that the *Florentines* could do under the general odium of all the states of *Italy*, was to make earnest, but fruitless applications to *Charles*. That prince continued to favour them, and sent the most peremptory orders to all his officers and governors, who were in possession of the other places and castles stipulated by the treaty of *Turin* to be delivered

^b GUICCIARDINI, book iii.

a to the *Florentines*, immediately to surrender them. He even desired the *Florentine* commissaries to repair to the castle of *Serazana*, and take possession of it; but instead of that, the *French* deputy-governor sold it before their faces to the *Genoese* for twenty-five thousand ducats. The governor of *Serazanella* followed his example; and *Sforza* sent *Fracassa*, his general, with one hundred horse and four hundred foot into the *Lunigiana*, to over-awe the *Florentines* in those parts. Soon after *Entragues* gave up *Librafatta* to the *Pisans*, and sold *Pietra Santa* and *Alutrone* to the *Lucquese* for twenty-six thousand ducats. Those insults upon *Charles*, when at the height of his resentment, produced only a verbal order that *Entragues* should not return to *France*; and his patron *Ligni* was censured, only by being deprived of the honour of sleeping all night in the king's bed-chamber. The insolent favourite, however, and his dependent, were soon after restored to the full enjoyment of their master's favour. The *Florentines* were obliged to put up with all, because, while the confederates were in possession of *Pisa*, it could not be their interest to break with *France*; and indeed, at this very time, the *Florentines* had resisted both their importunities and menaces, to enter into their alliance, upon which the confederates, after providing for the safety of *Pisa*, applied themselves intirely to the *Neapolitan* war. The *Venetians*, at the same time, gained over *Astorre*, the lord of *Faenza*, to be a check upon the *Florentines*.

b THE *Florentines*, on the other hand, having no dependence but on the *French*, most earnestly requested *Charles* to return in person into *Italy*; and that prince made great preparations for the expedition, which was to be carried on by sea and land. *Charles* was the more animated to this, as the duke of *Savoy* and the marquis of *Montferrat* seemed to be disposed to join him; and he was not even without hopes that the terror of his arms would induce *Sforza* to break with the allies. For this purpose, he dispatched *Rigault*, one of the chief officers of his household, to let *Sforza* know his danger; but to offer him his friendship, upon his performing the articles of the treaty of *Vercelli*, and renewing his alliance with *France*. *Sforza* was startled at the news of the preparations making by *Charles*, which far exceeded those for his last expedition; but he amused *Rigault* with plausible pretexts, till, finding himself imposed on, he left *Milan*. *Sforza* invited *Maximilian* to march into *Italy*, and brought the *Venetians* to consent to send an army and money to *Alessandria* to oppose the *French*: they objected, however, to the march of *Maximilian*, who had pretensions upon some of their territories, and to making *Sforza* the general of the confederacy; but at last, lest he should throw himself into the arms of *France*, they agreed to all he proposed.

c WE are now to consider the interests of *France* and *Florence* as the same. The allies employed *Bentivoglio* to attack the *Florentines* on the side of *Bologna*, while the *Siennese* and the *Pisans* were to do the same in other quarters: but tho' *Bentivoglio* was in the pay of the confederates, he was terrified by the greatness of the *French* power, and gave *Charles* private assurances that he would not execute his commission. It was with some reason thought, that, if *Charles* had prosecuted this undertaking with the same vigour he began it, he might have reduced all *Italy* to his obedience. But the cardinal of *St. Malo*, his treasurer and first minister for *Italian* affairs, had been corrupted by the pope and *Sforza*, to retard the operations; which he found plausible pretexts to do, notwithstanding all the impetuosity of *Charles*, who loitered away his time in a love-intrigue, though all his friends in *Italy*, even with tears, implored him to be expeditious, the *French* being now reduced to the last extremity in the kingdom of *Naples*; where *Ferdinand* died, in the height of all his glory, and was succeeded by his uncle *Federigo*, or *Frederick*, a prudent prince. Pleasure rendered *Charles* deaf to all solicitations to set out on his march, though *Maximilian*, in consequence of a convention between him and the allies, had already entered *Italy*, and undertook to compromise all differences relating to *Pisa*. The *Florentines*, notwithstanding the indolence of *Charles*, and all the applications of the allies, continued firm in their attachments to *France*, in which the government was greatly confirmed by the sermons and harangues of *Savonarola*, who thundered out judgments against the court of *Rome* and the allies. This enthusiast had even interest enough to prevail upon the *Florentines* singly to stand the shock of the confederacy, though the *French* king could give them no assistance; and, had he been willing, his abilities were very questionable, because his generals and ministers paid no regard to his orders. It is certain, that, humanly speaking, the prospect of the *Florentines* was at this time very uncomfortable. They still maintained, though at a great expence to themselves, a war with the *Pisans*, who continued to be supported by the *Venetians*; but its operations were indecisive, and so trifling, that they deserve no particular mention in history. Their generals, *Francisco Secco*, and *Ercole Bentivoglio*, however, obtained some advantages, which cost the former his life. Their war with the *Siennese*, who were likewise supported by the allies, was equally unimportant; though that great patriot *Peter Capponi* was killed in storming a little place, which is not to be found upon the maps. By those wars, the enemies of *Florence* became good soldiers, and the *Venetians* continued vigorously to support them; while *Sforza*, who seldom was

also prepared
to return to
Italy.

The allies ex-
pect the Flo-
rentines,

who are dis-
tressed.

in

in earnest in any thing he undertook, cooled more and more in his friendship, and at last seemed entirely to abandon them. This was owing to his dependence on the great authority of the emperor *Maximilian*, who now sent two ambassadors to the *Florentines*, to notify his intention to make up all differences amongst the *Italian* princes and states, and requiring them to suspend their hostilities against the *Pisans*. The *Florentines*, returned a polite but vague answer to this intimation; and the *Venetians*, equally suspecting *Maximilian* and *Sforza*, ordered to *Pisa* greater supplies, both of men and money, than they ever had sent before. This consideration drove *Sforza* once more into a correspondence with the *Florentines*, and he endeavoured by all means to persuade them to submit to *Maximilian's* decision. This they peremptorily refused to do, unless they were previously put into possession of *Pisa*; and, having put *Leghorn* into a state of defence, they re-assembled their forces in the *Pisan*. The truth is, *Maximilian*, notwithstanding his high sounding titles, made so poor a figure in *Italy*, and was himself in such needy circumstances, that the *Florentines* despised him, and believed him to be only the tool of *Sforza*. They affected, however, the most profound regard for his imperial authority; but gave him to understand, that they expected he would put them into possession of *Pisa*, before they came to any resolution to join in the confederacy. *Maximilian* was so much nettled with this declaration, which he received at *Genoa*, that he gave the *Florentine* deputies no other answer than referring them to the pope's legate, who referred them to *Sforza*, who was at *Milan*; to which city the deputies repaired, and there a most exquisite scene of dissimulation passed: for while the deputies were waiting for an audience from *Sforza*, they received orders from *Florence*, where the result of their negotiation was known, to return home, without entering upon business with him. They were introduced, however, into his presence, under pretence of paying him their compliments; but all his art, though he declared the emperor had intrusted him with his answer, could not draw them into any negotiation on that or any other head; which threw *Sforza*, who could not bear the thoughts of being outwitted, into a violent passion; so that he abruptly broke up the conference, to which he had invited all his chief nobility and foreign ministers, that they might be witnesses of his triumph in over-reaching the *Florentines*.

They refuse to submit to Maximilian's calibration.

who repairs to Pisa.

MAXIMILIAN now in good earnest proceeded against the *Florentines*; and a *Genoese* squadron landed him at *Porto Specie*, from whence he went to *Pisa*, and made dispositions for besieging *Leghorn* both by sea and land. The *Florentines*, on their part, hired a body of *French* troops; and a *French* fleet, designed for the relief of *Naples*, threw the troops into *Leghorn*, together with a large quantity of provisions, which the besieged stood in great need of. This relief was so seasonable, that the *Florentines* attributed it to the immediate interposition of Providence in their favour, which *Savonarola* had predicted some days before. The siege, however, went on; and the *French* squadron proceeding on its voyage, *Maximilian* straitened the place both by sea and land. But the place was well provided for resistance; and a storm arose, which wrecking the *Venetian* and *Genoese* fleets, disheartened him so, that he precipitately raised the siege; and, to the amazement of all *Italy*, he marched to the *Milanese*, after doing the *Florentines* no farther damage than plundering an almost nameless village. From the *Milanese*, without acquainting any one of his intention, he returned to *Germany*, and left the *Italians* full of contempt for his pusillanimity, folly, and poverty.

The Venetians support the Pisans.

MAXIMILIAN, and the few *German* troops he had with him, which did not amount to above two thousand, being withdrawn from *Tuscany*, *Sforza* recalled his army likewise, and left the whole weight of the war upon the *Venetians*, who supported it at a prodigious expence. In the mean while, the *French* entirely lost *Naples*; and *Charles* sought to take his revenge upon the *Genoese*, who were out of humour with the duke of *Milan*, for not giving them the preference to the *Lucquese* in the sale of *Pietra Santa*. *Sforza*, upon this, took into his pay some troops that *Maximilian* had left in *Italy*, and sent them to *Genoa*; and, forgetting all his disgusts at the *Venetians*, he offered them his friendship. *Charles*, by this time, had sent a strong body of *Swiss* and *French*, under *Trivulzi*, to *Asti*, and prepared to attack the *Milanese* as well as *Genoa*. With this view, he required the *Florentines* to favour him, by attacking the *Lunigiana* and the *Eastern Riviera*. *Sforza*, who had yet received no succours from *Venice*, was not prepared to stand those shocks, and the campaign of 1497 opened with great advantages on the side of the *French*; and had *Trivulzi* been properly authorized, he could have taken *Alessandria*, and have marched to the gates of *Milan*. But, fearing to proceed without orders, *Sforza* not only received the *Venetian* reinforcements, but took such measures against *Genoa* as defeated all the attempts of the *French* there. Their generals laid the blame upon the *Florentines*; but the miscarriage was owing to the dilatory wavering counsels of *Charles*; for the *Florentines* refused to take the field at the time required, because his army was not at hand to support them. The same backwardness and inconstancy obliged *Trivulzi* to forego all the advantages he had obtained in the

a *Milanese*, and to retire to *Ali*. Many reasons were assigned, besides the backwardness of the *Florentines*. The most probable were, that an *Italian* war was disagreeable to the *French* in general; that *Sforza's* money had great influence in the counsels of *Charles*; and that the duke of *Orleans*, who was next heir to the crown of *France*, and had been appointed to command in *Italy*, disliked being out of the kingdom, as the state of *Charles's* health was now almost desperate.

The war between the *Florentines* and *Pisans* was still carried on, and count *Rinuccio* obtained some advantages over *Manfrone* the *Pisan* general. But a long truce being made between the kings of *France* and *Spain*, in which the *Pisans* were included, gave them a breathing time; the *Florentines*, who were included in it likewise, not daring to continue the war against them, while they were under so powerful a protection. They were, however, under prodigious apprehensions lest the *Pisans*, who were the only gainers by the truce, should keep possession of *Pisa*, and *Peter de Medici* should regain his authority in *Florence*. They were joined, for his own purposes, by *Sforza*, who wished rather to see *Pisa* in the hands of the *Florentines* than of the *Venetians*; and he represented, both to the pope and the *Spaniards*, who had now a great sway in the affairs of *Italy*, the bad policy of obliging the *Florentines* to depend on the *French* for the recovery of *Pisa*, which was detained from them by the *Venetians*. The *Venetians*, on the other hand, represented the *Florentines* as being naturally inclined to the *French*; and were so far from shewing any disposition to restore *Pisa* to them, that they insisted upon *Leghorn* being delivered up by the *Florentines* into the hands of the confederates; a demand which startled the pope and *Sforza* so much, that they dropt the affair of the restitution, and consulted how to break off the connections between the *Florentines* and the *French*, by restoring *Peter de Medici* to his authority in *Florence*, which was now split into factions. *Savonarola's* enthusiasm in favour of the popular government, had gained him a great party; and many of the public offices were filled with his followers, who were generally men of low and illiberal education. Their misconduct, and a scarcity of corn which happened at that time, was favourable to the views of *Peter*, who was likewise backed by the *Venetians*, because they thought their friendship would be so necessary to him, that he would give *Pisa* up for ever to their possession. *Peter's* chief dependence, however, lay upon *Bernardo del Nero*, a friend of his family, and a man of virtue, interest, and ability, and who was chosen gonfalonier; as were several of his other friends into the principal posts of the government. The pope came into the scheme of restoring *Peter*; and *Sforza* seemed to be indifferent as to the matter. The cardinal *S. Severino*, and *Alviano*, an officer of some distinction, were *Peter's* friends. The *Venetians* furnished him with money; and *Sienna* not being included in the late truce, he obtained from the *Siennese* one thousand horse and foot; and he set out at their head in the afternoon, in hopes to surprise *Florence* by day-break. A storm, which arose in the night-time, disconcerted his measures; and it was late in the morning when he arrived before *Florence*. The *Florentine* magistrates, by this time, had taken the alarm: they gave *Paul Vitelli* the command of their troops in the city, they sent for their army in the *Pisan*, and imprisoned all whom they suspected to be *Peter's* friends. Thus, after waiting four hours within bow-shot of *Florence*, he was obliged to return to *Sienna*; while his friend *Alviano* plundered *Todi*, and put to death fifty-three of the *Gibelin* faction.

The war continues.

Sforza favours the Florentines.

Attempt of Peter de Medici unsuccessful.

Its consequences.

f The attempt of *Peter de Medici* upon *Florence*, though disappointed, was attended with bloody effects. It is certain he had many friends there; and the whole of his correspondence being laid open, they were either committed to prison, or obliged to fly. Four citizens of great eminence, *Niccolo Ridolfi*, *Gianozzo Pucci*, *Giovanni Cambi*, and *Lorenzo Tornabuoni*, were capitally convicted, and put to death, for favouring him. *Bernardo del Nero*, the gonfalonier, was tried, and condemned to die, for being privy to the conspiracy, and not preventing it. This sentence, though legal, was held to be severe, and his friends appealed to a general assembly of the people. The magistrates, however, pronounced his case not to be appealable, and signed a sentence, which put him to death that very night. This strain of authority was undoubtedly a violation of the principles of popular government, which *Savonarola* and his faction espoused; but it suited their interest, and all other considerations were forgot.

g The crowns of *France* and *Spain* had now entered into a truce for two months, without consulting any of the *Italian* powers, and loudly censured the *Venetians* for perpetuating discord in *Italy*, by keeping possession of *Pisa*. Incredible are the fluctuations which at this time happened in *Italy*, where the public jealousy of the *Venetians* disposed almost every power in it to favour the *French*. The *Florentines* were perpetually soliciting *Charles* to hasten his expedition, and had made *d'Aubigny* the general of their army. The marquis of *Mantua*, who had been ungratefully dismissed by the *Venetians*, after doing them eminent services, entered likewise into the *Florentine* pay. The duke of *Savoy* was naturally

Truce between France and Spain.

rally attached to the *French*, and consequently to the *Florentines*. *Bentivoglio* of *Bologna* ^a promised to join the *French*; and even the pope himself engaged not to oppose them. The unaccountable trifling of *Charles* destroyed all those fair appearances. He had formed many engagements in *Italy*, particularly with the *Vitelli* and the *Orsini*; but had sent no money to fulfil them: so that, in some cases, the *Florentines* were obliged to make them good, and likewise to lend *Charles* money. In short, the *French* interest in *Italy*, about the beginning of the year 1498, was entirely destroyed.

The Florentines apply to the pope.

THE *Florentines*, having thus no dependence on *France*, applied in great secrecy to the pope, and offered to come into the *Italian* confederacy, provided they were put into possession of *Pisa*, which had been, in fact, all along the great bait for their attachment to *France*. The pope greedily embraced the proposal, and pressed the *Venetians* upon that head, as being the only means of consolidating all the *Italian* powers against the invasions of the *Ultramontanes*. The *Venetians* recriminated; and, without pretending to any property in *Pisa*, upbraided their confederates for deviating from their promise to maintain the *Pisans* in their liberty, and for ungratefully rewarding the services that *France* had performed for the public good of *Italy*, though their situation was such, that they could not have partaken in the common calamity, had the *Ultramontanes* been successful. During those altercations, *Charles VIII.* of *France* died suddenly at *Ambois*, and was succeeded by *Lewis* duke of *Orleans*, a prince who had been bred a soldier, of a good understanding, far advanced in life, and, in almost every respect, the reverse of *Charles*. His claim upon the kingdom of *Naples* was the same with that of *Charles*; and he had, besides, a private claim, in right of his own blood, upon the duchy of *Milan*, as descending, by the female side, from the *Viscontis*, its lawful and original masters. As his title, in point of hereditary right, was unquestionable, that of the *Sforza* family being only by a natural daughter, *Lewis* resolved not to lose sight of it; and had, even while he was duke of *Orleans*, made some attempts to assert it. Add to this, that he had reasons for entertaining a personal hatred to *Sforza*; and, on his accession to the crown of *France*, he assumed the titles of King of the *Two Sicilies* (which included *Naples*) and Duke of *Milan*. He notified in form to the *Florentines*, and the other *Italian* states, his determined intention to make good those claims, and to begin with that of *Milan*. Almost all circumstances concurred in favouring his undertaking. He had all the advantages his predecessor was possessed of, and the *Italian* powers had an opinion of his steadiness. By a strange refinement in politics, the *Florentines* were the only people in *Italy* who disliked the accession of *Lewis* to the throne of *France*, and preferred *Sforza's* friendship to his. The pope and the *Venetians* courted him; and *Sforza*, to divert the storm impending on his own dominions, persuaded the *Florentines* to make their court to him likewise. But *Sforza* never lost sight of *Pisa*, of which he wanted to dispossess the *Venetians*, and now in good earnest assisted the *Florentines* to recover it. The *Florentines* all this while were continuing the war in the *Pisan*; but were defeated at *S. Regulo*, in one of those skirmishes which their historians call a battle. The *Florentine* general was *Rinuccio*, who, on the loss of this battle, the particulars of which are not worth recounting, intirely lost his reputation. They gave *Paul Vitelli*, whom they had a high opinion of, the command of their forces, with the title of captain-general; and made application to the *French* king to interpose in their favour, but without any effect. They had much better success with *Sforza*, who grew more and more jealous of the *Venetians*, and therefore sent a trusty agent to *Florence*, to concert what was most proper for reinstating them in the possession of *Pisa*. All *Italy* was then in peace, but the *Florentines* and the *Pisans*. A few disputes had happened, indeed, in the *Romagna*; but they were of little consequence, and soon terminated.

Sforza breaks with the Venetians.

SFORZA became now so unmeasurably jealous of the *Venetians* as to proceed to an open breach with them. He began by denying their troops a passage through the *Parma* and *Pentremoli* to *Pisa*, which obliged the *Venetians* to take a large compass by the *Ferrarese*; and he sent a strong reinforcement to the *Florentines*, with an offer, which was accepted of, to pay his share towards a new levy of three hundred men at arms, part to be commanded by *Paul Baglione*, and part by the lord of *Piombino*. He likewise lent them three hundred thousand ducats; and so effectually represented the dangerous consequences, to *Italy*, of the *Venetians* keeping possession of *Pisa*, that the pope promised to assist him and the *Florentines* with one hundred men at arms, and three galleys, for intercepting the succours of the *Venetians* to *Pisa*. The mind of his holiness, however, was so intent upon aggrandizing his own family, whom he expected to put into possession of the kingdom of *Naples*, that he paid little or no regard to his engagements with the *Florentines*.

NOTWITHSTANDING the backwardness of his holiness, the *Florentines* having a great opinion of their general *Paul Vitelli*, and trusting to the friendship of *Sforza*, once more took the field against the *Pisans*, who continued still to be vigorously supported by the *Venetians*. *Sforza* brought *Bentivoglio* intirely into his own interests; and, at this period, we are

a are to consider the interests of the *Florentines* and *Sforza* as being the same. *Sforza* made large additions to his own troops, and lent others to the *Florentines*, to defend them from all attempts that might be made against them by the *Venetians*. The lord of *Fasenza* was then the ally of *Venice*; and, to ballance his interest, the *Florentines* took into their pay *Ottaviano Riccio*, the lord of *Imola* and *Ferli*. This *Ottaviano*, according to *Guicciardin*, was intirely directed by his mother *Caterina Sforza*, who had been privately married to the cardinal *Giovanni de Medici*, and therefore earnestly desired to see the authority of the *Medici* family restored in *Florence*.

THE recovery of *Pisa* to the *Florentines* was now the bone of contention in *Italy*. *Sforza*, 7th *Pisan* by his authority with the *Lucquesse*, prevailed on them to withdraw great part of their succours from the *Pisans*; but the *Florentines* had the misfortune at this time to be engaged in a war, not only with the *Pisans*, but with the *Genoesse*, on account of their affairs in the *Lunigiana*; and both states were the irreconcilable enemies of the *Florentines*. But the latter, now secure of *Sforza*, took the field against the *Pisans*, and obtained many advantages over them and their protectors the *Venetians*. The *Florentine* general, *Paul Vitelli*, might even have laid siege to *Pisa*; but he declined it, and, crossing the *Arno*, he invested and stormed *Buti*, by which he straitened *Pisa* itself. After this, *Vitelli* erected a fort on the hill of *S. Giovanni della Vena*, and made great progress towards besieging *Pisa* itself; for he even opened trenches before *Vico Pisano*, which was in a manner a suburb of *Pisa*, and which was obliged to surrender to him. He afterwards cut in pieces a body of *Venetian* troops, who came to assist in taking the fort of *Pietra Dolorosa*, which had been besieged by the *Pisans*.

THE *Venetians* now thought that they had proceeded in the war as far as was consistent with their interest, which was intirely confined to *Pisa*. They therefore made some advances towards an accommodation with the *Florentines*; and the latter yielded up a point, which had been long contested, that of giving the *Venetian* republic the right hand in the negotiation. *Guido Antonio Vespucci*, and *Bernardo Rucellai*, two citizens of great authority, were sent to *Venice*, to negotiate on the part of the *Florentine* republic, which was at this time sincerely disposed for a peace. To give weight to their negotiations, they brought a powerful army into the field, and the duke of *Milan* declared openly in their favour. The ambassadors met with a polite reception at *Venice*; but insisted upon the right which their republic had to *Pisa*. The answer of the *Venetians* was civil, plausible, and dilatory. The *Spanish* ambassador was called in to mediate; and he proposed, that the possession of *Pisa* should revert to the *Florentines* as a confederate, but not a subject, state. The *Venetians* exposed the futility of that distinction; and not only continued to reinforce *Pisa*, but espoused the cause of *Peter de Medici*. They likewise endeavoured to gain over to their service *Bentivoglio* of *Bologna*, who had seized on some castles belonging to the *Milanese*; and the *Siennese* refused to make any peace with *Florence*, unless the *Florentines* would absolutely renounce all their right to *Monte Pulciano*. But *Pandolfo*, who then had the chief sway in *Sienna*, being a friend to the *Florentines*, brought his countrymen to agree to a five years truce with them on such advantageous terms, as established his authority in that state; and the *Venetians*, under the duke of *Urbino*, were denied a passage through its territory.

THE *Venetians*, upon this, resolved to attack the *Florentines*, by the *Romagna*, in hopes of being able to master the towns at the foot of the *Appennines*, through the interest of *Peter de Medici*. In this design they partly succeeded, and would have gained a passage into the vale of *Mugelli*, had it not been for the resolution of the governor of *Castiglione*, who held that place out so long, that count *Rinuccio* and the lord of *Piombino* marching to its relief, raised the siege. This irruption into the *Florentine* territories induced the duke of *Milan* to send to the *Florentines* a powerful reinforcement, while *Paul Vitelli*, in the *Pisan*, took *Vico Pisano* and *Librafatta*, after a siege of four days. The *Venetians*, alarmed with this success, practised on the marquis of *Mantua*, who had some differences with the duke of *Milan*, to leave his service, which he accordingly did, and the marquis was sent to *Pisa* with three hundred men at arms. Great things might have been expected from this defection of so powerful a prince, had the *Venetians* encouraged him. But they were induced by some of the friends of the *Medici* family to believe they could get possession of *Bibienna* in the *Casantin*, which would have given so powerful a diversion to the *Florentines*, as to secure to the *Venetians* the possession of *Pisa* without expence. Thus the marquis, having only a bare title, was left without any support or following; and, out of resentment, he returned to the service of *Sforza*, with the title of captain-general of the imperial and *Milanese* troops.

IN the mean while, the *Florentines* had intelligence of the design against *Bibienna*, and sent a commissary to prevent it. But though he imprisoned some of the suspected parties within the town, he behaved in all other respects with so little care and precaution, that

Bibienna was taken by stratagem, without a blow being struck. *Asio*, the friend of *Peter de Medici*, then besieged *Poppi*, the strongest fortress in the vale of *Bibienna*; but was baffled before it through the vigilance of the *Florentines*. The duke of *Urbino*, however, penetrated into the *Casentin*, which he subdued, all but the fortress of *Poppi*; but the *Florentines* had the good fortune to discover and suppress a plot formed by the *Venetians*, for becoming masters of *Arezzo*.

but they are
worsted.

THE irruption of the *Venetians* into the *Casentin* obliged the *Florentines* to recall their general *Paul Vitelli* from the *Pisan*, after he had in vain endeavoured to take *Pisa*. He marched directly into the *Casentin*, where the *Venetians* were encamped in the neighbourhood of *Prato Vecchio*, which he obliged them to abandon; and, being joined by *Fracassa* with one thousand *Milanese* troops, he drove the *Venetians* into prodigious difficulties; so that their wisest senators began to be tired of the war. At their persuasion, a truce negotiation was set on foot at *Ferrara*, where the principal deliberation was how to get decently rid of *Pisa*, which had cost such immense sums to the *Venetian* republic. But a new scene now opened in *Italy*.

Views of the
Italian pow-
ers,

LEWIS XII. king of *France*, was bent on the conquest of *Milan*, and for that purpose entered into a strict confederacy with the *Venetians*. The pope, on the other hand, had entirely devoted himself to the acquisition of the kingdom of *Naples* for his family, and to a match between *Charlotta*, the daughter of *Federigo* king of *Naples*, who had been brought up at the *French* court, and his son the cardinal of *Valenza*, afterwards the famous *Cesar Borgia*, who, on that occasion, renounced the ecclesiastical life and habit. The *French* king and the pope mutually assisted each other. The king wanted to be divorced from his wife, and the pope to acquire one into his family. The sentence of divorce between the king and the queen was presented to the former by *Cesar Borgia*, who, as a reward, was made duke of *Valentino* by the *French* king, with a revenue of twenty thousand livres, besides the possession of the city of *Valence*. *Lewis* then applied himself seriously to the conquest of the *Milanese*; and, for that purpose, made a peace with the emperor *Maximilian*, and the kings of *England* and *France*. *Sforza* was no stranger to his intention, and endeavoured all he could to countermine him, by gaining the *Florentines* and the *Venetians* to his interest. That he might induce the *Florentines* to befriend him, he pressed the *Venetians* to deposit *Pisa* in his hands, and promised to deliver it to the *Florentines* in a certain time. Other historians say, that the *Florentines* agreed to deposit *Pisa* in the hands of *Lewis*, or of *Paul Vitelli*, or the college of the cardinals. Be that as it will, it is certain that the *Florentines* were divided on this occasion. They had hitherto no reason for trusting the *French* king, and a great party in their state wanted to see the duke of *Milan* humbled. The *Venetians* strenuously opposed all the motions towards a deposit. The duke of *Milan* likewise countermined it, lest it should be the means of uniting the *Venetians* and the *Florentines*. It was the interest of *France* to keep the *Italian* powers divided; and the pope, who had a great sway in the negotiation, took part with *France* in the case of the deposit, which he thought would add to the dignity and importance of the holy see. To conquer the stubbornness of the *Venetians*, in the affair of the deposit, they were offered *Cremona* and the whole *Ghiradadda*; but this offer could not be accepted of, without aggrandizing the *French* too much in *Italy*. The affair was debated in the senate of *Venice*, where it was resolved, at all events, to declare against *Sforza*, and to join with *France*; but without concluding any thing with regard to the deposit of *Pisa*. *Lewis*, whose great aim was to take possession of *Milan*, did not relish this conduct; because it tended to cement the interests of *Sforza* with those of the *Florentines*. He, therefore, negotiated a peace with *Maximilian*, who had many claims upon the *Venetians*, in order to keep them in awe; and openly declared to them, as well as the *Florentines*, that he was determined to come into no terms with the *Venetians*, unless *Pisa* was deposited as the *Florentines* had proposed.

and of the
French.

Lewis unites
with the
Venetians.

THE inflexibility of *Lewis* on this head, created great uneasiness to his allies in *Italy*; and the pope himself was amongst the first to counsel him to abandon the cause of the *Florentines*, rather than disoblige the *Venetians*, whose friendship was absolutely necessary for his conquering *Milan*. *Lewis* saw the cogency of those reasons, and yielded to them by concluding a treaty with the *Venetians*. This treaty obliged both them and the *French* to invade the *Milanese* at one time. *Cremona* and *Ghiradadda* were ceded to the *Venetians*; they were to be guaranteed in the possession of their territory by *Lewis*; and they were, for a limited time, to keep on foot a body of troops for his service. *Lewis* was sensible that this treaty was inconsistent with his repeated professions, and he kept it so secret, that it was long before either the pope or the duke of *Milan* came to the knowledge of it. In the mean while, he talked to the *Florentine* deputies in a strain quite different from that which he had made use of before, which obliged them to enter into new connections with *Sforza*.

a THE *Venetians* still kept possession of *Bibienna*, and had a footing in the *Casantin*. Paul War in the
Vitelli was the *Florentine* general against them. The *Venetian* generals were *Ca. lo Orsino* *Casantin*.
 and *Alviano*. But the *Florentines* were so powerfully supported by the duke of *Milan*, and
 the mountaineers of the *Casantin* had such an aversion to the *Venetians*, that *Vitelli* found
 means to straiten their quarters in such a manner as to shut all their troops up in *Bibienna*,
 where they resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity. Had *Sforza's* advice
 been taken, the *Venetian* army at this time must have been irrecoverably ruined; but the
Florentines were disheartened by the growing expence of the war, and unable to continue it.

b COUNT *Rinuccio*, their former general, was at the head of a party against *Vitelli*, who Conduct of
 behaved with great arrogance in his command, and affected a kind of independency on *Vitelli, the*
 the civil government of *Florence*. He had even granted a pass, without consulting them, *Florentine*
 to the duke of *Urbino* and *Giulian de Medici*, who were shut up in *Bibienna*; and in every *general*.
 other respect he behaved in a manner that shewed he did not think it for his interest to
 put an end to the war. The *Venetians* had applied to count *Pitigliano*, who had assembled
 some troops at *Ravenna* for the relief of *Bibienna*; and, by the dilatory conduct of
Vitelli, he had advanced as far as *Elci*, a castle belonging to the duke of *Urbino*, on the
Florentine borders. *Vitelli*, leaving a body of troops to block up *Bibienna*, marched to oppose
 him; and *Pitigliano* encountered such difficulties, that he refused to advance. While
 matters were thus in suspense, both parties entertained thoughts of peace; and, by the
 c unwearied application of *Sforza*, the matter was referred to his father-in-law *Ercole d'Este*,
 duke of *Ferrara*, who, for that purpose, repaired to *Venice*, to which city the *Venetians* sent,
 at the same time, *Giovanni Battista Ridolfo*, and *Pagola Antonio Soderini*, two persons of
 the first rank and character in their republic. At the opening of this congress, great debates
 happened whether *Ercole* was to act as an umpire or a mediator. The *Florentines*
 had many reasons to wish that he would act in the latter capacity. They knew
 that he was partial in favour of the *Venetians*, and that *Sforza* would sacrifice every
 thing in order to bring the *Venetians* into a peace. The *Venetians*, on the other hand,
 were so haughty as to declare, that they were for *Ercole* acting as an umpire, and pronouncing
 sentence; but that they would stand to no terms that should award the possession
 d of *Pisa* to the *Florentines*; and many of the senators insisted upon their republic's
 being reimbursed in the expences of the war. The more judicious part, however,
 of the *Venetians* entertained very different sentiments. They knew, that the *Florentines*
 had still great resources. They saw the difficulty and expence of retaining *Pisa*, and
 despaired of being able to relieve *Bibienna*. They considered the assistance they were to receive
 from *France* as being uncertain and precarious; and above all, they were alarmed
 with the preparations making by the *Turks* against their dominions in the *Morea*. Upon
 the whole, therefore, they inclined to leave the matter entirely to *Ercole's* decision. *Sforza*
 seconded their opinion so warmly, that he threatened to withdraw his troops from *Tuscany*,
 if the *Florentines* did not consent to leave every thing to his father-in-law's arbitration. The
 e *Florentines* were obliged to submit, and the duke had eight days allowed him for drawing
 up his sentence. At last it was published, and imported, "That in eight days next ensuing,
 all hostilities should cease between the *Florentines* and the *Venetians*: that on *St. Mark's*
 day next, at farthest, the allies of both the *Pisans* and the *Florentines* should withdraw
 their troops out of *Tuscany* into their own territories; and particularly, that the *Venetians*
 should recal all their forces from *Pisa* and its territory, and evacuate *Bibienna*, with
 all other places taken from the *Florentines*, who, on their part, were to grant a full amnesty
 to the inhabitants of *Bibienna* for all offences: that, in consideration of the charges
 incurred by the *Venetians*, which they estimated at no less than eight hundred thousand ducats,
 the *Florentines* should pay them fifteen thousand ducats yearly for the term of twelve
 f years: that the *Pisans* should have full power and free liberty to exercise any trade or calling
 both by land or sea: that they should continue in possession of the castles of *Pisa* and
 other places which they held at the time of passing this decision, and might garrison them
 with *Pisans* or foreigners, provided they were not of any state suspected by the *Florentines*:
 that their garrisons should be paid out of the taxes raised by the *Florentines* on the
Pisans; but that no larger sums should be levied, nor more standing troops maintained,
 than was practised before the rebellion: that the *Pisans* should be permitted to demolish
 all the castles and fortified places in their territory, which they had taken from the *Florentines*,
 while they were under the protection of the *Venetians*: that in *Pisa* the chief justice
 in civil cases should be a foreigner, elected by the *Pisans* themselves, out of a country not
 g obnoxious to the *Florentines*; and that a justice commissioned by the *Florentines*, might have
 power to receive appeals, but not in criminal cases where death, banishment, or confiscation
 were concerned, without the presence of an assistant justice or assessor, commissioned by
Ercole, or his successors, to be elected by him or them out of five civilians of the duchy
 of *Ferrara*, nominated by the *Pisans*: that all goods moveable and immoveable should be re-

The Florentines submit to the duke of Ferrara's arbitration.

stored on both sides, but without any allowance for interest. In all other cases the *Florentines* might assert their rights in the *Pisan*; and the *Pisans* were to engage for the future not to take up arms against the *Florentines* on any account whatsoever."

His decision
displeases all
parties.]

THIS decision equally disgusted all parties, and the duke of *Ferrara* was personally insulted by the *Venetians*. The *Pisans*, were the loudest in their complaints that they had been betrayed by the *Venetians*; that they might have obtained better terms of the *Florentines* themselves; that the concessions in their favour were only in appearance; and that they were now reduced to a state of greater slavery than ever to the *Florentines*. Those discontents arose to such a height as to oblige *Ercole*, who was apprehensive for the safety of his own person, to make an explanatory addition to his sentence in favour of the *Pisans*; and the *Venetians* ratified the same, by immediately withdrawing all their troops from *Tuscany*. The *Florentines* were, it possible, more disgusted than either the *Pisans* or the *Venetians* were, at the duke's award. They complained of being obliged to reimburse the charges of the war, and, in fact, to forego all their rights of sovereignty over the *Pisans*. They, however, were quieted, by *Sforza's* threatening to ratify the duke's decree; but it does not appear that they ever ratified the explanatory addition. The *Pisans*, for some time, debated whether they should accept or not accept of the award; and such was their hatred of the *Florentines*, that rather than submit to them they offered to become subject to *Sforza*: but he declined the tender. The *Pisans*, thus disappointed, resolved to stand all extremities, rather than again return to the *Florentine* yoke, which obliged the *Florentines* to order their general *Vitelli* to march with his army into the *Pisan*, and to endeavour to reduce that city by force.

Sforza's dis-
tress.

THE duke of *Ferrara's* decree, though effected by *Sforza*, was so far from reconciling the *Venetians* to him, that they were more than ever determined on his ruin. *Sforza* had recourse to *Maximilian*, who was perpetually draining him of money, without doing him the smallest service, and who was himself at this time engaged in a war with the *Swiss*.

He applies to
the Turks.]

Lewis the *French* king availed himself of this disposition of affairs, and now prepared in earnest for his *Italian* expedition. He sent some money to the *Swiss*, to enable them to make head against *Maximilian*, who was the only support that *Sforza* could rely on. *Sforza*, upon this, sought to unite himself to the pope, the *Florentines*, and *Fredergio* king of *Naples*. But all his proposals for that purpose proved in vain; and at last he was driven to apply for assistance to *Bajazet* the emperor of the *Turks*, as being the most likely power to give a diversion to the *Venetians*. This application not having the desired effect, he offered to assist the *Florentines* in the reduction of *Pisa*, on condition, when that was effected, of their assisting him with three hundred men at arms, and two thousand foot for the defence of his dominions. *Lewis* the *French* king applied to the *Florentines* at the same time and to the same purpose: he required of their state a regiment of five hundred men at arms for a year; on which condition he promised to assist them with one thousand lances for the same time, and to make no peace with *Sforza* till they were put into possession of *Pisa*. The *Florentines* were puzzled how to act under such circumstances; but, after weighing all arguments, they determined to remain neutral, and to push the conquest of *Pisa* upon their own bottom. They had, however, reasons for keeping well with *Sforza*, and civilly declined entering into any treaty with him till they were in possession of *Pisa*, as it could be of service to neither party for *Florence* to draw upon herself the resentment of the *French*.

THUS *Sforza* was deserted on all hands. His usurpation, and the injustice done to his nephew and family, together with his noted insincerity in all his actions, had rendered his name a public nuisance: and he was now abandoned even by his father-in-law the duke of *Ferrara*, who pretended that he durst not disoblige the *Venetians*. *Sforza*, being thus driven to depend upon himself alone, fortified his frontier towns of *Anon*, *Novara*, and *Alessandria*. He ordered one part of his army, under *Galeazzo Sanseverino*, to oppose the *French*; and another, under the marquis of *Mantua*, against the *Venetians*. The *Turks*, by this time, had declared war against that republic; and *Sforza*, depending on that diversion, was imprudent enough, not only to countermand the march of the marquis, but to give him some personal provocations, which obliged him to leave his service. The increase of the *Venetian* troops in the *Brescian*, soon rendered him sensible of his mistake, and he again applied to his father-in-law the duke of *Ferrara*, to make up matters between him and the marquis of *Mantua*; but it was out of the power of that marquis now to do him any service. The duke of *Savoy* had signed a treaty with the *French* king, and *French* troops were daily pouring into *Italy*. *Lewis*, understanding that there was still a tampering between *Sforza* and the *Florentines*, talked in such high terms to the ambassadors of the latter, that he obliged the republic to sign a treaty, by which she engaged not to assist *Sforza*, who, at the same time, was disappointed by the king of *Naples*, whose interest it undoubtedly was to have assisted him. *Sforza* then endeavoured to make peace between *Maximilian* and the *Swiss*. They had promised to assist him with a large army; and,

The war con-
tinues in Lom-
bardy,

- a to gain time, he ordered *Galeazzo* to pass the *Po* with sixteen hundred lances, fifteen hundred horse, and ten thousand *Italian*, and five hundred *German* foot; but to keep upon the defensive. The *French* army rendezvoused at *Asti*, consisting of two thousand six hundred lances, five thousand *Swiss*, four thousand *Gascons*, and four thousand other *French*, commanded by *d'Aubigny*, *Trivulzi*, and *Ligni*. Their success was rapid. On the thirteenth of *August* they took *Arezzo*. *Anon* made but a feeble resistance. *Valenza* was betrayed to them; and *Galeazzo*, finding he could have no dependence upon his *Italian* infantry, shut himself up in *Alessandria*, *Basignano*, *Voghiera*, *Castelnuovo*, *Ponte Corono*, and at last, the important town and citadel of *Tortona*, fell into the hands of the *French*. After that, they penetrated into the *Ghiradadda*. The condition of *Sforza* was now desperate. He had, in
b vain, endeavoured to retrieve his credit with the inhabitants of *Milan*; and he was betrayed by his general *Cajazzo*, who went over to the *French*. In like manner, *Galeazzo* his brother abandoned *Alessandria*, which the *French* took and plundered; and *Pavia* declared for them. *Sforza* then resolved to retire with his family to *Germany*, after leaving a garrison in the castle of *Milan*, which, with the city, opened its gates to the *French*; as did *Genoa*; whilst *Cremona* submitted to the *Venetians*; and *Lewis* himself took possession of *Milan*.

- PAUL VITELLI*, during those successes of the *French*, was making war in the *Pisan*, where he reduced *Cascina*, and at last shut the *Pisans* up within their city, which was besieged by *Vitelli*. *Pisa* was surrounded with a single but a strong wall, and was formidable
c by the number and courage of its inhabitants, whom practice had now rendered excellent soldiers. *Vitelli* played with his cannon upon *Stampace*, one of the outworks, which was defended by *Gurlino* the *Pisan* general, and shattered it so, that he took it by storm. Being at the head of ten thousand foot, and a proportionable number of horse, he might have taken the city at the same time with very little loss; but he unaccountably stopped the ardour of his troops, upon which the *Pisans* recovered from their consternation, and defended themselves more obstinately than ever. It was now the end of *August*, and the unwholesome situation of *Pisa* had filled the *Florentine* army with diseases, which cut so many of them off, that *Vitelli*, apprehensive of being himself attacked, abandoned the siege, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of the *Florentine* officers and soldiers. This disappointment proved his ruin. In a few days after he was arrested at *Cascina*, from whence
d he was sent to *Florence*, where he was put to the torture. The charges against him were various and complicated; but perhaps his want of success was his greatest crime. Amongst other things, he was accused of holding a correspondence with the *Pisans* and the *Medici* family, and of having privately engaged himself in the *Venetian* service. He confessed nothing upon the rack, and next day he was beheaded. The *Florentine* magistrates endeavoured to seize his brother *Vitelozzo*, who would have undergone the same fate, but by the fidelity of his attendants he escaped to *Pisa*, where he was joyfully received.

and in the Pisan.

Vitelli tortured and beheaded.

- AFTER the *French* king had triumphantly entered *Milan*, all the *Italian* states, excepting the king of *Naples*, made court to him, and he received the compliments of them all
e more favourably than he did those of *Florence*. *Lewis* thought that the conduct of the *Florentines* was timid and time-serving; and they scarcely ever made a poorer figure than they did at this period, being hated and despised by all their neighbours, for their temporizing. Their enemies the *Pisans*, on the other hand, were every where in the highest reputation, for the noble stand they had made in defence of their liberties: and the *Florentines* met with a severe enemy in the person of *Trivulzi*, who was in hopes of obtaining the sovereignty of *Pisa*, where the inhabitants were ready for any subjection but to the *Florentines*. The cruel death which *Vitelli*, whose reputation as an officer was very high, had undergone, increased the public odium against the *Florentines*, and they were reviled at the *French* court, for having unjustly put to death a general, who was the friend
f and confederate of *France*. Reasons of state, however favoured the *Florentines*; and *Lewis* consulting his interest more than he did the resentments of his courtiers, entered into a treaty with them, after they had previously made him a handsome present in money. The terms were, that the king should assist them against all invaders with six hundred lances, and four thousand foot; that he should employ the lances, and a proportionable train of artillery, in the recovery of *Pisa*, and of the lands and territories that had been taken from them by the *Siennese* and the *Lucquese*. The *Florentines*, on the other hand, engaged to employ four hundred men at arms, and three thousand foot, in defence of his majesty's *Italian* dominions; and if *Pisa* was recovered, they were to join the royal army with five hundred men at arms, and advance a fifty thousand ducats towards the maintenance of five thousand *Swiss* for three months, besides repayment of thirty-six thousand ducats lent them by *Lodovico*, deducting from the said sum what
g *Trivulzi* should declare to have been paid or expended on his account. Lastly, that they

Treaty between Lewis and the Florentines.

^a GUICCIARDINI, book iv.

should

should elect for their captain-general the prefect of *Rome*, who was brother to the cardinal of *S. Piero*, in *Vincola*, at whose instance this demand was made.

Design of the
pope and his
son.

THIS treaty between the *French* king and the *Florentines* had no immediate consequences, the *Italian* potentates having almost all of them separate views. After the reduction of *Milan*, the pope prevailed with *Lewis* to lend him a body of troops, for the reduction, as he pretended, of the *Romagna* to the holy see; but in fact, for erecting a powerful principality there in favour of his son *Cesar Borgia*, in which he partly succeeded. The *Venetians* were obliged to turn to their attention against the *Turks*, who besieged their maritime towns in *Greece*, where it was thought they were betrayed by their admiral *Antonio Grimano*. As to the *French* king, he left the government of the *Milanese* under *Trivulzi*, and returned to *France*. *Sforza*, and his brother the cardinal *Ajcanio*, were all this while at *Maximilian's* court, and fed with magnificent promises of his employing a great army in their favour. It soon appeared, however, that all his intention was to get money from them; on which they resolved to apply to another quarter for relief. They happened to be favoured by the perpetual disagreement between the *Italian* and *French* manners. *Trivulzi* was unamiable in his character, and guilty of some cruelties, which rendered him unpopular in *Milan*. The insolence of the *French*, in a few weeks, became more odious to the *Milanese*, than all the crimes and oppressions of *Sforza* had ever been; and they every day made secret applications for his return. He accordingly, with the money that was left him, hired eight hundred *Swiss* and five hundred *Burgundian* men at arms; and returning to the *Milanese*, notwithstanding all the vigilance of *Trivulzi*, he and his brother made themselves masters of *Como*. All that *Trivulzi* could do, was to send expresses to *Venice* for assistance, and to recal the *French* troops that were serving in the *Romagna*.

Sforza recovers the
Milanese.

BUT the inhabitants of *Milan* had, by this time, heard of *Sforza's* success at *Como*; which gave them such spirits, that they in a manner drove *Trivulzi* out of *Milan* to *Novara*, where he endeavoured to make a stand, till he could receive reinforcements out of *France*. Upon this, *Sforza* and his brother were joyfully received in *Milan*; and had it not been for the *Venetians*, all that duchy would have declared for him, as *Pisa* and *Parma* actually did. After *Sforza* became master of *Milan*, he left no measure untried for securing himself in the possession of it. He sent the bishop of *Cremona* to the *Venetians*, offering to agree to any terms they should prescribe for effecting a reconciliation: but all his endeavours were fruitless, they refusing to abandon their alliance with *France*. The *Genoese* were applied to in like manner; but could not be prevailed upon to return under *Sforza's* government; and the *Florentines*, who certainly lay under great obligations to him, refused to pay him the money he had advanced them towards the recovery of *Pisa*. The marquis of *Mantua*, however, and the lords of *Mirandola*, *Carpi*, and *Corregio*, lent him some men, and the *Siennese* assisted him with a sum of money. He likewise received some aids from other *Italian* princes; so that at last he raised a considerable army of *Swiss*, *Burgundians*, and *Italians*, and leaving his brother the cardinal, to besiege the castle of *Milan*, he himself laid siege to *Novara*; the *French* under *Trivulzi* having shut themselves up in *Mortara*, which began to be distressed for want of provisions. In the mean while *Ivo d'Allegri*, who commanded the *French* troops that were serving in the *Romagna*, returned to *Alessandria*; but the *French* king had taken so little care of his conquests and troops, that the *Swiss* under *Allegri*, daily deserted to *Sforza* for want of pay. This enabled him to take the town of *Novara*, tho' the citadel still held out; and it is thought that if *Sforza* had pursued his good fortune, the *French* must have been obliged to repass the *Po*.

He is betrayed
and given
up by his *Swiss*
soldiers.

A. D. 1500.

LEWIS, the *French* king, stung with so many repeated disgraces, dispatched *Tremouille* with six hundred lances for *Italy*. By the month of *April*, in the year 1500, he had in *Italy* fifteen hundred lances, ten thousand *Swiss*, and six thousand *French*. The *Swiss* in *Sforza's* army now departed from that honest open character for which they had ever been famous. The *French*, winking at their desertion to *Sforza*, suffered many of their officers to go over, whom they knew to be attached to their service. As those officers had no object of duty but money, they caballed with their countrymen in *Sforza's* army; and at last a plot was formed to make their peace with the *French* king, by deserting *Sforza*. The latter had some intimation of the conspiracy, and ordered four hundred horse and eight hundred foot to march from *Milan* to *Novara*, as a reinforcement to his army. The conspirators, understanding this, mutinied for want of pay; and *Sforza*, in order to appease them, had recourse to the most abject submissions, and made them a present of all his plate, till money could be brought from *Milan*. The *Swiss* officers, however, who were in the secret of the conspiracy, prevailed with the *French* to present themselves in array before *Novara*, and took measures for cutting off all communication between *Sforza* and *Milan*. He had great reason to think he was betrayed, and drew his army out to fight the *French*; but the *Swiss* flatly refused to engage, pretending they could not fight against their own countrymen. In short, though *Sforza* descended to the most abject entreaties to prevail

- a upon them to stand by him, they continued in their resolution of returning to their own country; and all he could obtain was a chance for his escaping out of the hands of the *French* in the disguise of a common *Swiss* soldier. This was the miserable expedient left to the most refined politician of his age for safety, and it even failed him. While the *Swiss* were passing through the *French* army, *Sforza* was known, probably being betrayed by the *Swiss* themselves, and immediately put under arrest, as were all his friends and relations, who attended him in the same disguise. This humiliating reverse of fortune drew tears even from *Sforza's* enemies. His brother *Ascanio* was equally unfortunate: hearing of *Sforza's* fate he abandoned *Milan*; but in endeavouring to make his escape, he was betrayed in the *Piacentine*, and sent prisoner to *Venice*. The *French* king demanded him of the *Venetians*, who were mean enough to deliver him up, together with all the *Milanese* noblemen of *Sforza's* party, who had put themselves under their protection, on a promise of not being delivered up. As to *Sforza*, he was conducted to *Lions*, and from thence sent prisoner to several places; but at last he was fixed at *Loches*, where, according to the *French* historian, he was treated with respect; and he there lived for ten years, during the last five of which he was allowed to walk abroad, within five miles of the castle. His brother, the cardinal, was confined at *Bourges*. The *Florentines* were but indirectly concerned in those great events. The emperor and the empire of *Germany*, conceived umbrage at the vast successes of the *French* king; for which reason he laid aside all thoughts of carrying his arms into *Naples*, and inclined to give the *Florentines* assistance towards recovering *Pisa* and *Pietra Santa*. The *Genoese*, *Siennese*, and *Lucquese*, out of hatred to the *Florentines*, tempted *Lewis* with great offers to lay aside his design; and being seconded by *Trivulzi*, and some of his generals, he was for some time in suspense. The cardinal of *Reau* was then at *Milan*, and took the part of the *Florentines*, who had, with the utmost honour and punctuality, fulfilled all their engagements with the *French*. He therefore sent them a reinforcement of six hundred lances and five thousand *Swiss*, with some companies of *Gascons*, artillery, and ammunition, and a further supplement of two thousand *Swiss* followed them. But the licentiousness of the *French* mercenaries defeated all the intentions of the cardinal; they loitered their time away in *Lombardy*, and gave the *Pisans* leisure to prepare for their defence. The *Florentines* themselves were partly to blame for their misfortunes; for at their recommendations *Beaumont* a *Frenchman* of no experience in military affairs, was made general of the *French* auxiliaries; and instead of proceeding to the siege of *Pisa*, he made war upon the marquis of *Mantua*, *Bentivoglio* of *Bologna*, and other petty lords and potentates who had favoured *Sforza*.

Misconduct of
the French,

- THE *Pisans* had made *Vitellozzo*, brother to *Paul Vitelli*, their general, and he put their city in a respectable posture of defence. Such was the hatred of the inhabitants to the *Florentines*, that the women, equally as the men, laboured upon the fortifications. The inhabitants even passed a public decree, putting themselves under the *French* protection, and declaring themselves *French* subjects. This being intimated to *Beaumont*, he demanded possession of their city, which they would have granted him, had he been empowered to promise, that they should not again come under subjection to the *Florentines*. *Beaumont* having no instructions on that head, laid siege to *Pisa*; but it was so well prepared for a defence, and the *Pisans* expressed so much resolution, that the besiegers despaired of success. The siege soon languished; and by an intercourse, not uncommon in those days, the *French* became acquainted with the *Pisans*, and pitied them, as suffering in the noblest of causes that of defending their liberty. This compassion went even to an extravagant length, for not only the *French* soldiers, but some of their officers of the highest rank, far from distressing the *Pisans*, suffered their auxiliaries to enter their city; and at last, under pretence of not receiving their pay, they mutinied against their officers, and broke up the siege, leaving the few *Florentines* who had joined them to continue it.

who pity the
Pisans,

- f WHEN the *French* retired from the siege of *Pisa*, the *Pisans* undertook the siege of *Librafatta*; which they soon reduced, as they did *Ventura*, and several other places, all of them serving to open a communication between them and *Lucca*. The *French* generals, in the mean while, carefully concealed from *Lewis* their own scandalous behaviour, and that of their troops, but laid all the blame upon the *Florentines*, who, they said, had made an improper choice of a general, and had not supplied the *French* with provisions. *Lewis*, however, endeavoured to encourage the *Florentines* to reassume the siege of *Pisa*; but they became now so diffident of the *French*, that they refused to have any connections with them, while the *Genoese*, the *Siennese*, and the *Lucquese*, openly assisted the *Pisans* both with men and money.

who take Li-
brafatta.

- g NOTHING material happened, farther than what we have related, amongst the *Florentines*, during the year 1500. They were, through their connections with the *French*, very low in the esteem of all the other *Italian* states, and *Lewis* tho' himself well-intentioned, was, by his favourites and courtiers, prevailed on to abandon them to their fate, and to ap-

The Floren-
tines reduced
low.

ply his chief efforts in favour of the pope, and his son, *Cesar Borgia*, who now made vast progress in the *Romagna*. To complete the misfortune of the *Florentines*, they had engaged to pay to *Lewis* the money that they had borrowed from *Sforza*. But the successes of *Borgia* encouraged him to turn his eyes towards the *Florentines*, who having now every thing to dread from his and his father's ambition, not only failed in paying *Sforza's* debt to *Lewis*, but in discharging the arrears due to the *Swiss* who had been employed in the siege of *Pisa*, which *Lewis*, rather than disoblige the *Swiss*, had advanced out of his own coffers. All this gave *Lewis* a very indifferent opinion of the *Florentines*; so that he was, with some difficulty, prevailed upon to put off the term of payment for some time.

Factions among them.

THE *Florentines*, instead of thinking on the means of retrieving their affairs, split amongst themselves; and the more desperate their situation became, their divisions drew to the greater height. The popular form of government, which had taken place ever since the expulsion of *Peter de Medici*, became now a burden to them, and part of them were for restoring the *Medici* family; others inclined to a moderate aristocracy; the wiser part declined all concern in the state; and none were found who had interest enough either to reform, or to settle, the government. *Lewis*, the *French* king, came at last to hold the *Florentines* in great contempt. He insisted upon the payment of the money due to him, and the assistance they had stipulated to afford him in his *Neapolitan* expedition, and being disappointed in both, he gave his patronage to the family of *Medici*, and entered upon measures for restoring them to their influence in *Florence*. In this he was seconded by *Cesar Borgia*, who equally ungrateful as ambitious, had, during his progress in the *Romagna*, been greatly assisted by the *Florentines*; but *Borgia* being now prosperous in all his undertakings, had even thoughts of making himself master of *Florence*. The *French* king began to dislike his conduct, and had prohibited an attempt which he had formed against *Bolegna*. *Borgia* knew that *Lewis* was immensurably exasperated against the *Florentines*; and being secure of receiving no check from him on their account, he actually invaded their dominions with five or six thousand men, under pretence of demanding a passage through them. But without waiting for any answer to this demand, he proceeded in his march as far as *Barbarino*, a market-town, and the original place of the *Barbarino* family; where, though he had no artillery with him, and though his army was in a miserable condition, he altered his strain, and in the style of a sovereign prince, he demanded of the *Florentines* that they would enter into a treaty with him, and not only give him a subsidy according to his rank and dignity, but alter the form of their government to his liking. To give the greater weight to this demand, he had ordered *Peter de Medici*, *Vitellozzo*, the *Orsini*, and other declared enemies of the *Florentines*, to lie on the borders of *Tuscany*.

Insulted by Cesar Borgia,

BORGIA had no serious intention of serving the *Medici* family; but according to *Guicciardini*^a, he even indulged a private resentment he had for the *Florentines*, and advanced within six miles of their city with his army. Being doubtful of the *French*, he there stopped, and renewed his demands upon the *Florentines*, who were in no condition to dispute them. A convention was accordingly entered into between them and *Borgia*, by which he promised to give no assistance to the *Pisans*; and they agreed not to oppose his designs upon *Piombino*, or the other states he intended to subdue. The *Florentines* were likewise obliged to pay him a subsidy of thirty-six thousand ducats yearly, on condition of his keeping three hundred men at arms, always in readiness for their service. The more compliant the *Florentines* were, *Borgia* grew the more insolent: he treated their country as that of an enemy, and rose exorbitantly in his demands.

who is checked by Lewis.

FEW readers who are acquainted with history, are ignorant of the character of *Cesar Borgia*; and it seems not to have been unknown to the *French* of those days. Tho' *Lewis* both hated and despised the *Florentines*, yet he was so far from approving of *Borgia's* insolence towards them, that he sent orders to *D'Aubigny*, his general in *Lombardy*, to drive him out of *Tuscany*, if he did not retire of himself. *Borgia* was intimidated by this threat, and ordered the *Pisans* to abandon the siege of *Ripomaranci*, a place belonging to the *Florentines*, which he had encouraged them to undertake. But the system of power in *Italy* was at this time entirely overturned. *Ferdinand the Catholic*, king of *Spain*, the most politic prince of his age, had formed a treaty of partition of the kingdom of *Naples*, unknown to *Federigo*, who depended upon the assistance of *Gonsalvo*, the *Spanish* general, who in history is known by the name of the *Great Captain*. The *French* troops entered *Naples*, and then the *French* and *Spanish* ambassadors, by command of their masters, published at the court of *Rome* the treaty of partition which had been concluded, and obliged his holiness to give them investitures according to its articles, under pretence that, when the partition took place, they should be enabled to act with greater effect against the infidels. It is certain, that in this partition *Lewis* was outwitted by *Ferdinand*. *Federigo* had offered to put himself and his kingdom under the protection of *France*; but *Lewis* vainly imagined that he

- a might, by his treaty with *Ferdinand*, become quiet possessor of half the kingdom of *Naples*. The infamy, however, fell most heavily upon *Ferdinand*. It is true that *Federigo* was descended of a bastard line; but *Ferdinand* had all along promised to support and assist him. *Ferdinand* had nothing to plead in his own behalf, but that *Federigo*, unknown to him, was negotiating an alliance with *France*, which, had it taken place, must have endangered his kingdom of *Sicily*; and that *Federigo*, being of an illegitimate family, had, in fact, no right to the kingdom of *Naples*. It was some time before *Federigo* could be brought to believe he had been betrayed; but the march of *d'Aubigny*, the *French* general, and his besieging *Capua*, which he took and sacked, soon undeceived him. It is well known, that the *French* and *Spaniards* succeeded in their designs against *Naples*. The *Florentines*, in a fit of despair, applied to the cardinal of *Rouen* for making the *French* king their friend; but, instead of that, he gave up to the *Lucquese*, for a sum of money, *Pietra Santa* and *Mutrone*. He likewise entered into a treaty with the *Siennese*, the *Lucquese*, and the *Pisans*, for restoring the family of *Medici* to their power in *Florence*. But money being his only object, the negotiation came to nothing, as soon as he perceived those states were unable to advance it. This year neither the *Florentines* nor *Pisans* were able to assist themselves, the great powers on which each depended being intent on other objects; but in the year 1502, hostilities were renewed between them. The *Florentines* had taken advantage of *Maximilian's* jealousy of the *French*, to make some advances towards a treaty with him; and *Lewis* was so apprehensive of the consequences, that he began to talk in a very moderate strain to the *Florentines*, so that, at last, a treaty was concluded between them. The terms, according to *Guicciardini*^a, were, "That the king, on receiving them into his protection, should be bound, for three years next ensuing, to defend them with an armed force, at his own cost, against any power that should, either directly or indirectly, attack them in the dominions of which they were then in possession: that the *Florentines* should be obliged, in the said space of three years, to pay each year the third part of one hundred and twenty thousand ducats: that all other capitulations made between them, together with the obligations depending on them, should be null and void: that the *Florentines* should be at liberty to proceed by force of arms against the *Pisans*, and all other invaders of their state."
- d This treaty gave fresh spirits to the *Florentines*, and they resumed their war against the *Pisans*. Experience, by this time, had taught them the inutility of endeavouring to reduce *Pisa* by force of arms; and they therefore made dispositions for taking *Vico Pisano*, and blockading *Pisa* itself, in such a manner as to compel it to surrender by famine. *Maximilian*, out of hatred and jealousy towards the *French* king, now took the part of the *Pisans*; and the faction of the *Medici* was so strong, that every day produced tumults in their favour. *Guglielmo de Pazzi* was then the *Florentine* governor in *Arezzo*, where *Vitellozzo*, the placable enemy of the *Florentines*, on account of his brother, had a strong party. The governor had an intimation of a conspiracy against him; but neglected it so much, that the *Arezzians*, who now hated the *Florentines*, broke out into open rebellion, imprisoned the governor, took possession of the city, and forced the *Florentines* to betake themselves to the citadel. All this was done with so much rapidity, that *Vitellozzo* had only leisure to throw a few troops into *Arezzo*, for blockading the citadel. The *Florentine* army, at this time, were besieging *Vico Pisano*; and the wisest citizens gave it as their opinion, that it ought to march to *Arezzo*, preferably to all other services; but the introduction of low-bred mechanics into the principal posts of the government, rendered the *Florentines* deaf to all public counsel; and *Vitellozzo*, marching with a fresh reinforcement to *Arezzo*, blocked up the citadel in such a manner, that the garrison could receive no provisions, so that it was obliged to surrender by capitulation. By the terms of it, the bishop of *Arezzo*, who had shut himself up in the citadel, and eight other *Florentines*, were to be detained prisoners, and exchanged for the *Arezzians* who had been imprisoned at *Florence*.
- f THE *Florentines* were under the greater consternation at the loss of *Arezzo*, as they imagined that it had been effected by the contrivance of the pope and his son *Cesar Borgia*. They had no recourse, being now destitute both of men and money, but to the *French* king; to whom they represented the danger of the increase of the papal power in *Italy*, and the necessity he was under, both for his interest and honour, to take *Florence* into his protection. *Lewis*, who had long disliked the proceedings of the pope and his son, and who had now broken with the king of *Spain* about the partition of *Naples*, ordered his general *Chaumont* to march with a strong detachment to the assistance of the *Florentines*; and sent commands to *Vitellozzo*, the *Orsini*, *Borgia*, and the other enemies of the *Florentines*, upon pain of his displeasure, to desist from all hostilities against them. This order was complied with; but *Borgia*, in the mean while, after a train of treacherous and inhuman measures, took possession of the duchy of *Urbino*; and then deliberated, as he was now very strong, upon attacking the *Florentines*, in defiance of the *French* king. Prudential considerations, however, restrained him from that; and he contented himself with amusing the *Florentines* by a negotiation, and

Affairs of Naples.

Treaty between Lewis and the Florentines.

The Pisan war renewed.

Arezzo lost by the Florentines.

^a GUICCIARDINI, book v.

suffering their enemy *Vitellozzo* to take the citadel of *Arezzo*, and many other places belonging to the *Florentines* in the neighbourhood. Even *Cortona* fell into his hands, for the *Florentines* were now so weak, that they were unable to bring an army into the field; and the presence of *Peter de Medici* in his army, made the subjects of *Florence*, without its gates, consider all who opposed him as so many rebels.

Their danger.

HAD *Vitellozzo* marched into the *Casentin*, after such a train of successes, he might have endangered *Florence* itself. Instead of that, he reduced *Anghiari* and *Borgo S. Sepolchro*. From thence he marched into the *Casentin*: but by this time two hundred *French* lances, under *Imbault*, had arrived in the *Florentine* territory; the dread of whom obliged *Vitellozzo* to abandon his design upon the *Casentin*. A reinforcement of two hundred other *French* lances arriving, the *Florentines* assembled an army of three thousand foot, and forced *Vitellozzo* to retire under the walls of *Arezzo*. The face of affairs was now greatly altered in favour of the *Florentines*. Most of *Vitellozzo's* confederates drew off, to secure their own countries against *Borgia*, and the *French* king was now arrived at *Asti*; from whence he detached his general, *Louis de la Tremouille*, with a large body of troops, to assist the *Florentines* in recovering *Arezzo*, and in opposing the progress of the papal power; a service which he declared to be as meritorious as that of fighting against the infidels.

Victory of the pope.

THE pope and his son, knowing that they were no match for the *French* king, disclaimed having any hand in the revolt of *Arezzo*, and threatened *Vitellozzo* with their displeasure, if he did not abandon it. He chose a middle course; and, to the great disappointment of the *Florentines*, he gave *Arezzo*, and the other places he had taken from them, into the hands of *Imbault* the *French* general, who, by order of the *French* king, immediately restored them to the *Florentines*. Though this agreeable event cost the *Florentines* money, yet it gave them such a sense of their own importance, that they resolved to new-model the form of their government, that they might, if possible, revive a public spirit in their commonwealth. But the disadvantages they experienced from their popular method of government, and their prepossessions in its favour were so equally balanced, that they could agree only upon one alteration, which was, that of making the gonfalonier an officer during life. *Peter Soderini*, an unexceptionable person, was unanimously chosen to fill that high office. When the *French* king arrived at *Asti*, his minister, the cardinal of *Rouen*, seconded the arts of the pope so effectually, that they were reconciled together, to prevent the junction of his holiness with *Maximilian*. This negotiation was kept so secret, that all *Italy* was amazed at seeing *Borgia* received by the *French* king with open arms at *Milan*, and at his majesty's recalling his troops from *Tuscany*, in order to employ them in *Naples*, where he was every where victorious, and obliged the *Spanish* general *Gonsalvo* to shut himself up in *Barletta*. *Lewis* was even so weak, that, by the advice of the cardinal of *Rouen*, who aspired to the popedom, in case of a vacancy, he entered into closer connections than ever with the pope and *Borgia*, who persisted in disclaiming all the proceedings of *Vitellozzo* against the *Florentines*. This gave great umbrage to the *Florentines*, and all the other states of *Italy*; and they endeavoured to take the marquis of *Mantua* into their pay; but in this they were opposed by the *French* king, as well as by the pope and *Borgia*. The two latter became now so insolent, on the favour of *Lewis*, that they made no secret of their enmity to the *Florentines*, and even repented the disclaiming their having had any hand in the revolt of *Arezzo*. Their influence over *Lewis* was such, that he permitted them to make an attempt upon *Bologna*, though he had before declared that he would maintain the *Bentivoglio* family there. The *Florentines* were at this time so inconsiderable, as to despair of doing any service by their remonstrances. But the *Venetians* insisted, with great firmness, upon the mistaken policy of *Lewis* in aggrandizing the pope and his family.

The French again invade Italy.

Confederacy amongst the Italian powers against the pope and Borgia.

THOSE representations gave courage to the lesser *Italian* princes. *Pagolo Orsini*, *Vitellozzo*, *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, *Liverotto da Fermo*, *Giovanni Bentivoglio*, and others, seeing their estates, which they had so long possessed as fiefs, ready to fall a sacrifice to the ambition of the pope and his son, withdrew themselves from their service, and entered into a confederacy for their mutual defence against *Borgia*; but they avoided, as much as possible, to give any umbrage to the *French* king. To bring the *Florentines* into their alliance, they offered, by means of *Pandolfo Petrucci*, to restore them to the possession of *Pisa*; but the *Florentines* declined the proposal, for fear of disobliging the *French* king, who still continued to be attached to the pope. This disconcerted all the measures of the confederates, and, one after another, they made their peace with his holiness and *Borgia*. But that monster, in defiance of the most solemn engagements, having decoyed four of the principal confederates, *Pagolo Orsini*, the duke of *Gravina*, *Vitellozzo*, and *Liverotto da Fermo*, into his power, he put *Vitellozzo* and *Liverotto da Fermo* to death, and made the others prisoners.

In the beginning of the year 1503, his holiness and his son, in like manner, decoyed into their power cardinal *Orsino* and almost all his family, whom they either put to death or imprisoned; and in all their proceedings they continued to behave with such insolence and cruelty, that the *French* king became once more jealous of them; and a league of mutual offence

a offence and defence was formed amongst the *Florentines*, the *Siennese*, and the *Bolegnese*, against the pope and his family. By this league, of which the *French* king was the guarantee, *Monte Pulciano* was to be restored to the *Florentines*; and *Pandolfo Petrucci* was restored to *Sienna*, from whence he had been expelled by *Borgia*. This return of the favour of *Lewis* was the less useful to the *Florentines*, on account of the declining state of their affairs in *Naples*, where the war was carried on in a romantic manner; and even the *Swiss* began to lose their respect for the *French* king, who now thought of nothing but withdrawing with honour from his *Neapolitan* expedition.

THE *Florentines*, all this while, were intent upon the recovery of *Pisa*, and had taken into their service the bailiff of *Caen*, a *French* officer of reputation, who took *Vico Pisano* from the *Pisans*, and soon after *Verrucola*, a pass of great importance towards the conquest of *Pisa* itself. The loss of those two places were extremely mortifying to the *Pisans*, who were now abandoned by all their allies, and had nothing to support them but their irreconcilable aversion towards the *Florentines*. Jealousy, however, operated in their favour. The *Genoese* and *Lucquese*, conscious that they had no favour to expect from the *Florentines*, gave them assistance; and *Borgia* himself, encouraged by the ruin of the *French* in *Naples*, privately assisted them, in hopes of becoming their sovereign. *Pandolfo Petrucci* likewise entered into intrigues against the *Florentines*, who insisted upon the restitution of *Monte Pulciano*, previous to all other considerations. *Lewis* made a fresh irruption into *Italy*, in which he was assisted by the *Florentines*, and the other states of *Tuscany*; and, by intercepted letters, it was discovered that *Borgia*, and *Gonsalvo*, the *Spanish* general in *Naples*, had entered into engagements for making the former sovereign of *Pisa*, and for defeating all the hopes of the *French* in *Italy*. The preparations of *Lewis* were so formidable, that they durst not carry those engagements immediately into execution; and, after various negotiations, the pope agreed to remain neutral as to all disputes in *Tuscany*; and at the same time *Borgia* consented to assist the *French* with a body of troops. But those engagements were all deceitful, on the part of his holiness and his son, whose real intention was to carry into execution their views upon *Tuscany*, as soon as the *French* army was engaged in *Naples*. Their treachery was disappointed by the death of the pope, which, according to the authorities of the best historians, was occasioned by his casually drinking part of a poisoned bottle of wine he had prepared to be administered to some rich cardinals who were to sup with him (A). His son *Cæsar Borgia* drunk of the same bottle, and narrowly escaped with his life. The confusion that happened in *Rome* upon the death of pope *Alexander VI.* who, notwithstanding his crimes, was one of the greatest men that ever filled the papal throne, is inexpressible. At last, the cardinals fixed upon *Francisco Piccolomini*, cardinal of *Sienna*, to be pope. He lived but twenty-six days after his election, and was succeeded by the cardinal of *St. Piero in Vincola*, the most turbulent spirit of his age, who assumed the name of *Julius II.* The ambition of the *Venetians* at this time led them to attack *Faenza*; and the *Faentinians* had recourse first to the pope, who refused to defend them, and then to the *Florentines*, who, at first, sent them some assistance, but soon after withdrew it, dreading the *Venetian* power, which was so great at this time, that they made slight both of the pope and the *French* king, who had charged them to desist from attacking *Faenza*, which belonged to *Cæsar Borgia*. Notwithstanding this, they not only took the place, but stripped him of most of his possessions in the *Romagna*. He was an eminent instance of the vanity of human politics. He used to boast, that he had omitted no precaution to secure himself in the possession of the estates he had acquired, only he had not foreseen that he might be taken ill at the time of his father's death, which was the case. As he was universally detested, the pope finished his ruin, which the *Venetians* had begun. All his estates reverted either to them or to the church; and the remains of his miserable army at last took refuge in the *Florentine* territory, where they were disarmed and stripped.

f THE *French* army, at this time, were totally defeated in *Naples* by *Gonsalvo*, who secured all that kingdom to the king of *Spain*. *Peter de Medici*, who had followed the fortunes of *France*, was drowned in endeavouring to pass the *Garigliano* in a boat; and *Cæsar Borgia*, after experiencing great vicissitudes of fortune, was arrested by *Gonsalvo*, and sent prisoner to *Spain*. In the year 1504, *Gonsalvo* having slackened the prosecution of his victories over the *French*, the *Florentines* obtained some little respite; but were soon after threatened with an invasion by the friends of the *Medici* family, who were still numerous and powerful. It appeared, however, that the *Spaniards*, who were every where victorious, intend-

The Florentines join the French.

Death of pope Alexander.

The French defeated in Naples.

A. D. 1504.

(A) This is the account given by the best cotemporary historians, some of whom were upon the spot, and we can scarce believe them to have been mistaken or misinformed. *Voltaire* thinks it to be improbable; but notwithstanding the romantic circumstances attending it, it has all the marks of historical credibility that can

be required. To mention no other, the illness of *Cæsar Borgia* at the same time, and from the same cause, has never been disputed, and is allowed to have been the reason of the ruin that afterwards befel himself and his fortunes.

Pisa defended
against the
Florentines,

ed to give them no disturbance; which encouraged them in the summer of that year to take into their pay *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, with some other *Italian* soldiers of fortune, and to renew the war with the *Pisans*. They accordingly entered that territory with a great army, and laid it waste. It was expected, that, being still in friendship with the *French* king, *Gonsalvo* would have given them some trouble; but both parties proved tractable on that head, and entered into a kind of a compromise, by which the *Florentines* engaged not to assist the *French* king if he should again attack *Naples*, while *Gonsalvo* was not to molest them in the country of *Pisa*, unless they undertook the siege of that city while they continued in friendship with *France*. The *Florentines* pursued their advantages, and took *Livbrassetta* after a short resistance, together with a great number of places in the neighbourhood of *Pisa* itself. Notwithstanding their compromise with *Gonsalvo*, they would have even taken that city, had it not been succoured by the *Genoese* and the *Lucquese*. *Giacomini*, the *Florentine* general, upon this invaded the territory of *Lucca*, which he laid waste; and the *Lucquese* complained of him to the *French* king, who gave them no satisfaction; so that *Pisa* was still in imminent danger from the *Florentines*. *Gonsalvo* perceiving this, sent one of his officers, *Rimeri della Saffetta*, with two hundred horse, to *Pisa*, into which the *Genoese*, at the same time, threw one thousand foot. One *Bardella*, of *Porto Venere*, a famous corsair, entered likewise into the *Pisan* service, on assurance of being paid by the *Genoese* and their confederates; and supplied them with provisions, at a time when they were threatened with famine, by keeping a galloon and some brigantines for that purpose. The *Florentines*, whose great hopes of reducing *Pisa*, depended on its want of provisions, upon this, hired three light galleys of *Federigo*; and these sailing to *Leghorn*, obliged *Bardella* to keep to sea. Notwithstanding this, he still found means to supply the *Pisans* with provisions. The *Florentines*, on the other hand, omitted no expence for obtaining their darling end of retaking *Pisa*, and destroyed the harvest all round that city with the most unrelenting fury. They, at the same time, entered upon a most expensive undertaking, that of diverting the course of the *Arno* five miles from *Pisa*, and carrying it by a new channel into the standing waters between that city and *Leghorn*. But this project, after vast sums of money had been expended upon it, proved impracticable, because the bed of the lake, into which the waters were to be discharged, was higher than the channel of the *Arno*.

which are un-
successful.

THIS was not the only misfortune that befel the *Florentines* this year. They had ordered the galleys they had hired, to seize upon a ship laden for the *Pisans* with corn at *Villafrauca*; but on their return they were wrecked off *Repalle*, and it was with difficulty the men were saved. The *Florentines*, being thus disappointed in all their attempts to recover *Pisa* by force, resolved to try what they could do by acts of humanity. A law passed in *Florence*, that every *Pisan* who should, in a certain time, live in his own house, and upon his own estate in that territory, should be forgiven all offences against the state. This expedient turned out to the disadvantage of the *Florentines*, because it relieved *Pisa* from a great many useless mouths, which had chiefly occasioned the scarcity of provisions in that city. The extreme poverty of the *Pisans*, however, was such, that their allies, especially the *Lucquese* and *Petrucchi* of *Sienna*, tired of supporting them longer, persuaded them to offer the sovereignty of their city to the *Genoese*, and proposed to contribute towards the defence of it for three years. A great party in *Genoa* was against accepting this proposal; but a majority was for it, and application was made to the *French* king for leave to embrace it, *Genoa* being at that time in his subjection. But notwithstanding all the plausible arguments urged in favour of the proposal, *Lewis* expressly commanded the *Genoese* to reject the offer, but without enjoining them not to assist the *Pisans*.

Alterations in
Italy.
A.D. 1505.

THE death of *Federigo* king of *Naples*, and that of *Isabella* of *Castile*, the wife of *Ferdinand* king of *Spain*, created great alterations in the system of power in *Italy*. There was, however, a total cessation of war there in the beginning of the year 1505, excepting between the *Pisans* and *Florentines*, which continued still to be carried on with the greatest acrimony on both parts, but with various fortune. *Lucca Savello* was then the *Florentine*, as *Tarlantino* was the *Pisan* general. *Savello*, who had his head quarters at *Cascina*, thought himself superior to the *Pisans* in strength; and, in order to bring his enemies to an engagement, he marched across the *Serchio*, and carried some cattle belonging to the *Pisans* from the *Lucquese*. Returning slowly that he might encourage the *Pisans* to attack him, *Tarlantino* left *Pisa* with a small party; and ordering the rest to follow him, he attacked the advanced guards of the *Florentines* at *S. Jacopo*; but they retired to the bridge of *Cappelliso* on the *Osole*, where all their army was assembled within a few miles of *Pisa*. *Tarlantino*, advancing inadvertently, found he could not retreat without being cut off with his whole party. The ground, however, was favourable to him, it being so narrow that the *Florentines* could not avail themselves of their superior numbers, which, on account of the booty they had with them, incommoded them. *Tarlantino*, expecting every moment the arrival

- a of the army, and he crossed the bridge where the flower of the *Florentine* army was posted, and he carried it; and, after being three times repulsed, he carried it; and the advantage was his. At Pisa, fording the river at the same time, the *Florentines* were pent up by the *Pisans*, where they fell into confusion, and behaved in so cowardly a manner, that they were entirely defeated, many of them being killed, but more of them made prisoners, and plundered by the peasants in the country. This defeat was attended with the most disastrous consequences to the *Florentines*. The *Pisans*, without opposition, retook their country, and their general, *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, at *Petrucchi's* instigation, returned to their service, on pretence that his enemies in *Perugia*, to which city he had been sent by the interest of the *Florentines*, were becoming too powerful.
- b To show, however, as much as he could, the charge of ingratitude, he promised never to carry arms against the *Florentines*, and left his son *Malatesta*, a stripling, with fifteen men at arms, to be his vicar. His professions, however, were insincere; for he, *Bartolomeo Malatesta*, and *Petrucchi*, were at that time negotiating with the cardinal *de Medici*, about restoring the Medici to its power in *Florence*. The *Florentines* were then very unable to keep the *French* army, already were they dispirited and weakened by their late defeat; so that it was thought, if a revolution could be effected in favour of the *Medici* family, they would have broken off all their connections with the *French*, and have reinstated that of *Sforza* in the government of *Milan*, where the *French* had now but a very small force. But cardinal *Alviano*, who was the life of that project, dying in the mean time, it came to nothing.
- c The other parties, however, who were in the interest of the *Medici* family, met at *Poggia*, a castle between the borders of *Perugia* and *Sienna*; where it was resolved, amongst themselves, that *Alviano*, who had in disgust left the *Spanish* service, should enter *Pisa*, and from thence harry the *Florentines* as he should see occasion.

The *Florentines* distressed.

and are reduced to great difficulties;

- THE *Florentines* were now reduced to a most deplorable situation; and not knowing how to oppose a general of such power and experience as *Alviano*, they once more applied for the assistance of the *French* king. But *Lewis*, who was now grown old and covetous, absolutely refused to grant them any, unless they paid him thirty thousand ducats in ready money, which they pleaded they were unable to do, on account of the vast expences they had incurred by the *Pisan* war, and the confederacy that had been formed against them.
- d *Gonsalvo* the *Spanish* general had his reasons for patronizing the *Florentines* on this occasion. He interdicted *Alviano*, who had great estates in *Naples*, from assisting the enemies of *Florence*, and charged him to resume his command in the *Spanish* army. At the same time he signified to the *Pisans*, and to the lord of *Piombino*, that they could not consistently with their connections with *Spain*, which had them lately under her protection, receive *Alviano* into their pay. He even went so far, as to offer to the *Florentines* the service of his infantry, which was at *Piombino*, under their general *Marco Antonio Coleonna*: he likewise admonished all the other petty *Italian* tyrants, as they were called, not to give the least assistance to *Alviano* against the *Florentines*. Notwithstanding all this, *Alviano*, with about one thousand men, attempted to make his way to *Pisa*; but when he came to *Scarolino*, a town under the jurisdiction of *Piombino*, he was overtaken by a messenger from *Gonsalvo*, who desired him not to proceed. His answer was full of spirit, that he was a free man, and not to be controuled in his conduct. He then marched to *Campiglia*, a town in the *Florentine* dominions, where some hostilities passed between him and the *Florentines*, whose head-quarters were at *Bibienna*. From thence he marched to *Corma*; but he found his difficulties encrease every day. The lord of *Piombino*, the *Vitelli*, and the other potentates he had confided in, relaxed in their endeavours to support him. Even *Petrucchi* grew cold in his interest; nor was he quite sure whether the *Pisans* would incur *Gonsalvo's* resentment, by receiving him as their general. Under this uncertainty, he retired to *Vignole*, in the territory of *Piombino*, under pretext of negotiating with *Gonsalvo*.
- e But so determined was the hatred of the *Pisans* towards the *Florentines*, that they now consented to receive them into their city; and on the fifteenth of *August* he made dispositions for fighting the *Florentine* army, which retired under the walls of *Campiglia*, and prepared to intercept and fight *Alviano* in his march to *Pisa*, under their general *Ercole Bentivoglio*. The latter receiving reinforcements, *Alviano* could not proceed in his march without danger of being defeated, and *Ercole* came up with his rear at *St. Vicenza*, where, notwithstanding all the efforts of *Alviano*, *Ercole* got the victory by means of his artillery, so that *Alviano*, with difficulty, escaped into the *Siennese*. Above one thousand of his horses were taken, and so confident had he been of success, that he became now the ridicule of all *Italy*.

but are favoured by the *Spanish* general.

Alviano defeated.

Operations of the *Florentines* against *Pisa*.

- g *BENTIVOGLIO* and *Antonio Giacomini* pressed the *Florentine* magistracy to pursue this signal success, by besieging *Pisa*, which they had great hopes of taking. But the council of ten in *Florence*, upon consulting their countrymen, found them entirely discouraged by their former bad successes from undertaking the siege, and determined to subdue the *Pisans*.

fans by famine, and carrying the war on in their open country, till they should be obliged to submit. This resolution was strengthened by their considering the advanced season of the year, and there being doubtful whether the government of *Spain* and *Gonsalvo* would approve of their undertaking. *Gonsalvo* continued still obstinate to oppose it, and threatened that if it was attempted, he would order the *Spanish* troops that were in *Piombino* to defend *Pisa*. The *Florentines*, therefore, resolved to turn their arms against *Pardolfo Petrucci* of *Sienna*, who had been the main spring of all their misfortunes for some years past. They were in hopes that they would easily over-run the open territory of *Sienna*, and even occasion an insurrection against *Petrucci* in that city, which might make them masters either of that or some place that would prove an equivalent for the loss of *Monte Pulciano*, and strike *Petrucci* himself with dread. They were even so sanguine as to hope that, after reducing the *Siennese*, they might be able to conquer *Lucca*.

Divisions in
Florence.

THE common people of *Florence* reasoned in a very different manner from their magistrates; and their gonfalonier *Soderini* was of their opinion. They thought, that as their republic had formerly taken *Pisa* by siege, they might do the same, and that such an event would put an end to an expensive disgraceful war. *Soderini* called an unusual meeting of the citizens on this occasion, and they were unanimous in their opinion, that the siege of *Pisa* should be instantly undertaken, whatever opposition it might meet with from *Gonsalvo*, or the *Italian* powers.

Pisa besieged.

ON the sixth of *September* the *Florentines* formed the siege with six hundred men at arms, seven thousand foot, and sixteen pieces of battering cannon, besides other artillery, which were planted to great advantage, and played most furiously upon the city; but the courage of the *Pisans* repaired the breaches faster than their enemy's artillery could open them. *Ercole* the *Florentine* general wanted to storm the place; but his men, being raw and new-raised, through mere cowardice refused the service. Some authors say, that they made two ineffectual attempts; but that they were repulsed in both, and that their general in vain endeavoured to lead them up a third time. In short, the *Florentines* now lost the reputation they had acquired by defeating *Alviano*; and, regardless of all discipline, they broke up the siege on hearing that *Gonsalvo* had reinforced the garrison with six hundred *Spanish* foot from *Piombino*. Next day the *Florentines* ingloriously retired to *Cascina*; and a few days after fifteen hundred more *Spanish* foot entered *Pisa*; but a peace being now concluded between *France* and *Spain*, they went from thence to *Spain* by sea.

A. D. 1506.

THE affairs of the *Florentines* during 1506, though a busy year with the other *Italian* potentates, is little worth mentioning. They assisted pope *Julius II.* in making himself master of *Bologna*; but the *Pisan* war now entirely languished. *Petrucci* had formed a confederacy with the *Genoese* and the *Lucquese*, for the defence of that city, which totally dis-

A. D. 1507.

couraged the *Florentines*, even from any attempts upon the *Pisan* territory. Soon after the *Genoese* shook off the yoke of the *French*, and the *Pisans* found themselves in so good a condition, that they were able to send their general *Tarlatino* to their assistance with some troops; but they were soon reduced to their former subjection. This forwardness of the *Pisans* to assist the *Genoese*, disobliged the *French* king so greatly, that he promised to assist the *Florentines* to recover *Pisa*. *Ferdinand* king of *Spain* altered this resolution of *Lewis*, by promising to dispose the *Pisans* to return under the government of the *Florentines*, who offered him one hundred and twenty thousands ducats in case he succeeded, and to enter into a confederacy with him. But *Ferdinand* undertook more than he could perform; for though the *Pisans* offered to submit to him, he could not prevail on them to re-assume the *Florentine* yoke. To secure, however, the money that was stipulated, he plainly told the *Florentines* that if they offered, by the assistance of the *French* king, or by any other means, to render themselves masters of *Pisa*, he would oppose them by force. He found reason to alter his conduct, and made a compromise with the *French* king at *Savona*, by which both of them were to contribute their endeavours for recovering *Pisa* to the *Florentines*, and to share the money. The ardour of the *Pisans* against the *Florentines* was now greatly abated.

Obstinacy of
the Pisans,

The *Pisans* in the open country were more numerous than the citizens and the garrison, and perceiving that it was always in the power of the *Florentines* to destroy their harvest, and ruin their properties, they were for listening to an accommodation. The citizens, on the other hand, resolved to bury themselves in the ruins of their houses, rather than become again subject to the *Florentines*; but their prospect was now changed much for the worse. The *Genoese* durst no longer assist them, being themselves subject to *France*. The *Lucquese*, who had generously aided them far beyond their ability, could do it no longer; and *Petrucci* refused to incur either expence or danger on their account. In the year 1508, *Italy* obtained some respite from the wars that had been carried on by the *French*, *Germans*, and *Venetians*. The *French* king imagined, from the conduct of the *Florentines*, that they favoured the emperor. He sent to *Florence* an ambassador, *Michele Riccio*, to complain of this partiality, and of their having refused to assist him against his enemies; but offering

A. D. 1508.
who depend.

a to overlook all that was past, provided they would promise not to molest the *Pisans* without his consent. The meaning of this message was, in fact, no other than to secure to himself the whole of the money which, before his late rupture with *Maximilian*, he was to have divided with the late king of *Spain*. The *Florentines* took his message in that light. They pleaded the necessity they were under not to disoblige *Maximilian*; they put the king in mind of his engagements with regard to *Pisa*, and seemed to be surprised that he should so warmly interest himself for a people who had assisted the *Genoese* against him; and at the same time they insisted upon the right they had to effect the reduction of *Pisa*.

FERDINAND, the most politic prince of his age, had intelligence of *Riccio's* negotiation, and sent an ambassador to animate the *Pisans* against the *Florentines*. In short, the whole of the management of both kings was scandalous. Neither of them had the smallest regard for the *Pisans*; and all their dispute was, who should get the greatest sum from the *Florentines*. Thus the restitution of *Pisa* to the latter was delayed from the mercenary motives of two great monarchs. Conduct of Ferdinand.

THE state of *Florence*, at this time, cannot be known but by representing that of *Italy*. Pope *Julius II.* was by birth a *Genoese*; and wanting to deliver his country from the yoke of the *French*, he made some overtures for that purpose to the *Venetians*. The latter was possessed of *Rimini*, *Faenza*, *Ferrara*, and several other states that had belonged to *Borgia*, all of which were claimed by the holy see; and the pope, perceiving that the *Venetians* would not easily give them up, formed a confederacy against them, which consisted of almost all the powers in *Europe*, each of them, not excepting the *Florentines*, having pretensions on the *Venetian* territories, and their confederacy is known by the name of the *League of Cambray*. The *Venetians* were then in what may be called the zenith of their power; and the *Turks*, from whom they had most to dread, not being parties in the league against them, they resolved to brave all their enemies. Their riches, which were immense, contributed equally to their danger and their safety, because, while they maintained their armies, they rendered the confederacy against them more strong and compact. The pope began by ecclesiastical fulminations, which the *Venetians* despised. He then, once more, offered to be the friend of the *Venetians*, in which case the confederacy against them must dissolve of itself, if they would give him up *Rimini* and *Faenza*; but they rejected the proposal; so that, notwithstanding all their jarring interests, his holiness, the king of *Spain*, the *French* king, the emperor, and many other states, took the field against that republic. Affairs of Italy.

SUCH was the state of *Italy* in the beginning of the year 1509. The *Florentines* thought the opportunity favourable for their recovering *Pisa*. They had renewed their ravages into that territory, and had taken into their pay the son of *Bardella*, of *Porto Venere*, with some vessels which blocked up the *Pisans* by sea. This reduced them to such distress, that the *Genoese* and *Lucquese*, compassionating their misery, equipped a small squadron, and loaded it with provisions for their relief. The *Florentines*, on the other hand, reinforced their fleet with an *English* ship, which they hired in the port of *Leghorn*; and at the same time they lined all the banks of the *Arno* leading to *Pisa*, on both sides, with land forces and cannon. These precautions defeated the generous intentions of the *Genoese* and *Lucquese*. The *Florentines*, to oblige the latter to a neutrality, sent a party from *Cascina* to plunder the port of *Viareggio*, which was then the magazine of the *Lucquese* merchandizes. The dread of this brought on a negotiation on the part of the *Lucquese*, who agreed upon a defensive league for three years, in which the *Lucquese* were expressly excluded from the liberty of giving any manner of assistance to the *Pisans*. This confederacy, if the *Florentines* should recover *Pisa*, in the space of one year, was declared to be prolonged for other twelve years: and that, during this confederacy, the *Florentines*, should not, without prejudice however to their rights, molest the *Lucquese* in the possession of *Pierra Santa* and *Mutrone*. A. D. 1509.
Operations against Pisa.
A neutrality concluded.

BUT the necessities of the kings of *France* and *Spain* proved the best friends of the *Florentines* on this occasion. They wanted money, and the *Florentines* wisely declined to advance them any, or to enter into the league of *Cambray*, unless the two kings should withdraw all their assistance from the *Pisans*. It must be acknowledged that both potentates acted in a shameful manner, the one towards the *Pisans*, and the other towards the *Florentines*. His Catholic majesty had taken the *Pisans* under his protection; but offered to abandon them for a sum of money. The *French* king, on the other hand, had again and again promised to assist the *Florentines* in the recovery of *Pisa*; but was so far from performing his engagements, that he sent a body of troops to defend the *Pisans*, lest they should be obliged to surrender without his receiving the money. After various difficulties had been started and conquered, a treaty was at last concluded on. The terms were, that neither of the monarchs, or their confederates, were directly or indirectly to assist the *Pisans*: that the *Florentines*, in case they should recover *Pisa* within the year next ensuing, should pay, at certain times,

^a GUICCIARDINI, book viii.

^b GUICCIARDI, book viii.

to each of the two kings fifty thousand ducats; and, in that case, a league was declared ^a to subsist between the parties for three years, to commence from the day of the recovery, by which the *Florentines* should be obliged to furnish three hundred men at arms, for the defence of the states of the two kings in *Italy*; and, on the other hand, each of those monarchs, on demand, should supply them with at least three hundred men at arms, for their own defence.

Distress of the
Venetians.

BESIDES those stipulations, the avarice of *Lewis* obliged the *Florentines* to agree to a secret article for paying him fifty thousand ducats more; and the cardinal of *Neuen* was likewise to have the disposal of twenty-five thousand for negotiating the agreement. Those points being adjusted, the parties in the league of *Cambray* prepared to attack the *Venetians*, ^b who finding all their endeavours in vain to prevent the storm from falling on them, made dispositions for defending themselves. The history of that war which stripped the *Venetians* of almost all their acquisitions in *Europe*, is foreign to this work. It is sufficient to say, that the league of *Cambray* was of the greatest service to the *Florentines*, by diverting the attention of all the *Italian* states from *Pisa*, where they still found great difficulties to surmount. The *Lucques* took every occasion of breaking, or at least evading, their lately concluded neutrality; and the citizens of *Pisa*, the youthful part of them especially, continued obstinate against the *Florentines*, while the situation of their city was such, as rendered it next to impossible for their enemies to exclude all provisions from entering it.

Pisa pressed by
the Floren-
tines.

NOTWITHSTANDING those difficulties, the supplies sent to the *Pisans* were in no degree proportioned to their necessities; and their garrison shewed such reluctance towards continuing ^c the defence of the city, that the inhabitants were obliged to propose an accommodation under the mediation of the lord of *Piombino*. The *Florentines* accepted of this proposal, and the famous *Nicholas Machiavel*, who was then their secretary, was appointed to be their plenipotentiary at *Piombino*. This negotiation, however, was far from relaxing the operations of the *Florentines* against *Pisa*. They divided their army into three parts, by which they blocked up that city more effectually than ever. This obliged the *Pisans* to have recourse to a stratagem. One of them, *Alfonso del Muto*, a young man, having been taken prisoner by the *Florentines*, had received many civilities from his captors, and was therefore thought a proper hand for deceiving them. He secretly proposed, that one of the *Florentine* divisions that lay at *S. Jacopo*, should advance by night to one of the gates of *Pisa*, which he was to put into their hands. The true intention of the *Pisans*, had their design succeeded, was to have admitted into their city as many of the *Florentines* as they thought proper, and, after putting them to the sword, to have marched out and attacked another division of their army. But the caution of the *Florentines* rendered the plot abortive: instead of marching tumultuously as the *Pisans* expected, their troops approached the gate with circumspection and regularity; so that when the *Pisans* came to execute the design, they could kill but very few of the *Florentines*, who immediately retreated to their station. ^d

A negotiation
is set on foot.

THE distresses of the *Pisans* encreased through this disappointment. Multitudes of them perished in their streets for want of food. The misery of such spectacles seemed to en- ^e crease the abhorrence of the *Pisan* magistrates for the *Florentines*. They endeavoured to send out of their city all useless mouths, but they were put to death, or driven back by the *Florentines*. They then pretended that *Maximilian* was on his march to succour them, and that the treaty of *Piombino* was in great forwardness. There was some grounds for expecting that *Maximilian* would have relieved them. He had been excluded from the negotiation between the kings of *France* and *Spain*; and the acquisition of *Pisa* would have been of vast service to his affairs. His poverty, however, and inability, prevented him from making his advantage of the juncture; and the *Pisan* peasants, seeing all their hopes of relief at an end, ran to arms, and obliged their magistrates, in good earnest, to enter into a fresh negotiation with the *Florentines*. *Alamanno Salviati*, one of the *Florentine* commissaries, ^f negotiated this treaty, which notwithstanding all the opposition made to it from the *Pisan* magistrates, was at last concluded, and was highly to the advantage of the *Pisans*. They not only received a full remission of all their offences against the *Florentines*, but obtained many concessions and privileges, which they had not before, and the *Florentines* gave up all their claims of restitution of their goods, which the *Pisans* had seized in the beginning of the war. Thus the war between the *Florentines* and the *Pisans* ended not without great honour to the *Florentines*, on account of their wisdom in concluding the treaty, but more so because of the good faith with which they observed its articles.

Pisa restored
to the Floren-
tines,

who negotiate
with Maxi-
milian.

THE emperor *Maximilian*, however, was now with his army in the bowels of *Italy*, and pretending to be intitled to all the rights of the *Roman* emperors there, he renewed his ^g claims upon *Florence*, as being a fief of the empire, and objected to the *Pisans* returning under its dominion. The *French* king, apprehensive of losing the residue of the money stipulated

a stipulated to be paid him by the *Florentines*, earnestly pressed them to an accommodation with *Maximilian*; and they accordingly sent deputies to him while he was at *Verona*, amongst whom was *Peter Guicciardini*, father of the historian, at that time, one of the first men of the *Florentine* republic. As *Maximilian* was continually in want of money, a treaty was soon concluded, by which they obtained of him, in most ample form and manner, the privileges of a confirmation of the liberties as well of the city of *Florence*, as of the dominion and jurisdiction of the towns and states in their possession, with release from all debts due in times past. But all this was on condition that the *Florentine* deputies should engage, in the name of their republic, to pay *Maximilian* forty thousand ducats.

By this time, the contracting parties in the league of *Cambray* had split amongst themselves; and pope *Julius II.* took advantage of their disunion to pursue his first scheme, that of driving the *French* out of *Italy*. This brought on various negotiations foreign to our subject. The *Florentines* continued to be strictly attached to *France*. The emperor and the *French* king, in a short time, became as jealous of his holiness as they had been before of the *Venetians*, and they renewed their convention upon the principles of the league of *Cambray*. The more to intimidate the pope, the king convened an assembly of bishops at *Tours*, where it was decreed, that it was lawful to make war with the pope as a temporal prince, and that no more money should be sent to *Rome*. The *Florentines* had the courage to continue in the *French* interest, and even lent the king two hundred men at arms, to protect his duchy of *Milan*, in consequence of their convention with him; but he made this demand not so much because he really wanted such an assistance, but that he might widen the breach between the pope and the *Florentines*. *Peter Soderini* remained still gonfalonier, and was thought to be the great prop of the *French* interest in *Florence*; for which reason he was assassinated, as is said, with the privity of the pope, and at the direction of the cardinal *de Medici*. After this, the pope did all he could to court the *Florentines* into his alliance; but far from succeeding, they gave the *Siennese* warning that they were resolved to break the truce with them, because they were in the pope's interest, and enemies to the *French* king.

His holiness, on the other hand, acted a vigorous part, both in politics and in war. By an ill-timed frugality of the *French* king, the *Swiss*, who had served them so effectually in the affair of *Sforza*, abandoned his alliance upon his refusing to augment their pay. The *Venetians* had joined with the holy see, and had, by this time, recovered great part of their territory. *Ferdinand the Catholic*, as he is called, king of *Spain*, had abandoned the league of *Cambray*, for the investiture of the kingdom of *Naples*, which he had obtained from the pope, and was a firm friend to the holy see; and even the king of *England*, young *Henry VIII.* the richest and most powerful prince then in *Europe*, took part with his holiness. The conduct of *Lewis* at this juncture, was certainly impolitic. Tho' the emperor *Maximilian* was his ally, yet the whole burden and expence of the war lay on *France*. *Lewis* was obliged to give the emperor an hundred thousand crowns before he could put his troops in motion, and he gave him six thousand more for the useless investiture of *Milan*. In short, this successor of the *Roman Cæsars*, as *Maximilian* designed himself, served in the capacity of a mercenary officer, and took pay from every power that was able to give it him. *Lewis*, encouraged by his alliance with the *Florentines*, undertook the defence of the duchy of *Ferrara*, which the pope said belonged to the holy see; and he was so impolitic, if not unjust, as to promise to put *Maximilian* in possession of *Rome*, and the ecclesiastical state, and of all *Italy*, except *Milan* and *Genoa*, the dominions of the *Florentines*, and the *Ferrarese*.

MAXIMILIAN, who let his titles as well as troops out for hire, on his part, gave *Lewis* the sanction of his name, for convening a general council that was to humble the pope's spiritual authority, at the same time that his temporal was to be annihilated. In this they were encouraged by the promises of many disobliged cardinals and clergy, to serve them in the council. It soon appeared that *Lewis* had mistaken his measures: while he was asking the opinions of the clergy, and stating cases of conscience upon the legality of his undertakings, the pope was raising armies and hiring soldiers. About the end of *September*, 1510, he entered the *Ferrarese*, at the head of an army which had laid waste all the open country, while the fleet of his allies, the *Venetians*, ravaged the sea-coasts, and blocked up the mouths of the *Po*. The *Venetians*, and the court of *Naples*, at the same time promised to assist him with land troops. The *French* had then an army in or near the city of *Ferrara*; but his holiness did not think proper, not yet being joined by the *Venetians* and *Neapolitans*, to attack that city. Political considerations, on the one hand, retarded their junction with him, and, on the other, the animosities that prevailed amongst the *French* generals, and the poverty of *Maximilian*, which made his *German* troops mutiny, were favourable to pope *Julius*, whose conduct on this occasion was wonderful.

• GUICCIARDINI, book viii.

Spirited conduct of the pope.

THO' he was now past seventy, and had many bodily infirmities, besides that of age, upon him, and though his allies had disappointed him, he undauntedly pursued his scheme of subduing *Ferrara*, as he had done *Modena* some time before. His general was the duke of *Urbino*, but his troops were raw, ill-armed, ill-paid, and not so numerous as the *French* under the duke of *Ferrara*, who retook the *Polesine* of *Rovigo*, *Final*, and other places; and, by the help of flat-bottomed vessels, he defeated the *Venetian* fleet, and prevented their army from joining that of the pope. All those unpromising circumstances were so far from disconcerting his holiness, that they confirmed him in his darling purpose of driving all foreigners, or barbarians, as he called them, out of *Italy*, by his own arms only. By this time the *French* king had proclaimed a general council to be held at *Lions* against the pope; and his and the imperial interest was so strong at *Rome*, that the cardinals of *Santa Croce*, *Cosenza*, *Bayeux*, *St. Malo*, and *San Severino*, abruptly left his holiness, and put themselves under the protection of the *Florentines*.

The Florentines stagger in their alliance with the French.

THE latter by this time began to stagger in their alliance with the *French*, when they saw them disunited amongst themselves, and that *Lewis* had not, as he had promised, come in person to their assistance. They however received the discontented cardinals with great civility, and granted them the protection of the senate, but without limiting it to any time, that they might be at liberty to withdraw it at their discretion. The pope insisted upon the cardinals, three of whom he threatened with excommunication, repairing to him at *Bologna*; and the *Florentines* durst not exasperate him. It was in vain for the cardinals to implore the farther protection of the senate, who gave them warning to leave their territory, and they went by the *Lunigiana* to *Milan*.

Distresses of the pope.

CHAUMONT D'AMBOISE was the *French* general in the *Ferrarese*, where he and the duke of *Ferrara* continued to gain great advantages; and by the advice of *Bentivoglio*, whom his holiness had driven out of *Bologna*, he of a sudden entered the *Bolognese*, and presented himself before that city, which was instantly filled with terror and consternation. The pope at this time certainly did not consider the *Florentines* as his enemies; for he sent the most precious of his jewels to the monastery of *Murate*, in *Florence*, to preserve them from the *French*. He bitterly upbraided the *Venetian* ambassadors with the inactivity of their army; and being every moment plied by all the foreign ambassadors at his court, and the best of his friends, to enter into a treaty with *Chaumont*, he was so agitated between pride and necessity, that he fell into a slow fever, and at last solemnly consented to send *Pico*, count of *Mirandola* to treat with *Chaumont*. That general was secretly as much disposed as his holiness was towards an accommodation, and sent by the count the terms on which he was willing to conclude it. The pope thought them hard, and suffered the time to expire that was fixed for his answer, without returning any. Towards the evening his fever left him, upon his receiving intelligence that the *Venetians* and *Spaniards* were on their march to his relief. He then gave full scope to his indignation against the *French*, and threatened to excommunicate their whole nation, if they did not immediately withdraw all assistance from the duke of *Ferrara*. This menace would have had little effect upon *Chaumont*, had not the *English* ambassador, then at *Bologna*, interposed, and plainly told the *French* generals, who were now within three miles of that city, that if they did advance farther, his master would consider it as a declaration of war between *France* and *England*. This was the true reason that had made *Chaumont* desirous of peace: he knew how unequal the match must then be between *England* and *France*; and that very night, upon the menace of the *English* ambassador, he broke up his camp and returned to *Kubiera*.

who retrieves them.

THE pope now raised his voice, and declared to the ambassadors, and those who made application to him on the head of peace, that he would listen to none till he was put in possession of the *Ferrarese*. To give weight to his words, though he was still in a languishing state of health, he applied himself to all the duties of a general officer, and he underwent more fatigue than any subaltern in his service. As to the *Florentines*, he altered his tone towards them likewise, and treated them with far less complaisance than he had done in his distress. His army was commanded by *Marc Antonio Colonna*, who took *Concordia* by storm, and at the end of *December* besieged *Mirandola*. This siege at first was carried on under great difficulties; and in the beginning of the year 1511, notwithstanding the bitterness of the season, his holiness, impatient at the slowness of the operations, left *Bologna*, and, attended by three cardinals, he went in person to his army before *Mirandola*, and took upon himself the command of it. He fixed his head-quarters at a little church exposed to all the fire of the garrison, and he was all day long on horseback, or in the trenches, animating or punishing his men, and forwarding their operations. The garrison, which was commanded by *Trivulzi*, made a noble resistance; but the town was defended by the widow of *Lodovico*, count of *Mirandola*, who had been dead but about eight months, and of the house of *Trivulzi*. The *French* king had given orders to risque every thing for the relief of *Mirandola*; but *Chaumont* having a difference with the *Trivulzi* family, instead

- ^a of succouring the besieged, retired to *Milan*, and a severe frost coming on, both the citadel and town were surrendered by capitulation to his holiness. This event sunk the credit of the *French* arms in *Italy*, and drew such reproaches from all quarters upon *Chauvont*, that he fell into a fever and died. A secret treaty, all this while, was going on between the pope and the emperor. The latter found he was to have no more money from *France*, and that he might obtain a great deal from *England*, and therefore he resolved to detach himself from *Lewis*. He demanded, as the price of his new alliance with the pope, to be put into possession of *Modena*, which the pope, who was afraid it would be taken by the *French*, agreed to, that he might have the more leisure to prosecute his war in the *Ferrarese*. But the *French* had now sent fresh troops into *Italy*, under the command of the famous *Gaston de Foix*, the *Trivulzes*, and other able generals, who, for some time, carried every thing before them like a torrent. Their success produced a peace between the emperor and the *Venetians*, and the ambassadors of both strongly solicited the pope to relax in the affair of *Ferrara*; but his holiness refused to give them the hearing if they even mentioned it; upon which the bishop of *Goritz* abruptly left his court. Four days after his departure, the pope perceiving his danger from the conquests of the *French* in *Italy*, which increased every day, employed the bishop of *Murray*, who was ambassador from *James IV.* of *Scotland*, to treat with the *French* generals about an accommodation; but this was so far from being effected, that the *French* obliged his holiness himself to abandon *Bologna*, and, after driving the ecclesiastical and *Venetian* armies out of that city, they took and demolished the citadel.
- ^b This, together with some untowardly accidents which happened about the same time, greatly mortified his holiness, who was obliged to return to *Rome*; and now saw himself in danger of losing both his conquests and reputation. His distress was increased upon hearing that a general council had been indicted, and that he himself was summoned to appear before it. The bishop of *Murray* continued still to act as mediator between all parties; and the bishop of *Goritz* had returned by him a plan of an accommodation, upon the footing ^d that had been proposed by the pope himself; but the bishop of *Murray*'s endeavours were ineffectual. When he returned to the pope, he found him so much embarrassed, that he could bring *Goritz* no satisfactory answer. Upon this *Maximilian* and *Lewis* resolved immediately to assemble the general council.
- ^c THE *Florentines* were at this juncture neither feared, trusted, nor hated, by any power; but, by means of their neutrality, they had repaired their finances. They had no reason to be pleased with the pope, and vast difficulties occurred about the place where the council was to be held. The *French* king named *Pisa*, because it was subject to the *Florentines*; a people whom, he said, he could trust. This was a tender point for the *Florentines*. They durst not, on the one hand, disoblige his most Christian majesty; and, on the other, they were under some difficulties as to the legality of any council that was held without the pope's consent, and against his will. The question was proposed in a council of one hundred and fifty citizens, where the matter was debated, and the *French* king's request agreed to; but with so much caution and secrecy, that neither the pope nor the cardinals knew of their resolution.
- ^e AFTER the *French* had taken *Bologna*, it was plain, that, had they pleased, they might have made themselves masters of *Rome* and the Ecclesiastical State. The pope had now no dependence but upon the mediation of the king of *Scotland*, and the dread which the *French* king was under from *England*. Every one knows the vanity and ambition of *Henry VIII.* who at this time merited the epithet which he and his successors have ever after used, that "of Defender of the Faith," or, more properly, the papal power, by renewing his instances with the *French* king not to pursue his conquests in *Italy*. Perhaps *Lewis*, at the same time, had some religious panics on his mind; but, be that as it will, it is certain that all *Europe* was amazed at the sudden turn of his sentiments in favour of the pope. He prohibited all rejoicings for taking *Bologna*, and the other rapid successes of his army. He exhorted *Bentivoglio*, whom he had restored to the government of *Bologna*, to behave dutifully towards his holiness; and he even offered to ask pardon, if he had offended the head of the church. Those submissions, instead of mollifying the pope, served but to revive his haughtiness and stubbornness. *Lewis* had gone so far as to draw his army off towards *Tuscany* and the *Milanese*; and had declared to the *Scotch* ambassador, that there was scarce any thing he would not do, that he might be reconciled to the holy father. The pope took him at his word; and, amongst other very hard terms required of the duke of *Ferrara*, he demanded that he should deliver up all the towns he held in the *Romagna*. *Lewis* agreed to all; but his compliance served only to make his holiness rise in his demands, till the patience of *Lewis* was worn out; so that he declared *Bentivoglio* and the *Bolognese* to be

Progress of
the French
in Italy.

A negotiation.

The council of
Pisa proposed.

Inconstancy of
the French
king.

^d GUICCIARDINI, book ix.

under his own protection, and sent a strong body of troops to their defence. The irresolution of *Lewis*, with the poverty and ambition of *Maximilian*, and the reduced power of the *Venetians*, again disconcerted the affairs of *Italy*; so that there was not a potentate there who could trust another; but the pope was the only gainer. Despising the small number of cardinals who had set their names to the indiction of the general council at *Pisa*, he indicted another at the city of *Rome*, which was to sit the first of *May*, 1512. But though, as we have seen, he was perpetually rising in his demands, he still employed the *Scotch* ambassador in the negotiation he had begun with *Lewis*; and at the same time he endeavoured to strengthen himself by an alliance with the *Venetians* and *Spaniards*; but, above all, he sought to recover the friendship of the *Florentines*.

The Florentines recover Montepulciano.

BEING conscious of the causes of offence he had given them, he was afraid they might call in the *French* to their assistance against the *Siennese*, for the recovery of *Monte Pulciano*, which lay near the frontier of the ecclesiastical state. Instead therefore of garrisoning that place, both he and *Petrucchi*, who was under the same apprehensions, but was obliged to proceed with more caution, joined in a negotiation for forming a defensive league between the *Florentines* and the *Siennese*, and for restoring *Monte Pulciano* to the former. At last, after conquering many difficulties, *Simonetta*, who acted on this occasion as agent from the pope, succeeded in bringing about a league for twenty-five years between the two states: upon which *Monte Pulciano* being previously confirmed in all its ancient privileges, returned to the subjection of the *Florentines*. This accommodation was of great service to the pope. The *Venetians*, this summer, had defeated the *French* and *Germans*, and recovered great part of their territory. *Lewis* ascribed their success to the poverty and backwardness of *Maximilian*; and the latter first grew cold in the affair of the council of *Pisa*, and afterwards required that it should be moved to some other place. Difficulties multiplying upon *Lewis*, and being on the eve of a war with *England*, he likewise was disposed towards an accommodation; but his holiness refused to give ear to any proposal of that kind, unless he disowned the schismatical council, as he called it, convoked at *Pisa*, and restored *Bologna* to the holy see. *Lewis* would have been tractable on the first head; but declared that he would defend *Bologna* as strenuously as he would do *Paris*. The pope's obstinacy was prompted by *Ferdinand the Catholic*, whose double dealing and mysterious politics were now become proverbial in *Europe*, and who dreaded an union between the pope

The council opens at Pisa.

ON the first of *September* the general council was opened at *Pisa*, where the mutinous cardinals, who all of them lay under the pope's censures, performed several consistorial acts. This drew the indignation of his holiness upon the *Florentines*, who had been so lately obliged to him; and he laid them under an interdict, as being favourers of the schismatical conventicle at *Pisa*. To terrify them the more, he made the cardinal *de Medici*, legate of *Perugia*, legate of *Bologna* likewise. Those proceedings of the pope, with the visible coldness of the *French* king in supporting the council of *Pisa*, gave so great concern to the *Florentines*, that they opposed the farther proceedings of the council and the schismatical cardinals. But the intrigues of the *Medici* family and its friends in *Florence*, began now to appear by their effects. *Soderini* the gonfalonier, and his brother the cardinal of *Volterra*, acted as arbitrarily in the government as the *Medici* had ever done. The public council of the people was indeed, the supreme authority; but it was under his direction or influence: and the *Florentines* were too quick-sighted a people not to perceive, that, though the forms of a popular constitution were preserved, the spirit of it might be extinguished. The gonfalonier and his brother continued to be avowed friends to the *French*; and many of the *Florentines*, though otherwise averse to the *Medici* family, began, on that account, to talk less disrespectfully of it than they had done before. The cardinal *de Medici*, was young, active, polite, generous, and politic, beyond most men of his age. He had exact intelligence of all that passed in *Florence*, and was well acquainted with the dispositions of the public. Instead of attaching himself, as a man of genius inferior to his would have done, to the old approved friends of his family, he extended his benevolence, purse, and patronage, to all the *Florentines*, and equally caressed the enemies, as the friends, of his family. His credit at the court of *Rome* gave him many opportunities of serving them; and in a short time the minds of the *Florentines* became wonderfully disposed in his favour. His party was increased by the necessities of many noblemen, who, after ruining themselves by extravagance, had recourse to his finances; and the papal interdict, under which the city lay, disposed all who were religiously, or rather superstitiously inclined, to favour him, that the interdict might be taken off through his interest. Those who were averse to him, were overawed by his power as legate of *Bologna*; so that, upon the whole, the partizans of the *Medici* family now appeared in *Florence* as openly as ever.

Conduct of the cardinal Medici.

Appeal of the Florentines, upon being interdicted.

NOTWITHSTANDING all this, the republic still maintained its own dignity, even in opposition to the pope, and appealed from his interdict to a holy council of the universal church.

church. In consequence of this appeal, they acted as if they had been under no interdict, and obliged the priests to perform divine services in the churches. While matters were in this situation, the pope, *Ferdinand the Catholic*, and the *Venetians*, entered into a league for securing *Italy* against all foreigners, by which the insolence of pope *Julius* grew greater than ever. In a public consistory, where he appeared in great form and splendour, he degraded the contumacious cardinals who had opened the council of *Pisa*. After this, he solicited *Ferdinand* to hasten the march of the troops stipulated by the late treaty; and by their assistance he proposed, if all other means should fail, to restore the *Medici* family to its power in *Florence*.

b THE impetuosity of the pope injured the family he wanted to serve. Its moderate friends could not bear the thoughts of being under a papal government; and the republic not only made preparations for defending itself, but raised a bank or fund out of the incomes of the ecclesiastics, which was not to be expended, but restored to the original proprietors, unless they were attacked by the pope. This, however, met with great opposition; but when the grand council assembled, the gonfalonier made a long speech, inveighing against the pope and the *Medici* family; which had such weight, that the law at last passed.

The Medici opposed.

c THE flames of war must now have broken out in *Tuscany*, had it not been for the prudence of *Pandolfo Petrucci*, who remonstrated to his holiness, that the *Florentines* could only be driven into connections with *France*, that they might defend themselves, in case of an attack, in their own country; that they were by no means disposed in favour of the *French* king; that they had been forced, contrary to their own sentiments, to serve him in a few immaterial points; and that the pope would much better come to his end by treating them with forbearance, and by endeavouring to recover *Bologna*, where he would meet with little resistance. *Petrucci's* advice, tho' known to proceed from interested motives, was followed; and it soon appeared, that the disposition of the *Florentines* did not by any means lead them to provoke his holiness. The schismatical cardinals, who had only sent their proxies to the council of *Pisa*, hearing of their being degraded and excommunicated by the pope, stopt at *S. Domino*, from whence the two *Spanish* cardinals repaired to *Lucca*; but the three *French* cardinals, together with the bishops of that nation, proceeded to *Pisa* under the guard of three hundred *French* lances, commanded by *Foix*, who were to reside at *Pisa* during the session of the council. The *Florentines* had not been informed of the destination of those troops till they were upon their march; and, partly from resentment, partly through prudential considerations, they resolved to prohibit their admission into *Pisa*. They respectfully gave their reasons for this prohibition to the *French* king, as well as his cardinals; but the cardinal of *S. Malo*, who was at their head, presuming on the great power of *Lewis*, secretly ordered the troops to proceed. *Lewis*, on the other hand, had promised to the *Florentines* that they should not proceed: upon which the republic sent *Francesco Vittori* to certify to the cardinal of *St. Malo*, that they would oppose, with force of arms, the entrance of any troops into the *Pisan*. At the same time they ordered the chief *Pisans*, who were suspected of favouring the *French*, to be sent to *Florence*, and quartered a body of troops in the neighbourhood of *Pisa*. This alienation of the *Florentines* from the *French* interest, and the cardinal's being obliged to countermand the march of the troops, gave such pleasure to the pope, that he for some time suspended the interdict that he had laid upon *Pisa* and *Florence*. But the *Florentines* gave him still more substantial proofs how much they disliked the council of *Pisa*, by laying the members of it, who repaired to that city, under every possible mortification. They were not even treated in the streets with common decency; and the higher and more disinterested their pretexts of meeting were, the more they were ridiculed and blamed for prostituting the names of religion and virtue to the purposes of interest and ambition. Even the clergy of the church of *Pisa* locked up the doors of their cathedral, and refused to give the members entrance into it, or to lend their assistance towards the ceremonies required for opening the session. The members complained to the *Florentine* magistracy, who ordered that they should be admitted into the church, and have the use of its furniture; but refused to oblige the clergy to assist at any religious worship. Those resolutions, as *Gucciardin*^a rightly observes, were inconsistent with each other; but were owing to the divisions that prevailed amongst the *Florentines* themselves; for parties were equally so ballanced, that no question could be carried clearly either for the *French* or the papal interest, by which both were disobliged. An accident freed the *Pisans* from the council; for a quarrel happening between a few *French* soldiers and the townsmen, in which some were wounded on both sides, the members of the council adjourned it to *Milan*, where they were received, if possible, with more detestation than they had been at *Pisa*.

Ill success of the Pisan council.

The pope reconciled to the Florentines.

g THE parsimony of *Lewis*, and the poverty of *Maximilian*, still continued to divide *Italy*. The pope and the king of *Spain* endeavoured to effect an alliance between *Maximilian* and

Mercenary disposition of the Swiss.

^a GUICCIARDINI, book ix.

the *Venetians*; but *Lewis*, after various deliberations, fixed *Maximilian* in his interest with money, and promised to take into his service a body of *Swiss*. This people began now to lose their esteem in *Europe*, through their mercenary disposition. They openly offered themselves for sale to the best bidder; and the liberality of the pontiff prevailing over the parsimony of *Lewis*, they resolved to invade the *Milanese*. The wiser part of the *French* council advised *Lewis* by all means to make the *Swiss* his friends, which he might have done at the expence of ten thousand ducats; but he neglected it. The *Swiss*, before they began their expedition, sent a message to *Venice*, informing the senate, that they intended to drive the *French* out of *Italy*, and assist that republic, demanding a supply of provisions, a train of artillery, and five hundred horse, of all which they were destitute in their own country; and the *Venetian* senate readily granted their request. *Lewis* had not foreseen this. He had depended upon the advanced season of the year, the inability of the *Swiss* by themselves to invade any country, the good state of the *Milanese* fortifications, and the bravery of his troops. *Varese* was the place of the *Swiss* rendezvous; and from thence they sent a defiance to *Gaston de Foix*, the *French* governor of *Milan*, who, being weak in infantry, was obliged to keep on the defensive, and posted himself at *Lignago*. The *Swiss* advanced to *Galera*, where *de Foix* offered them battle. The *Swiss*, expecting reinforcements, declined it; but soon after, their army amounting to sixteen thousand men, they obliged the *French* to retire to the city of *Milan*.

Divisions in
Florence.

LEWIS, being now sensible of his error in not retaining the *Swiss* in his pay, ordered *de Foix* to offer them whatever money they required, if they would discontinue the invasion; but, though mercenary, they were just to their engagements. The pope, however, and the *Venetians*, neglected to support them, either by sending them money, or making a diversion in their favour. This breach of contract made the *Swiss* offer, after they came within two miles of *Milan*, to return to their own country, if *de Foix* would advance them the money of which they had been disappointed by their allies, which was refused them. *Lewis*, perceiving the imminent danger of *Milan*, now made his utmost efforts for preserving that city, as well as *Bologna*. His chief dependence in *Italy* lay on the *Florentines*, whose country was situated between *Milan* and the *Romagna*. *Lewis*, therefore, insisted upon their employing their whole force in his favour, without stipulating any certain number, and for their securing all the avenues in their country by which the enemy could penetrate into the *Romagna*. The *Florentines* were divided on this occasion. A great party amongst them was against extending their engagements with so faithless and ungrateful a people, as the *French* had always proved themselves to be towards *Florence*. They represented, that they had fulfilled all their stipulations with *France*; and that the only way to make themselves respectable in *Italy* was to maintain a neutrality, which would acquire to them the good-will of the *Venetians*, the pope, and the catholic king, besides saving themselves vast sums of money.

The gonfalonier
sides with
the French.

SODERINI, the gonfalonier for life, whose power in the state fell little short of that of a perpetual dictator, had no other dependence, for defending himself against his enemies, who were powerful and numerous, but the friendship of *Lewis*, for whom he was always a strenuous advocate. On this occasion, he represented the cause of *France* as being that of the *Florentines*; and that, if the pope, the *Venetians*, and the catholic king should prevail, they would turn their arms against their republic, and subvert its independency. He likewise insisted upon the services the *French* had in past times performed for the *Florentines*. All his arguments, however, were ineffectual, because of his notorious attachment to *France*, for bringing his countrymen to any decisive resolution; and *Guicciardin* the historian, who was then doctor of laws, tho' no more than twenty-nine years of age, was by them sent ambassador to the catholic king, or, as he is called the king of *Arragon*; but, by his own account, with no very healing overtures.

Retreat of the
Swiss from
Italy.

In the mean while, the *French*, who knew the necessities of the *Swiss* in the neighbourhood of *Milan*, refused to come to any accommodation with them; and, notwithstanding all their menaces, of which they were very liberal, they broke up their camp, and set out for their own country, without regard to the remonstrances of the pope and the *Venetians*. Upon their departure, the pope's troops and those of *Spain* entered the *Romagna*, where all the places belonging to the duke of *Ferrara*, excepting the fort of *Genivolo*, surrendered to them without resistance; but that fort was likewise taken, after a brave defence, by assault, in which the garrison was cut in pieces. A few hours after, the duke of *Ferrara* retook it, and, in revenge, put all the *Spaniards* within it to the sword.

War in Italy
continues.

THE city of *Imola* was the rendezvous for the armies of *Spain* and the holy see, which were now very strong. *Fabricio Colonna* commanded the *Spaniards* under the viceroy of *Naples*; as did the cardinal *de Medici* the pope's forces, though without any military designation. Their great object was to retake *Bologna*, which they accordingly invested, so as to prevent the *French* from throwing any succours into it. *Fabricio Colonna* had the command

a of the siege; but it was carried on in a most awkward dilatory manner, the besiegers being every hour under apprehensions of an attack from the *French*. Cardinal *de Medici* was keen for forwarding the operations against the city, and was distrustful of the *Spaniards*, on account of their king's known infidelity. He was farther stimulated by the daily reproaches and messages he received from the pope, whose sanguine temper rendered him impatient. The viceroy of *Naples* took it amiss, that an ecclesiastic, as the cardinal was, should presume to dictate in military operations; but *Navarra*, a *Spanish* general, to whom he paid great deference, represented to him so effectually the shame of a longer inactivity, that at last the siege was pushed with tolerable vigour. Upon this, the besieged demanded assistance from *Foix*, who accordingly came to their relief, and raised the siege on the nine-

b teen day after it was undertaken; but *Brescia* and *Bergamo*, in the mean time, were taken by the *Venetians*. *De Foix*, however, after providing for the security of *Bologna*, marched with incredible expedition against the *Venetians*, and defeating their army, he besieged and retook *Brescia*, where he put about eight thousand *Venetians* to the sword, amongst whom were many officers and persons of great distinction. The other towns, which had been retaken by the *Venetians* in *Lombardy*, followed the fate of *Brescia*. *De Foix* then marched against the confederate army, which remained still in the *Bolognese*. But the *French* king at this time was under great perplexities, arising from his uncertainty as to the disposition of *Maximilian*, and the war that had just broken out between him and the king of *England*. After various negotiations, he had reason to suspect that *Maximilian*, was resolved to detach himself from his alliance, and he endeavoured to replace the *German* troops in his pay by any equal number of *Swiss*. At the same time he applied to the pope for a peace; but was answered, that he was to expect none, unless he gave up *Bologna* and *Ferrara* to the holy see.

UNDER those difficulties, *Lewis* applied to the *Florentines*. He endeavoured to persuade them to join in an expedition against the *Romagna*; but so great was the public hatred towards the gonfalonier, that a *Neapolitan* ambassador was publicly caressed at *Florence*, and all the answers *Lewis* received to his applications were general and dilatory. The term of his engagements with the *Florentines* was now almost expired, and he pressed, for a renewal of them. He even offered to be at all the expence of the war; but the

d *Florentines* not only continued to temporize, but publicly sent a minister to the court of *Spain*. The pope did not fail to encourage this coldness in the *Florentines* towards the *French*. He took off his interdicts from their city; and sent *Giovanni Gozzadini*, a *Bolognese*, and one of the clerks of the apostolic chamber, as his nuncio, to *Florence*. *Lewis*, upon this, thought he could have no dependence in *Italy* but upon the strength of his own arms, and ordered *de Foix* to give the enemy battle in the *Bolognese*, and if he should succeed, to march against *Rome* itself. To palliate so irreligious a war, he pretended to have on his side the council of *Pisa*, to whose deputies the towns taken from the pope were to be surrendered. To give weight to his orders, *de Foix* received from *France* a

e great reinforcement of troops, consisting of five thousand *German* foot, five thousand *Gascons*, eight thousand *Italians* and *French*, and sixteen hundred lances, including two hundred *Milanese* gentlemen. This army was to be joined by one hundred men at arms, one hundred light horse, and a numerous train of artillery, under the duke of *Ferrara*.

DE FOIX, though a young man, and naturally impetuous, had great experience, and acted with vast caution. He advanced to the *Bolognese*, where the confederate army was encamped. It was inferior to his in numbers; but they every day expected a reinforcement of six thousand *Swiss*, which would render them superior. Being upon the defensive, they made so good a choice of their ground, that the *French* could not attack them without vast disadvantage; and the catholic king advised his generals, and those of the pope, by all means to avoid a battle, because he every day expected that the *French*

f king would recall his army out of *Italy* to defend himself against the *English*. After various motions on both sides, the confederates retired under the walls of *Imola*, where the *French* durst not attack them. *De Foix*, that he might throw his enemies off their guard, affected to lead a life of pleasure and gallantry; but at last, after obtaining some slight advantages, the two armies encamped within cannon-shot of each other, without either daring to begin an attack. In the mean while, *Maximilian* concluded a truce with the *Venetians*, which made *Lewis* reiterate his orders to *de Foix* for giving the enemy battle. *De Foix* found that to be impracticable, and therefore he undertook the siege of *Ravenna*, in hopes of drawing the confederates from their advantageous situation to the relief of that city. The place was strong, both by art and nature, and defended by *Antonio Colonna*, who so-

g lemnly engaged the confederated generals to attempt to raise the siege. *De Foix* found himself under great difficulties. His army was straitened for provisions, the *Venetian* fleet having blocked up the mouth of the *Po*; so that he could receive no supplies from the *Ferrarese*.

Coldness between the Florentines and French.

Siege and battle of Ravenna.

rarese. Those disadvantages occasioned his making a vigorous, though inconsiderate attack upon the place, in which he was repulsed with great loss. The inhabitants, however, were so much daunted, that they entered into a secret negotiation with him about a surrender; but, while it was in dependence, the confederated generals, that they might keep their faith with *Colonna*, advanced to raise the siege. Upon this, *de Foix*, without hesitation, drew off his artillery, and resolved to give the enemy battle. *Guicciardini* has given us the speech said to have been made by *de Foix*, on this occasion; but with small appearance of its being genuine, the whole of it consisting of passages from the antients on the like occasions. The numbers of both armies were nearly equal, by the reinforcements the confederates had received; and the battle was the most considerable of any that had been fought in *Italy* for some hundreds of years: but the *French* artillery was much better supplied than that of the confederates, who, after an obstinate dispute, were defeated. The *Spanish* infantry, however, having performed amazing acts of valour, prepared to retire in good order, and with the countenance of conquerors. This provoked *de Foix*, and he attacked them with a body of cavalry, but was himself killed; so that the *Spaniards* marched off in a kind of triumph, while most of their confederates were either killed or taken prisoners. It is thought that about sixteen thousand men, four thousand of whom were *French*, perished in this battle, which is called that of *Ravenna*.

Foix killed.

The French
interest de-
clines in Italy.

THE *Florentines*, all this while, affected an exact neutrality, and protected such of the fugitives as took flight through their dominions. After the battle, the *French*, enraged by the loss of their general, took *Ravenna* by storm, and treated it in a most barbarous manner. After that, most of the cities of the *Romagna* surrendered to them; but the citadels of *Forli* and *Imola* held out. Notwithstanding this shew of success, the *French* army was ruined by the loss of their general, who was succeeded in his command by *Pallisse*; but, though an officer of great merit, he was both ignorant of, and unable to execute, the schemes of *de Foix*. When the news of the defeat of *Ravenna* came to *Rome*, many of the cardinals, and the other ecclesiastics, earnestly applied to the pope, to incline him to peace, as they thought it certain that the victorious army would march directly to *Rome*, and be joined by most of the great lords of the *Romagna*. But *Julio de Medici*, a spurious branch of the *Medici* family, was sent by his brother the cardinal, who had been taken prisoner at the battle of *Ravenna*, to inform the pope of the true situation of affairs. By his report, as well as by the representations of the *Spanish* and *Venetian* ambassadors, it appeared, that the loss of the confederates, however considerable, was easily reparable; that the *Swiss* were on the point of declaring for the confederacy; and that, in any event, the pope, in case *Rome* was attacked, or even taken, might retire to *Venice*, or to *Naples*.

Negotiations
for peace.

JULIUS continued, as usual, long doubtful as to the course he should hold; but at last he told the cardinals that he inclined to peace, and desired them to employ the mediation of the *Florentines* for that purpose. His holiness, however, refused to acquaint them with the particular terms he was willing to accept of; and though he had ordered his galleys at *Civita Vecchia* to attend him at *Rome*, that he might make his escape from thence, yet he secretly made dispositions for continuing the war. Every day convinced him of the weakness of the *French*, whose generals were divided amongst themselves, and whose king was undetermined and irresolute. The duke of *Urbino*, nephew to the pope, tho' he had till then favoured the *French*, was so sensible of their weakness, that he now offered to join his uncle with two hundred men at arms, and four thousand foot; and the *Swiss* were so exasperated against the *French* king, that they refused to suffer his minister to be present at their deliberations. The consideration of all this disposed *Lewis* to treat with the pontiff, and privately to offer, as preliminaries to the treaty, to agree that *Bologna* should be restored to the holy see; and that *Alfonso d'Este*, duke of *Ferrara* should resign to his holiness the towns he held in the *Romagna*, and pay him the accustomed tribute, and that he would abolish the council that had been summoned at *Pisa*. All he demanded in return was a peace; that the duke of *Ferrara* should be absolved from his ecclesiastical censures, and restored to his ancient rights and privileges, and the *Bentivoglio* family to their private estates; and that the cardinals who had adhered to the *Pisan* council, should be reinstated in their dignities.

Infidelity of
the pope.

THOUGH those terms were much better than the pope could have expected from a victorious enemy, yet he knew the condition of the *French* so well, that he secretly resolved to pay no regard to them. The state of his affairs, however, led him to temporize; and he signed the articles that had been offered him on the part of *Lewis*. Immediately after this he sent for the *Spanish* and *Venetian* ambassadors, and desired them to acquaint their masters, that he had no manner of intention to pay any regard to what he had signed, and that all he designed was to lull the *French* king asleep. It soon appeared how justly his holiness had taken his measures. The *Swiss* were again in motion, and *Lewis* was

a obliged to recal *Palisse* from the *Romagna*. This delivered the pope from his fears, and he soon got the better of all his opponents in the *Romagna* and the ecclesiastical state, where the friends of *France* deserted her, after receiving from her vast sums of money.

On the third of *May* 1512, his holiness in person opened the *Lateran* council, which was declared to be holy and lawful, and was called in opposition to that of *Pisa*. So gross an affront offered to *Lewis* put him in a rage, and he again ordered *Palisse* to point his march towards *Rome*. He soon perceived that this proceeding would only serve to make all the rest of *Europe* his enemies; and *Palisse* was ordered to stop in the *Romagna*, till the event of a negotiation for a definitive treaty, that had been opened at *Florence* upon the footing of the preliminaries, should be known. Thither *Lewis* sent the president of *Gransble*, with full powers to put the finishing hand to such a treaty; but that was not now in his option. The cardinal of *York*, ambassador from *England*, had, by his master's order, declared for the pope and his allies. *Maximilian* had ratified the truce with the *Venetians*; and the Catholic king was preparing to send *Gonsalvo* with an army against the *French*, for the security of *Naples*. The pope, moved by those and other encouraging appearances, rejected the form of the treaty that was presented to him on the part of *France*, though agreeable to the preliminaries he himself had signed; but he pretended to do it by the advice of the college of cardinals, and particularly the ministers of *England* and *Spain*, and after a solemn debate in the consistory.

A.D. 1512.
The Lateran
council opened.

THE cardinal *de Medici* was all this while prisoner at *Milan*, where he was treated with the highest honours and respect, as if he had been a conqueror instead of a captive; but the pope, to show how little he valued the *French* king, published a monitory, requiring him, under ecclesiastical penalties, to release the cardinal. He proceeded farther. He sent *de Medici* a power to absolve from censures, all soldiers who would promise no longer to bear arms against the church, and to grant Christian burial to all the dead. The effect which those indulgencies had was incredible, and the *French* troops flocked in such numbers to the cardinal for absolutions, that clerks were wanting for expediting the patents of absolution. This daring insult on a crowned head left the members of the council of *Pisa* nothing to expect but contempt and danger to their own persons. They were every where treated as members of a schismatical conventicle, and the *French* subjects and soldiers expressed the highest veneration for the cardinal *de Medici*, as being the true apostolical legate. *Lewis* was obliged to put up with all those affronts, being forced to recal part of his troops from *Italy* to defend himself against the *English*. At the time the battle of *Ravenna* was fought, the term of his league with the *Florentines* was almost expired; but the reputation his arms acquired by that battle, prevailed with the *Florentines* to renew it for five years, he obliging himself to employ six hundred lances in their defence, if attacked; while the *Florentines* engaged to defend his *Italian* dominions, in the like case, with four hundred men at arms. The *Florentines*, however, were so cautious as to except out of this treaty the town of *Cotignola*, upon which the holy see had some claims.

The cardinal
de Medici a
prisoner at
Milan.

BUT the peace of *Italy* was now more than ever in danger. The *Swiss* had conceived such a hatred towards the *French* king, that they enlisted under the pope's banners, for a *Rhenish* florin a man ^a, in such numbers, that his treasury was insufficient to supply the enlisting money, inconsiderable as it was. About twenty thousand of them assembled at *Coria*, and the emperor granted them a free passage through his dominions. The *French* under *Palisse* were in no condition to resist them. Being furnished with a good train of artillery by the *Venetians*, whose army they joined, they fell directly into the *Milanese*, *Palisse* retiring every where before them, and losing post after post. The *French* had now no hopes but in being able to defend some of their capital towns and cities, and in the *Swiss* disbanding themselves for want of pay, in which the pope was very backward. The *Florentines*, on the requisition of *Lewis*, had sent three hundred men at arms to *Lombardy*, of whom one hundred were put into garrison at *Brescia*, and another hundred at *Bergamo*, and the rest in the different towns in the *Milanese*; in which the *French*, amounting not to above ten thousand men, their *German* mercenaries included, shut themselves up; but all of a sudden *Maximilian* ordered his subjects, who most of them were *Tirolese*, to leave the *French* service, which they did. *Palisse* then despaired of being able any longer to defend the *Milanese*. *Cremona* and *Bergamo* revolted from the *French*, and were received in the name of *Maximilian Sforza*, the son of *Lewis the Moor*. *Palisse* was not able, for want of money, to pay his troops, even to guard the passage of the *Adda*; so that in a few days all the open country of the duchy of *Milan* was evacuated by the *French*, who now shut themselves up in the castles and fortified places.

Irruption of
the Swiss into
Italy.

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^a About Two Shillings.

DURING

Escape of the
cardinal de
Medici.

DURING the tumult of this retreat the cardinal *de Medici* was put under a guard, which was to carry him into *France*; but happily for him, he was rescued on the road by a *Venetian* nobleman, while the *French* were beat out of *Paria* with loss. The fame of the conquests of *Milan* reaching *Switzerland*, the *Swiss* poured into *Lombardy* in greater numbers than ever to fight in the cause of the holy league, as the pope's confederacy was called. The cities of *Parma* and *Piacenza* voluntarily submitted to the pope. The *Swiss* took possession of *Locarno*; the *Grisons* laid hold of the *Valteline* and *Chiavenna*, as the *Venetians* did of such places as lay most convenient for them. *Fregoso*, one of the exiled *Genoese*, but then in the *Venetian* service, with a body of horse and foot, expelled all the *French* out of *Genoa*, of which he was chosen doge. All the *Romagna* declared for the holy league; and the duke of *Urbino*, at the head of the pope's troops, expelled *Bentivoglio* and his party out of *Bologna*, while his holiness prosecuted them with ecclesiastical censures, and threatend to lay under an interdict any place that should receive them. As to the citizens, who had always expressed an implacable hatred to the papal government, he fleeced and treated them with the utmost severity; and it was thought that, had not death prevented him, he intended to have demolished their city. Thus the papal power, by the obstinacy, the policy, the courage, the dissimulation, and the abilities of one old man, was raised from a low state to the highest pitch of power it had ever known.

The pope re-
covers Bo-
logna.

THE pope had now only *Alfonso d'Este* duke of *Ferrara*, to reduce; and towards him he behaved with his usual mixture of obstinacy and dissimulation. The duke was beloved for his many noble qualities. He was a near relation to the Catholic king, who began with some jealousy to behold the aggrandizement of the church; and he was highly befriended by the *Colonnas*. His holiness durst not refuse such powerful suitors in the duke's favour. He granted him a safeguard to and from *Rome*, and behaved to him with civility; but after various conferences, he pressed the duke to exchange *Ferrara* for *Asi*. The duke obstinately rejecting this proposal, his holiness would have put him under arrest, had he not been favoured by the *Colonna* family, who lay under the highest obligations to him, and who forced his way through the pope's guards, by which he reached his own dominions by sea.

He deceives
the Floren-
tines.

BUT the *Florentines* were the greatest eye-sores to his holiness. He could not bear the haughty independency they maintained; and the assistance they had lately given to *France*, marked them out as objects of his vengeance. His minister, the cardinal of *Sion*, and the *Venetian* general *Baglioni*, had solemnly engaged for the safe return of one hundred and twenty *Florentine* men at arms, and sixty light horse, who served in the *French* army, to *Tuscany*. These were commanded by *Luca Savello*, while the remainder, under *Francesco Torcello*, were in garrison at *Brescia*; but in defiance of all faith and honour, while those few *Florentines* were lying near *Cremona*, they were surrounded by two thousand of the pope's and the *Venetian* infantry, who plundered and disarmed them; and though *Niccolo Capponi*, the *Florentine* ambassador, had obtained a pass from the same cardinal, and had retired to *Casal Cervagio*, yet he insisted upon the marquis of *Montferrat* delivering him up as a prisoner. The *French*, however, were still in possession of *Brescia*, *Crema*, *Lignago*, the castles of *Milan*, *Genoa*, and *Cremona*, and some other fortresses in the *Milanese*, all which they were enabled to keep, not so much by their own strength, as through the jealousies which began now to prevail amongst the parties of the holy league, and which were assisted by the insolence and avarice of the *Swiss* favoured by the pope.

who apply to
the king of
Spain.

THE *Florentines*, at this time, were in a disagreeable situation. Their neutrality had left them no friends, and the bad management of the *French* exposed them to the resentment of the pope. They had, therefore, nothing to trust to but the moderation with which they had acted during the late war, by which they had withdrawn their countenance from the council of *Pisa*, harboured the *Spaniards* and *Neapolitans* after the battle of *Ravenna*, and performed other good offices to his Catholic majesty, who had, in person, thanked their ambassador, and offered them his friendship, provided they would withdraw their assistance from *Bentivoglio*, and formally disavow the *Pisan* conventicle. The dissensions that prevailed in *Florence*, prevented the government from coming to any resolution; and thus, in fact, they gratuitously observed a neutrality, for which they might have been paid by his Catholic majesty.

Congress at
Mantua.

SODERINI, the gonfalonier, still maintained his power in *Florence*; and it was the interest of the pope to divest him of it, and to substitute the *Medici* family in his room. A congress was appointed at *Mantua*, by the members of the holy league, at which the bishop of *Goritz* was to assist on the part of the emperor. The pope sent his datary *Lorenzo Pucci*, a *Florentine*, to *Florence*, on pretence of inviting that state to join in the league, and in the expences of the war against *France*; but his real design was to form intrigues in favour of the *Medici* family. The *Florentines* would have furnished money to the league, but declined to enter into a war against the *French* king; and when they called upon

Alexander

Maximilian to fulfil his engagements with them, he in a manner laughed at them; but offered, if they would advance him forty thousand ducats, to take their part against the pope, if he should attack them. The *Florentines* would have advanced the money, had there been the least appearance of their being benefited by it; and their divisions made them neglect to take any means for their safety, either by disciplining their own troops, or by hiring others. In the mean while, the *Spanish* army in the *Bolognese* mutinying for want of pay, part of them fell into *Tuscany*, which gave a fresh alarm to the *Florentines*, who were in no condition to resist them.

THE sum of the conferences, at the congress of *Mantua*, turned upon the reinstating *Maximilian Sforza* in the duchy of *Milan*, and forming a confederacy of all the *Italian* states to clear *Italy* of foreigners. This naturally brought under the deliberation of the congress the state of *Florence*, which was governed by an avowed friend and partizan of the *French*. *Julian de Medici*, as agent for his own family, and *Bernardo de Bibienna*, on the part of the pope, remonstrated upon the practicability of restoring the *Medici* to *Florence*, whose best soldiers were either dispersed in *Lombardy*, or shut up in *Brescia*. This design was communicated to *Vittorio Soderini*, brother to the gonfalonier, whom the *Florentines* had sent to take care of their interest at the congress, and who informed his principals of their danger. *Goritz*, at the same time, acquainted *Soderini* that the viceroy of *Naples* was to march at the head of his troops, to oblige the *Florentines* to readmit the *Medici*; but that they might still avert the danger, by gratifying the emperor, and making a handsome present to the viceroy. *Soderini* had no commission to treat on those matters; and no application of any kind being made to the viceroy, the congress broke up, after resolving that the expedition against *Florence* should take place.

For this purpose, cardinal *de Medici* was declared legate of all *Tuscany*, and was empowered by the pope, to order all the soldiers of the ecclesiastical state to attend and assist him, while the viceroy, who had appeased the mutiny of his army, returned to the *Bolognese*, and put it in motion against *Florence*. This expedition was by no means agreeable to some of the neighbouring powers, and particularly the duke of *Urbino*, who, in defiance of the pope's orders, and the most earnest representations of the *Medici*, refused to suffer the troops under his command to march, or to lend the *Spaniards* any assistance. The viceroy however proceeded; but after he had entered the *Florentine* territories, he was met by ambassadors from that state, who represented to him the moderate and friendly behaviour of the *Florentines* towards the catholic king during the late war, and desired to know what his demands were.

THE viceroy frankly answered, that the confederated states of *Italy* could not be easy, while they saw at the head of the *Florentine* government a man intirely in the interest of the *French*, who had not yet given over thoughts of subduing all *Italy*; and that his master, and his allies, expected they would restore the cardinal *de Medici*, who by his brother's death was now become the head of that family, and *Julian*, to their birthrights in *Florence*. Notwithstanding this answer, the viceroy continued his march, without waiting for a reply from *Florence*, where every thing was in confusion. The magistrates had neither generals nor troops on whom they could depend; and all they could do was to order their ambassadors to throw themselves at the feet of the pope, and to endeavour to amuse the viceroy, by making him magnificent offers. The pope proved inexorable as usual, and the viceroy, without discontinuing his march, came within fifteen miles of *Florence*. He then sent a message to the *Florentines*, demanding that the gonfalonier should be dismissed from his office; and "that the *Medici* should enjoy their country, not as heads of the government, but as private persons, living under subjection to the laws and to the magistracy in all things, conformably to the other citizens." In all other respects, the government was to revert to its former order. *Buonaccorsi*, an *Italian* author, says, that the viceroy likewise required the *Florentines* to lend him one hundred thousand ducats, which they obstinately refused to do.

THE seeming moderation of the viceroy with regard to the *Medici* and the gonfalonier, divided the *Florentines*. Some were for submitting to the terms; while others suggested, that the real design of the viceroy was to gain admittance into *Florence*, at the head of his army, to abolish the constitution, and to re-establish the tyranny of the *Medici*. They observed, at the same time, that a little firmness would disconcert the viceroy so much, that he would be obliged, for want of money, to withdraw his troops from *Tuscany*. The latter counsel therefore took place; and it was resolved to send a strong garrison, under *Luca Vitelli*, to *Prato*, to stop the viceroy's progress. This shew of resolution startled him. He was at the head of that body of *Spanish* foot, which, to their immortal honour, had retired unbroken from the battle of *Ravenna*; but he was destitute both of money and pro-

^a GUICCIARDINI, book. ii.

visions for their subsistence, and had with him only two pieces of ordnance. Upon the whole, therefore, he stopped short, and desired the *Florentines* to consider better of his proposals.

A treaty entered upon and defeated.

THE gonfalonier convoked the great council, and before them offered immediately to resign his office; but at the same time described in the most earnest terms, the improbability of their preserving their liberties, if the *Medici*, upon any pretext whatsoever, were suffered to return to *Florence*. Notwithstanding his remonstrances, the council came to a resolution to re-admit the *Medici* into their city as private subjects, but to suffer the last extremity, rather than remove the gonfalonier from his office. This resolution laid the viceroy under vast difficulties; and, at last, he proposed to leave *Tuscany* without insisting on the deposition of the gonfalonier, if the *Florentines* would re-admit the *Medici* as private citizens, and pay him thirty thousand ducats, and suffer him to draw provisions for his army from *Prato*. The *Florentine* magistrates in general were for accepting those terms, and ambassadors were named for signing the treaty; but the gonfalonier, who privately opposed all accommodation, withheld their dispatches so long, that the viceroy's army was, in the mean time, reduced to the alternative either of starving or taking *Prato*. They brought the two pieces of ordnance before the walls; but one of them burst on the first discharge. The *Spaniards*, however, ran to the assault with such intrepidity, that, mounting the walls, the garrison, which had been levied in haste, and was equally cowardly as undisciplined, betook themselves to flight. Their behaviour gave the *Spaniards* a right to treat the place as taken by storm; and most horrible scenes of lust, cruelty, and sacrilege ensued. The *Florentine* garrison threw down their arms; and some writers make the number of defenceless people that perished on this occasion, to amount to five thousand men. Those who survived the sword were made prisoners; but the cardinal *de Medici* saved from violation the women, who took refuge in the great church, by placing a guard over them. After *Prato* was taken, the *Pistoians*, without withdrawing from the subjection of the *Florentines*, made their peace with the viceroy, upon engaging to supply his army with provisions.

Prato stormed.

A. D. 1512.
The Medici restored to Florence.

THE loss of *Prato*, which happened on the last of *August*, 1512, created prodigious commotions in *Florence*. The gonfalonier, who was known to be the occasion of this disaster, lost all his credit, and with that all his courage. Two young noblemen, *Paul Vettori* and *Antonfrancesco Albizi*, friends to the *Medici*, held a consultation with *Julian de Medici*, and others of that party, at a country-seat, where they were joined by another young nobleman, *Bartolomeo Valori*, and they resolved to enter the palace of the gonfalonier with an armed band, and force him to resign his post. This design they easily executed; meeting with no resistance, they seized the gonfalonier in his apartment, threatened to kill him if he did not leave the palace, which he immediately did, on the conspirators promising that his life should be safe. The magistrates immediately were assembled, and required to deprive the gonfalonier of his office; to which they submitted with great reluctance. Leaving *Florence*, the gonfalonier intended to go to *Rome*; but receiving intelligence from his brother, the cardinal of *Volterra*, that the pope, hearing he was loaded with treasure, intended to seize him, he escaped by sea to *Ragusa*.

The government now modelled.

THE settlement of the state of *Florence* became now the great object of consideration with that people. But they were no longer masters of their own affairs; tho' the cardinal *de Medici* for some time acted with so much seeming moderation, that the less considerate amongst them still thought themselves free. The first step the magistracy made, was to send ambassadors to the viceroy, who were introduced to him by the interest of the cardinal *de Medici*. They agreed to enter as parties into the holy league, and to pay to *Maximilian* the forty thousand ducats that had been demanded from them by the bishop of *Goritz*, and which the *Medici* family had promised should be paid upon their being restored to their country. The viceroy was to receive for his own use twenty thousand ducats, and for the use of his army eighty thousand, of which one moiety was to be paid immediately, and the other in two months, he engaging, on the first payment being made, to evacuate the dominions of *Florence*, and to restore all the places he had taken from that republic. Matters were next compromised with the catholic king upon easy terms. A mutual agreement was entered into between them, for the defence of each other's dominions in *Italy*; and the *Florentines* agreed to take into their pay two hundred of his men at arms, to be commanded by the marquis *della Pallude*, to whom the cardinal *de Medici* had privately promised the command of the *Florentine* forces. As to the affairs of the *Medici* family, that cardinal continued to affect great moderation. He accepted of the restitution of himself, his family, and friends, as private citizens, but reserving to themselves a power of redeeming their estates that had been confiscated, by repaying the money that had been expended in purchasing or improving them.

S E C T. IX.

Containing the History of Florence, after Restoration of the House of Medici, and the different Revolutions of its Government, till it fell to the House of Lorrain.

THE Florentines obtained those terms through the policy of the Catholic king, who disapproved of the inordinate ambition and violence of the pope, and whose real intention was to preserve the liberties of the *Florentines*. His viceroy had orders for that purpose; but the cardinal *de Medici* and his family had far different views: they knew that they could not, as private citizens, be safe in their own country, after introducing into it an army of *Spaniards*, which had shed so much of their blood, and done them so much damage. They saw that a spirit of independency still prevailed in *Florence*, where a majority was for continuing a popular government.

Views of the Spaniards.

THE Florentines had even gone so far as to enact by a new law, that the perpetuity of the office of gonfalonier should be abolished, and that that office should be held only for a year: that all those citizens who had gone through the great offices of state, either at home or abroad, should be added to the council of eighteen, by whom the most weighty affairs of the republic were determined. Thus, all who had borne the office of gonfalonier, who had been of the *balia*, or employed in embassies, or as commissioners of the war, were added to that council, which consequently now consisted of men of the greatest experience and abilities in the state. Those points being settled, *Baptista Ridolfi*, a citizen of an unexceptionable character, was chosen gonfalonier for the ensuing year.

The office of gonfalonier made annual.

THOSE proceedings by no means suited the views of the *Medici* family. The cardinal attached himself to the young, turbulent, and indigent nobility, who were at that time very numerous in *Florence*; and not only the divisions, but the necessities of the state were so great, that money could not be raised for the first payment of the viceroy, who, in daily expectation of it, still continued with his army in *Prato*. The cardinal, who had brought over to his interest some of the *Spanish* general officers, represented to the viceroy, that the delay of the first payment was owing to the *French* interest, which was still powerful in the republic, and that there was a design to recal and reinstate in his office the late gonfalonier. His arguments had such weight, that he prevailed with the viceroy to remain neuter, while he attempted to execute a scheme for overthrowing the newly modelled form of the *Florentine* government. All of a sudden he entered *Florence* at the head of a large body of *Italian* officers and soldiers, and repaired directly to the houses of his friends, the magistrates being over-awed by the neighbourhood of the *Spanish* army from making any resistance. Next day his party with *Julian de Medici* at its head, forced their way into the town-house, and the palace of the magistrates, where they seized upon all the public plate, without regard to the gonfalonier or the magistrates, who were obliged to submit. The people were then summoned by the sound of the great bell to the square of the palace, where they were no sooner assembled, than they were surrounded by an armed force, under the direction of the *Medici* and their friends.

The Medici usurp the government of Florence.

THO' both *Guicciardini*, and *Paul Jovius*, called by the *Italians* *Giovio*, wrote at the time, and tho' the former was present on the spot, and one of the chief magistrates of *Florence*, yet they differ as to the particulars of the alteration of the *Florentine* government that now took place. *Guicciardini* says, that the supreme power (which was the same with that of the *balia*) was lodged in fifty citizens, who were to be nominated or recommended by the cardinal or his friends. *Giovio* says, that fifteen persons were created with a power to elect sixty other citizens, the most distinguished for their attachment to the *Medici* family, who with their electors were to form a standing council for the government of the state. Upon the whole, it is plain that the *Florentines* owed the loss of their liberties to their own divisions. By a decree of their supreme assembly, their government was reduced to the form it had when the *Medici* were expelled in 1494: but that family now assumed more power than ever; a military guard was placed at their palace, and they disused all the modest appearances of their forefathers.

New alterations of government take place.

THE viceroy, receiving his first payment, marched to *Brescia*, which was then besieged by the *Venetians*; but *D'Aubigny*, the *French* governor, chose to surrender it to the *Spanish* general. The negotiations, heart-burnings, and differences, that afterwards broke out amongst the members of the holy league, are foreign to this part of our history, which concerns *Tuscany* alone. The pope's vast projects seemed to grow with his years. He resumed his designs against *Ferrara*: he gave *Maximilian* thirty thousand ducats for his interest in *Sienna*, which he bestowed upon his nephew, the duke of *Urbino*: he demanded *Carfagnana*, which during his contests with the duke of *Ferrara*, had been seized by the *Lucques*; and took measures for becoming master of *Modena* and *Perugia*. In short, he acted

The Spanish viceroy with draws.

Death of pope
Julius,

who is suc-
ceeded by the
cardinal de
Medici,
Leo X.

His character,
and policy.

A. D. 1515.

The pope under
dependency.

acted up to the character he affected, that of being the deliverer of *Italy* from all foreigners; and towards the latter part of his life, he disposed the *Swiss* to assist him in driving the *Spaniards* out of *Naples*. He was, however, greatly chagrined at seeing the independent power which the cardinal *de Medici* had assumed in *Florence*. But he died while meditating the above, and other great designs, on the twenty-first of *February*, 1513.

Upon the entrance of the cardinals, who were in number twenty five, into the conclave, for the election of a new pope, it was thought that they would have imposed some restrictions on the pontifical power; but though they began such a work, the design was soon dropped; and the cardinal *de Medici*, who was afterwards so well known by the name of *Leo the Tenth*, which he assumed, was unanimously chosen pope. He entered upon his pontificate with vast advantages. He was but thirty-seven years of age, a circumstance hardly ever known before: he had borne his misfortunes with wonderful moderation, and had surmounted them with equal address: he equalled, if not surpassed, the greatest of his forefathers in munificence, in the love of the fine arts, and in liberality towards men of genius in all professions; and his mildness and good-nature were as conspicuous as his other great qualities. Notwithstanding all that has been said, he was at the bottom void of all religion and honour, and privately addicted to the practice of almost every vice that enters into the human composition. After his election, which had been irreproachably regular, and free from all simoniacal practices, he was crowned with a splendour and magnificence to which *Rome* had been for many years a stranger, the expences of his coronation-day amounting to one hundred thousand ducats.

LEO was inclined to his predecessor's plan of driving all foreigners out of *Italy*; and for many reasons, that may be seen in the course of this history, he was far from being a favourer of the *French* king, who was making new dispositions for invading *Milan*. *Leo*, after his accession to the pontificate, continued to govern *Florence* as a temporal prince, and kept up a close correspondence with the famous *Machiavel*, the *Florentine* secretary, for the better management and regulation of that state. Under so powerful a patronage, it was no wonder if the *Florentines* renewed their claims upon *Pietra Santa* and *Mutrone*, which was still detained from them by the *Lucquese*. The latter, at first, threw themselves for protection upon the catholic king; but they soon found themselves obliged to submit to the arbitration of the pope, who ordered them to restore the places in question to the *Florentines*; and that the two states should enter into a perpetual peace and confederacy with each other. By the various revolutions of affairs in *Italy*, *Leo* was obliged to change his party as suited his interest; but he never lost sight of the aggrandizement of his own family. He raised *Lorenzo*, his elder brother's son, who was but a very young man, to the government of *Florence*, which the *French* king offered to guaranty to the house of *Medici*, provided his holiness would forego his engagements with the emperor and the king of *Spain*. The designs that *Leo* had in view for his brother *Julian*, were equally great. He paid the emperor forty thousand ducats for the mortgage of *Modena*, which, together with *Reggio*, *Parma*, *Piacenza*, and the *Ferrarese*, when an opportunity should offer, he designed to make *Julian* sovereign of. At the same time, his holiness procured a marriage between *Julian* and *Philiberta*, sister to the duke of *Savoy*, and to the *French* king by the mother's side, and enabled the bridegroom to settle upon his bride, as a dowry, one hundred thousand ducats. The *French* king was in hopes, that the conclusion of this match would be favourable to his designs upon the *Milanese*; but while *Leo* flattered him in that opinion, he was concerting measures for defeating them, by entering into secret engagements with the emperor, the king of *Spain*, and other states. *Francis I.* who was not above twenty-two years of age, and possessed of great vivacity and courage, was now upon the throne of *France*, and preparing to march to *Italy*; which, notwithstanding all the opposition of the *Swiss*, he effected to the amazement of all *Europe*. The pope, by this time, had ordered his nephew *Lorenzo*, at the head of the *Florentine* army, to take the field and march into *Lombardy*, for the defence of *Milan*, his brother *Julian* then lying ill of a fever at *Florence*. But *Leo* had no apprehension of the *French* being able to pass the *Alps*, with so little loss as they had sustained; and *Palisse*, who commanded their van, had been so wonderfully rapid in his motions, as to surprise and take prisoner *Prospero Colonna*, the ablest and most experienced general in *Italy*, and the person on whom *Leo* depended the most for opposing the *French*. His capture threw *Leo* into a kind of dependency; and he sent orders to *Lorenzo*, who was advanced with his army as far as *Modena*, to slacken his march against the *French*. *Lorenzo* took that opportunity of retaking the castle of *Rubicra*, and loitered for some time in the territories of *Modena* and *Reggio*; while the pope sent a trusty agent to make his peace with the *French* king, whom he endeavoured to amuse at the same time by entering into a treaty with him, under the mediation of the duke of *Savoy*. *Giulian de Medici* had been raised to the purple by *Leo*, though his birth was illegitimate, and was on this occasion an useful counsellor to him, by preventing him from returning *Modena* and *Reggio*

- a *Reggio* to the duke of *Ferrara*, and *Bologna* to *Bentivoglio*; all which he was inclined to do to please the *French*. Instead of that, *Giulian* persuaded him absolutely to declare against the *French* king, though he had now advanced as far as *Vercelli*, and had taken *Alessandria*, the key of the duchy of *Milan*. The *Swiss* were all this while in *Italy*, and offered themselves to the best bidders; but indiscriminately plundered friends and foes when money could be had. They were in the pay of the holy league; but, without waiting to receive it regularly, they generally broke open the coffers of their paymasters: and this disorderly behaviour encouraged the *French* king to endeavour to bring them over from the interest of the pope and the king of *Spain*. Some difficulties intervening in this negotiation, *Francis* proceeded to the conquest of *Milan*, which he easily effected; and thereby brought the
- b *Swiss* into his terms. But this treaty, by the arrival of a fresh body of rapacious *Swiss*, was broken almost as soon as made; and *Lorenzo de Medici*, whose army consisted of seven hundred men at arms, eight hundred light horse, and four thousand foot, all of them *Florentines*, to keep the *Swiss* in humour with the pope, and assisted them in getting provisions.

- THE state of *Lombardy* was at this time very precarious and unsettled. The *French* king was with a powerful army at the gates of *Milan*: the viceroy of *Naples* lay near *Piacenza* with another army: *Lorenzo de Medici* was within *Piacenza*, at the head of the ecclesiastical and *Florentine* troops: *Aviano*, the *Venetian* general, and his army, were in the *Cremone* to assist the *French* king; and an army of thirty-five thousand *Swiss* were encamped near *Milan*, undetermined what part to take, but filled with rage for pay and plunder.
- c Upon the whole, however, the *French* were in the fairest road of success; and the politic pope began to renew his correspondence for an accommodation with that king. His nephew *Lorenzo de Medici*, if possible, even out-did his holiness in dissimulation. He applied secretly, by agents, to *Francis*, and apologized for being obliged, in compliance with his uncle the pope, to appear in the field against him at the head of the *Florentine* army. All those secret correspondences were discovered by the viceroy of *Naples*, who considered himself and his master as being little better than betrayed by the pope and *Lorenzo*. He pressed *Lorenzo* to pass the *Po*, and join him; but each being now distrustful of the other, both armies returned to their former quarters.

- IT is certain, that the *Swiss* army, which was forty thousand strong, might at that time
- d have given laws to all *Italy*; but their mercenary disposition, and their divisions, rendered them hated and suspected by all parties. The *French* army lay between them and that of the *Spaniards* and *Florentines*; and, in general, they were not ill-disposed towards an accommodation with *Francis*. To prevent this, their leader and countryman, the cardinal of *Sion*, harangued them in so animating a manner, that they appeared to be, as it were, possessed of a frenzy for fighting the *French*; and, marching out of *Milan*, they attacked them, though it was almost dark, at *Marignano*. Night alone, and the valour of the *French* cavalry, prevented their army from being totally routed. The battle was renewed by day-break; but *Francis*, during the night, had made so good a disposition of his artillery, that the *Swiss* were terribly gauled in their approach; and *Aviano*, the brave *Venetian* general,
- e coming up with his army, attacked them in the rear; so that, after performing prodigies of valour, the *Swiss* were obliged to return, but in good order, to *Milan*. This battle, the bloodiest that had been fought for many years in *Italy*, was perhaps the most glorious the *French* ever obtained, as the *Swiss* nation, till that day, had been deemed invincible. *Trivulzi*, the *Italian* general in the *French* pay, who said he had been in eighteen battles, observed, that all of them were like children's play, compared to that of *Marignano*. Tho' the *Swiss* left about ten thousand men dead on the field, and the *French* lost about six thousand, yet the latter did not venture to pursue their enemies to *Milan*; from whence the *Swiss* returned to their own country. Thus, all the *Milanese*, by degrees, again fell under the power of the *French*.

- f THE pope and the *Florentines* were conscious to themselves how ill they had deserved, by their temporizing, of all parties, but of the *French* especially. The viceroy of *Naples*, who had sufficiently discovered the double-dealing of his holiness and his nephew, after borrowing six thousand ducats of the latter, prepared to return with his army to his government, so that *Leo* had now very little dependence on any thing but the *French* king's reverence for his character, and his own arts of negotiation. Seeing that *Francis* was making dispositions for recovering *Parma* and *Piacenza*, as belonging to the duchy of *Milan*, and for attacking the state of *Florence*, which he thought himself as much interested to defend as if it had belonged to the church, he employed the duke of *Savoy*, and his nuncio, the bishop of *Triarico*, to negotiate with the *French* king.

- g IT must be acknowledged, that, on this occasion, *Leo* behaved with wonderful address. Though naturally cautious and timid, he affected the courage and resolution of his predecessor *Julius*; and imposed so far upon *Francis*, who dreaded the papal thunder, that he entered into an alliance with *Leo*. They mutually stipulated to defend the states of *Italy*;

State of Lombardy.

The Swiss beat at the battle of Marignano.

Distress of the pope.

his address re-lieves him.

and *Francis* agreed to become the defender and protector of the pope and his dominions, the house of *Medici*, and the state of *Florence*, and to give pensions and preferments in *France* to cardinal *Giulian* and *Lorenzo*. The pope, however, was obliged to recall his troops from *Verona*; and, upon the valuable compensation of *Cervio* supplying *Milan* with salt, to yield to the *French* king *Parma* and *Piacenza*. As to the *Florentines*, *Francis* insisted upon a point of honour; and it was left to the duke of *Savoy* to decide, whether, by their behaviour, they had not violated their engagements with his predecessor.

ALL this while, the viceroy of *Naples* found pretexts for continuing with his army in *Lombardy*, which put the pope and *Lorenzo* under dreadful apprehensions; so that the latter made his court in the most abject manner to *Francis*, by the pope's direction. *Francis*, however, was a prince of too much penetration to be imposed upon by his holiness, who made great difficulties of ratifying the late peace, though strongly importuned to it by the bishop of *Tricarico*. *Leo* could not, without sensible mortification, part with *Parma* and *Piacenza*; and he was not without hopes, that the *Swiss* would again declare against the *French*. *Francis* saw into the reasons of his management, and made dispositions for entering *Tuscany*, which frightened *Leo* so much, that he ratified the treaty, with some modifications; one of which was, that the *Florentines* should be absolved from all imputation of having contravened their engagements with *Lewis*. *Francis* was, at this time, fully bent upon the conquest of *Naples*, and proposed a personal interview, which afterwards took place, with the pope, for granting his army a passage through the ecclesiastical dominions. *Leo* durst not directly refuse him any thing; but with great difficulty persuaded him to delay his expedition during the life of *Ferdinand* the catholic king, who was now very aged and infirm.

His interview
with Francis
at Bologna.

ON the 8th of *December*, 1515, the pope and *Francis*, who was attended by a small retinue, met together at *Bologna*. The duke of *Ferrara* had great reasons to be dissatisfied with the pope and the *Medici* family, who coveted his possessions, and pretended that all his estates belonged to the church. The duke, sensible of their intentions, had entered into secret connections with the king of *France*, who, in the interview he had with the pope, pressed him to return *Modena* and *Reggio* to the duke. His holiness, against his will, was obliged to comply with this request, on condition of his being reimbursed the forty thousand ducats that had been paid to *Maximilian* for *Modena*. *Francis*, at the same time, pressed him to an accommodation with the duke of *Urbino*, whose estate his holiness had likewise marked out for his own family, and who had refused to serve under *Lorenzo*. It required all the art of his holiness, tho' one of the most artful men alive, to avoid complying with this request; but, at last, by his wonderful address, the affair was compromised, and he persuaded the king shamefully to abandon the interest of the duke, who had fully informed him of the pope's double dealing. The pontiff granting to the king certain ecclesiastical revenues and privileges in *France* to a vast amount, the king, at the same time, at *Leo's* request, withdrew his protection from all the states of *Tuscany*, where the *Medici* family was now in a manner absolute, though the *Lucques* offered him twenty-five thousand ducats for his friendship. All those and various other matters being settled, *Francis* left *Bologna*, highly pleased with the thoughts that, by his power and policy, he had brought his holiness to comply with all his demands.

A peace.

Insincerity of
the pope.

LEO, however, was determined, if possible, to elude them. From *Bologna* he repaired to *Florence*, where he had the ablest heads in *Europe* to consult with. Here he found pretexts for eluding the restitution of *Modena* and *Reggio*; while *Francis*, after disbanding the greatest part of his army, and leaving the duke of *Bourbon* his lieutenant in the *Milanese*, returned to *France* in the beginning of the year 1516. His departure was highly agreeable to the pope; and the states of *Tuscany* being now without any protector, his holiness formed a design, by the help of the *Florentines*, to render the bishop of *Petrucchi*, who was his creature, master of *Sienna*, which he affected, in hopes of afterwards subjecting it to the *Medici* family. In the mean while, *Ferdinand* the catholic king died, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, at *Madrid*. He was a prince of vast penetration, perseverance, and address, and may justly be considered as the founder of the *Spanish* monarchy, which he reared with so much pains and difficulty, that, notwithstanding his uninterrupted prosperity, the discovery of *America* in his reign, and his sitting forty years on the throne of *Spain*, he left no money behind him.

Death of Fer-
dinand alters
the affairs of
Italy.

THE death of *Ferdinand* freed the *French* king from his obligation not to attack *Naples* during his life-time; but, while he was meditating that conquest, his own duchy of *Milan* was attacked by *Maximilian*, who obliged the *French* troops there, under *Lautrec*, to retire under the cannon of *Milan*. *Francis* had, by this time, come to an accommodation with the *Swiss*, and had taken ten thousand of them into his pay; but, the like number being in the service of *Maximilian*, they were all of them unwilling to come to action; and the

- a the cantons deliberated upon recalling all their subjects from both services, to prevent their being under the necessity of butchering one another. *Maximilian's* usual indigence and irresolution delivered *Milan* from her danger, and he ingloriously returned to *Germany*. The *French* king strongly suspected that *Maximilian's* attempt upon the *Milanese* had been favoured by the pope, and called upon him for the performance of his late engagements, by sending to his assistance five hundred men at arms, and paying three thousand *Swiss* for the defence of the *Milanese*, according to compact. The truth is, the pope equally hated *Francis* and *Maximilian*, and, by daring to disoblige neither, he was suspected by both. At first, he declined giving any positive answer, as to the pay of the *Swiss*; and offered to send *Florentines* into *Lombardy*, instead of his own troops. Upon the return of *Maximilian* to
- b *Germany*, he ordered *Lorenzo*, who commanded the *Florentines*, to present *Francis* with a sum of money, and to renew his professions of attachment to the *French* interest. All this was done to amuse *Francis*, while his holiness was attempting to make himself master of the duchy of *Urbino* by force of arms. The name of that celebrated duke was *Francisco Maria della Rovere*. He was nephew to the late pope *Julius*, but personally obnoxious to *Leo*. He had, in a fit of passion, murdered the cardinal of *Pavia*, whom he accused of the loss of *Bolegna* to the holy see; and he was impeached with having always favoured the *French*. But *Giulian de Medici*, the pope's brother, who had been kindly protected and entertained at the court of *Urbino*, had hitherto prevented the pope from stripping the duke of his dominions. The death of *Giulian* happening about this time at *Florence*, *Leo*, by the instigation of *Lorenzo* and his mother *Alfoncina*, drew up a charge of murder, rebellion, and other crimes, against the duke; and *Lorenzo*, at the head of an army, composed of *Florentines* and the subjects of the holy see, took possession of *Urbino*, and afterwards of *Pesaro*; and, in four days time, of the whole duchy of *Urbino*, a few castles excepted, which were likewise soon after taken, the duke retiring to *Mantua*. *Lorenzo*, after this, returned to *Florence*; and the pope, by a bull, to which he obliged the cardinals to set their hands, conferred upon him the duchy of *Urbino*. The *French* king thought this to be an insult upon himself; but, partly by the necessity of his affairs, and partly out of reverence to the pontificate, he put up with that and many other affronts offered him by the pope, whose disregard for him grew as the power and interest of his holiness with the *European* states
- d increased.

Urbino attacked by the pope.

- The duke of *Urbino* remained all this time in *Mantua*, and solicited the *Spaniards* to assist him in recovering his duchy. In this he was befriended by *Frederic Gonzaga* lord of *Bozzolo*, a man of high quality and reputation in military affairs, but a declared enemy to the house of *Medici*, on account of a personal affront he had suffered from *Lorenzo*. As *Italy* was then full of soldiers and officers of fortune, without employment, the duke was soon at the head of five thousand *Spanish* foot, the chief of whom was one *Maldanoto*, a *Spaniard*, an officer of reputation. He likewise raised eight hundred light horse, commanded by officers of experience; but he was without money, artillery, or ammunition. He depended, however, greatly on the affections of his subjects, and set out on his march for
- e *Urbino*. The pope was alarmed at the prospect of encountering a desperate army that had nothing to lose; and, having treated the *French* king in a most infamous manner by deceiving him in all the agreements he had made with him, he concluded that *Francis* supported the duke. In this he was confirmed, by the duke's army being raised in the neighbourhood of that of *France*, under *Lautrec*; and he had reason likewise to believe, that the duke was favoured by the *Venetians*, jealous of the greatness of a pope, who was, in effect, the sovereign of *Florence*. He, however, filled the *Romagna* with troops, under his nephew *Lorenzo*, part of them *Florentines*, and part belonging to the church, commanded by *Renzo da Ceri* and *Vitello*, who had orders to dispute the passage of the *Po* with the duke. They were, however, prevented by the rapidity of the enemy's march, who entered the
- f *Faventine*, and appeared before *Faenza*, in hopes of raising some disturbances there in favour of young *Manfredi*, the representative of its late lords, who was in his army. In this the duke was disappointed, and he found the pope and *Lorenzo* so strong in the *Romagna*, that he could make no impression there. He therefore on a sudden marched towards his own capital of *Urbino*, in which were two thousand *Florentine* foot, under *Giacomo Rosetto*, who being dissatisfied with the service, and finding the people all inclined to the duke, surrendered the place by capitulation. The example of *Urbino* was followed by all the rest of the duchy, excepting the strong fortification of *San Leo*. The duke then attempted to take *Fano*, but miscarried; while *Lorenzo* and the *Florentine* army assembled at *Rimini*, and from thence moved to *Pesaro*, near which *Lorenzo* encamped, in a situation that faced the
- g duke's army. The pope, however, ordered *Lorenzo* not to hazard a pitched battle if it could be avoided, for fear of endangering the *Florentine* state, and because it was probable that the enemy, for want of money and provisions, would be obliged to retire. His holiness, at the same time, filled all *Europe* with his briefs, complaining of the duke of *Ur-*

Beginning and progress of the war of Urbino.

bino's

Urbino's rebellion, as he called it, and demanding assistance against him. *Maximilian*, and his grandson the king of *Spain*, afterwards the famous emperor *Charles V.* in order to improve the misunderstanding between the pontiff and the *French* king, sent him a body of auxiliaries; and even *Francis*, that he might not throw himself intirely into their arms, ordered *Lautrec* to march from *Milan* to his aid; but obliged his holiness to enter with him into a new treaty, and to do justice to the duke of *Ferrara*.

Mismanagement of the pope's generals.

Lorenzo challenged by the duke of Urbino.

THE ecclesiastical and *Florentine* army was now very formidable, amounting in the whole to near twenty thousand; and *Lorenzo*, who was personally brave, but had little experience in war, continued to face the duke's army, and sent seven hundred light horse to scour the country of *Vicariato*, from whence the duke's troops drew their subsistence. While this was doing, one of the duke's officers, called *Suarez*, demanded from *Lorenzo* a pass for himself, and another officer, whose name was to be inserted in it. The pass was accordingly granted, and the inserted name was that of *Oratio da Fermo*, the duke of *Urbino's* secretary. The two messengers being admitted into *Lorenzo's* presence, where *Suarez* produced a formal challenge from the duke to *Lorenzo*, offering to put an end to the calamities of the war, which fell so heavy upon innocent subjects, either by fighting him hand to hand, or with an equal number on each side. *Lorenzo* seemed to make no difficulty to accept of the challenge, provided the duke would give up all that he had taken. In the mean while he ordered both the officers to be put under arrest. His generals exclaimed against this breach of faith, and obliged him to release *Suarez*; but he put *Oratio*, on pretence of his being a native of the ecclesiastical state, to the rack, where he discovered the particulars of the correspondence carried on between the duke and the *French* king.

THIS challenge was ineffectual; but it carried with it an air of romantic bravery, and did vast service to the duke with *Lorenzo's* officers of every nation. The truth is, though those officers were the best in *Italy*, yet his army was poorly commanded; and tho' weak, was vastly superior in numbers to the other, tho' composed of the best troops in *Europe*. The reasons were, because the pope was hated by all his auxiliaries for his dissimulation, and breaches of faith; and his officers served him for pay, and not out of affection. Every day produced some new demands, from the *French* especially, which the pope and *Lorenzo* were forced to comply with; and the different nations under them hated each other so much, that their orders were either disobeyed, or imperfectly executed. The duke of *Urbino* still maintained his post, and drew his subsistence from the *Vicariato*, one of the most fertile spots in *Italy*. This obliged *Lorenzo* to march towards *Sorbolungo*, which is five miles distant from *Fossombrone*. The dispositions for this march were so judicious, but so ill executed, that young *Giovanni de Medici* complained to *Lorenzo* of treachery amongst the officers. *Lorenzo* durst punish none, and resigned himself entirely to the counsels of *Renzo* and *Vitello*. The *Florentine* troops had been driven from *Sorbolungo*; and a resolution was taken to retire, under pretence of taking possession of *Monte Baroccio*. This motion had all the air of a flight, and the duke's troops harrassed those of the pope in their retreat. *Lorenzo* made no use of his superiority; and instead of forcing, as he might have done, his enemies to a battle, he kept upon the defensive, and suffered them to seize on all the strong passes, and particularly on *Monte Baroccio*, while the *Florentine* and papal army began to be straitened for provisions, having none but what they drew from *Pesaro*.

Influence of the French.

Mondolfo besieged, and Lorenzo wounded.

THE mutinies and mismanagement amongst *Lorenzo's* troops at last quite exhausted the patience of his holiness, and he desired *Lorenzo* to do his utmost to prevail with the *French* to quit his service. The letters of his holiness for this purpose were intercepted by the duke of *Urbino*, who immediately sent them to the *French* quarters; and a dangerous mutiny must have ensued, had not *Lorenzo*, and *Carbon* the *French* general, pretended that they had been counterfeited by the enemy. *Lorenzo* then marched towards *Fossombrone*; but his troops exclaimed so much against *Renzo* and *Vitello*, that he at last opened his eyes, and reproached them for having prevailed on him to protract the war for their own profit. He was now advancing to the *Vicariato*, where he took the castle of *San Gostanzo*, and laid siege to *Mondolfo*, the strongest fortification in that district. But *Lorenzo's* artillery was so injudiciously indisposed by *Renzo*, that they were soon dismounted, and a great number of the workmen and cannoneers killed. *Lorenzo* went in person to remedy this loss, but was dangerously wounded. The place, however, was so much shaken by springing a mine, that the garrison, discouraged at receiving no relief from the duke of *Urbino*, made terms for themselves, and marched out of the town, which surrendered to the pope's army.

WHILE *Lorenzo* lay ill of his wound, the pope sent the cardinal *Santa Maria* to take charge of the army. Upon his arrival, the small degree of discipline which still remained, vanished. The *German* and the *Italian* infantry quarrelled with each other, and many were killed on both sides, while the *French* seized that opportunity of plundering the tents and baggage of both. This tumult was with great difficulty suppressed; but it obliged the pope's generals to send the troops of different nations into different quarters, and *Pesaro* was

a was assigned to the *Florentines*; while the *French* foot encamped half a mile's distance from the same city. A total but shameful inactivity for twenty days succeeded, which, together with a secret intelligence carried on by the duke with the pope's army, encouraged him to quit his strong encampment at *Monte Baroccio*, and to beat up his quarters. Upon his arrival, he was joined by all the *Spanish* foot except eight hundred, who retired to *Pesaro*; and attacking the *Germans*, he killed and wounded above six hundred of them, and forced the remainder to retire to the same city. As to the *French*, they got under arms, but remained quiet spectators of the whole.

b The duke then encamped between *Urbino* and *Pesaro*. While he lay there, he entered into correspondence with one *Ambra*, a *Gascon* officer, who hated *Lautrec*, and formed a party amongst the *French* and *German* foot for deserting to him, upon the pope's ministry refusing to comply with their exorbitant demands. Being at little pains to disguise their intention, *Carbon* and other general officers did all they could to prevail with them to return to their duty; but in vain; for no sooner did the duke's army appear, than *Ambra* put himself at the head of the mutineers, and, in order of battle, with six field-pieces in his front, joined the duke, no more than thirteen hundred foot and seven officers remaining with *Carbon*. Next day, the *Italian* foot mutinied in like manner; and, lest they too should desert, it was found necessary to gratify their demands, which were as extravagant from the officers as the soldiers.

It is observed by an excellent historian^a, that there was something very surprising in the state of the two armies on this occasion. The pope's soldiers had no other object but money, with which they were supplied to profusion; and yet they deserted to the duke of *Urbino*, who had none to give them. Under the pope's generals they had been mutinous and disobedient; but under the duke they lived in the greatest harmony, and submitted to the strictest discipline. All this, according to the same historian, proceeded chiefly from the ardour and obstinacy of the troops. The papal legate and his generals were overwhelmed with consternation at so many repeated disgraces and losses; and, after many ineffectual consultations, they signed a paper, which they sent to the pope, advising him to restore the *Bentivoglio* family to *Bologna*. His holiness not only rejected this counsel, but bitterly bewailed his own misfortune in having trusted to those who had given it.

d The duke of *Urbino*, at the same time, was not without his difficulties. His troops had received no pay for three months; and his duchy, as well as the *Vicariato*, were now exhausted of provisions and every thing else. He, therefore, with the approbation of his army, which chose plunder rather than pay, all of a sudden, pointed his march to the rich and fertile country of *Tuscany*. But he now discovered a plot for destroying him, or giving him up to the pope. *Renzo* had jokingly asked a *Spanish* prisoner, when his countrymen were to deliver the duke up. This incident, seemingly slight as it was, being reported to the duke, gave him a deep suspicion of *Maldonato*; and it soon appeared, by intercepted letters, that he, *Suarez*, and two other *Spanish* officers, had entered into a conspiracy against him; and that, the better to manage it, *Suarez* had suffered himself to be taken prisoner by *Lorenzo*. The duke disguised his knowledge of the affair, till he was possessed of proofs that made it unquestionable; but he had no sooner entered the plains of *Gobbio*, in his march to *Tuscany*, than he drew up his army, and after haranguing it in a most pathetic manner, and producing the evidences of the conspirators guilt, they were all four immediately put to death, with the approbation of all the troops.

e The duke then pursued his march towards *Perugia*, which was defended by *Baglioni* and *Camillo Orsini*, who commanded a party of *Florentine* men at arms, and two hundred and fifty light horse. Upon the whole, therefore, the garrison was thought sufficient for the defence of the place. *Lorenzo de Medici* was now recovered of his wound; and, after ordering *Vitello* to garrison *Citta di Castello*, he himself went to *Florence*, to put that capital, and the other towns of that state, in a proper condition for receiving the enemy. When the duke appeared before *Perugia*, being destitute of battering cannon, he found himself unable to make any attempt upon it; but all of a sudden, *Baglioni* pretending that the *Perugians* could not bear to see their country destroyed, entered into a compromise with the duke; and, upon the latter promising to quit the *Perugian*, paid him ten thousand ducats, and engaged not to carry arms against him during that war.

f In the mean while the pope's legate, that he might oblige the duke to evacuate *Tuscany*, fell into the duchy of *Urbino*, where, in three days time, he took and plundered *Fossombrone*^b, and laid siege to *Pergola*. Here he was joined by a fresh body of *Spaniards*, and he took the place by storm. The duke of *Urbino*, by this time, marched to *Borgo San Sepolcro*; but understanding what danger his own state was in, he marched against the legate, and in a few hours drove him out of his duchy.

^a GUICCIARDINI, book vii.

^b The ancient *Forum Sempronii*.

Plot against
the pope.

Punishment of
the conspira-
tors.

Ancona in-
vaded by the
duke of Ur-
bino,

duke returns
to Tuscany.

He is forced to
make peace,

and deserted by
his troops.

A PLOT was, at this time, discovered at *Rome*, formed by *Alfonso* cardinal of *Sienna*, son of *Pandolfo Petrucci*, against the pope's life. His holiness lay under the greatest obligations to the *Petrucci* family; but he had repaid it, by driving them out of *Sienna*. The cardinal being young and hot, at first had resolved to have killed the pope with his own hand; but he afterwards contracted with *Vercelli*, a *Florentine* surgeon, to poison him. Before *Vercelli* could be introduced about the pope's person, *Alfonso's* impatience publicly hurried him into such invectives against the pope, that he was obliged to withdraw from *Rome*; but he left behind him his secretary, with whom he held a correspondence, which, being secretly intercepted by the pope, gave him the first suspicion of the plot. Upon this he sent, by the *Spanish* ambassador, a pass, and his word of honour, for *Alfonso's* safety, if he would return to *Rome*, where the pope said he would give him satisfaction with regard to his affairs. *Alfonso* was incautious enough to trust to his holiness; but he no sooner appeared in the pope's presence, than he and his friend, cardinal *Bandinello*, were put under arrest, and sent prisoners to the castle of *St. Angelo*. *Vercelli*, at the same time, was sent prisoner from *Florence*; and, after confessing all he knew, he was, with another accomplice, executed. The more the matter was enquired into, the greater appearances there were of others being concerned. The cardinal of *San Giorgio*, the chief of the college, was sent prisoner to the same castle, for not revealing the invectives which he had heard *Alfonso* throw out against the pope; and *Leo* called a consistory, in which the cardinals of *Corneto* and *Volterra*, on their knees, confessed their being guilty of the same crime. Soon after *Alfonso* was strangled in prison; but *Bandinello* was delivered from it on paying a large sum of money, though it was strongly suspected that a slow poison had been administered to him by the pope's orders. The other cardinals were treated with milder censures.

THE success of the duke of *Urbino* in his own duchy, had brought such numbers to join him, that his army was now formidable. Instead of resuming his *Tuscan* expedition, he entered the marquisate of *Ancona*, where he laid *Fabriano*, and several other towns, under contribution, and took and plundered others, particularly *Jesi*^b. He then proceeded against *Ancona* itself, and obliged the inhabitants to pay him eight thousand ducats. After that, he besieged *Osimo*^c and *Corinaldo*; but miscarried before both, for want, not only of cannon but ammunition. His bad success in not being able to take any one place that refused to pay him contribution-money, greatly diminished the reputation of his arms, and his loss of time was irretrievable. The ecclesiastical army, at this time, was commanded by the count of *Potenza*^d, who took several places in *Urbino*; but was obliged to act on the defensive, till the arrival of six thousand *Swiss*, which his holiness had taken into his pay. The count lay at *Pesaro*, which the duke endeavoured, but in vain, to take, and made an unsuccessful attempt to surprise the *Swiss* auxiliaries, who were now advanced as far as *Rimini*.

THE duke had now no other course left but to resume his *Tuscan* expedition; and he accordingly entered that country, where, after resting some days, he besieged *Angiara*, a town belonging to the *Florentines*, where, as usual, he was repulsed for want of artillery. At last, he received four pieces of cannon; but, by this time, all the *Tuscan* cities and forts were filled with soldiers, and *Lorenzo de Medici* came from *Florence* to *Borga*, near which city the duke and his army were encamped. The country was unable to furnish the duke's troops with any more provision; nor had they any prospect of plunder; nor could he advance them any pay; so that his situation began to be very dangerous and uncomfortable, through the murmurs of his soldiers. Happily for him that of the pope was not much better. He had administered fresh cause of disobligation to the *French* king, and he had treated the *Spanish* ambassador very ill in the affair of the cardinal of *Sienna*. The duke of *Urbino* was a favourite with both those princes; and, by their orders, *Moncada* the viceroy of *Sicily*, and *L'Escut* the *French* general, had several times proposed terms of accommodation between him and the pope. The conditions acquired by the duke appeared so unreasonable, that the viceroy, by his master's orders, came to the duke's camp, and persuaded his *Spanish* foot to insinuate with the duke upon a peace, which they were easily brought to do; so that an accommodation was at last concluded on the following terms: that the pope should pay the *Spanish* infantry forty-five thousand ducats, due, as they said, for four months arrears; and to the *Gascons*, and the *Germans* united with them, sixty thousand ducats: that they should evacuate the state of the church, of the *Florentines*, and of *Urbino*, within eight days: that the duke should, within the said term, abandon all that he possessed, and be permitted to pass in safety to *Mantua* with all his artillery and effects. The pope, on his part, promised to absolve the duke from his censures, with all who had been engaged against him in the war of *Urbino*, natives and others.

As this treaty had been negotiated and concluded only by commissioners, the duke refused to ratify it, when presented to him, unless a clause was inserted, importing, that the *Spa-*

^b The ancient *Æsis*:

^c The ancient *Auximum*.

^d Anciently *Patentia*.

- a *niards* had engaged to deliver to the pope the duchy of *Urbino*. The *Spaniards* thought that such a clause would be derogatory to their honour, and refused to admit the insertion, which produced high words between them and the duke. The duke perceiving that he was sold, to prevent his falling into the pope's hands, withdrew to the *Piviero de Sejlina* with all the troops who were willing to follow him; while the *Spaniards*, receiving their money, marched back to *Naples*, as the other foot did to their several countries; so that the *Italian* foot, who had been omitted in the late bargain, alone remained with the duke, who, seeing himself now abandoned, was obliged to ratify the treaty that had been made in his name, and marched to *Mantua*, attended by no more than one hundred horse, and six hundred foot. His retreat put an end to the war of *Urbino*, which cost the pope, during the eight months it lasted, eight hundred thousand ducats, the greatest part of which he had levied from the *Florentines*, over whom his power was, in a manner, despotic.

THE finishing the war of *Urbino* restored peace to *Italy*. It is certain, that no bad man ever had so many amiable qualities to recommend him as *Leo* had. No sooner had he the smallest respite from toil and danger, than he returned to the encouragement of literature and the fine arts, and he patronized them while involved in both. *Florence* now vied with *Rome* in all that was great, magnificent, and elegant. This seems to have diverted the *Florentines* from all thoughts of re-asserting their liberties, and because they might be commanded by the drags of the people. *Machiavel* their secretary, however, advised *Leo* still to keep up the forms of the constitution, so as that the people might be the less sensible that they had lost their freedom, and the government in general was mild and equitable. But many amongst the *Florentines* were too quick-sighted to be deceived with appearances, and all of them bewailed the vast expences into which they were brought by their dependence upon his holiness.

DURING this state of tranquillity in *Italy*, the *Turks*, under their emperor *Selim*, were making a progress in the east that alarmed all the christian powers. Nothing could have happened more fortunate than this did for the views of *Leo*. The revenues of *Florence*, and the ecclesiastical state, went but a short way towards supplying his vast expences. By virtue of his pontifical authority, he made all *Europe* contribute towards them; but the most successful means he employed were his preaching up crusades against the *Turks*.

d The dispositions of many *European* powers, at this time, were uncommonly unanimous, and favourable for his designs, and vast sums of money had been collected in *France*, the disposal of which was in the breast of his holiness. *Francis* knew this, and omitted nothing that could flatter either the pope's pride or his ambition. A match was proposed between *Magdalena* of the house of *Bouillon*, and consequently of the blood-royal of *France*, and *Lorenzo de Medici*; and the proposal was highly encouraged by the *French* king, the apprehensions from the *Turks* being now blown over by the revolutions that had happened in their government. The lady's fortune was ten thousand crowns a year, the greatest part of which was settled upon her by *Francis*; and all preliminaries being adjusted, *Lorenzo* repaired to the court of *France*, where *Francis* received him with open arms, and gave him his kinswoman in marriage.

e *LORENZO* overflowed in his expressions of gratitude for this signal honour, and devoted himself for ever to the king's service. But something more than words passed between them on this occasion. *Lorenzo* presented *Francis* with a bull from his holiness, empowering him to apply to his own use the money that had been raised for the crusades; out of which *Lorenzo* himself received a present of fifty thousand crowns. The king, farther to testify his acknowledgment to the pope, put into *Lorenzo's* hands the brief of promise his holiness had made for the restitution of *Modena* and *Reggio* to the duke of *Ferrara*, within seven months, which were now expired. This interview was followed by negotiations for peace all over *Europe*, for which the pontiff was extremely solicitous, nor did any thing extraordinary happen in *Florence* during the years 1517 and 1518, further than we have related.

The tranquillity of *Europe*, in the beginning of the year 1519, was broke by the death of the emperor *Maximilian*, a prince of a mixed character. He was inconstant, extravagant, and though proud, contemptible for his perpetual indigence, that often run him into injustice and inconsistencies. Notwithstanding all this, he had great talents for government, was brave in his own person, and naturally humane. He had, before his death, laboured incessantly to procure for his grandson *Charles*, king of *Spain*, the succession to the *German* empire; and vast sums had, for that purpose, been remitted out of *Spain* by *Charles* to his grandfather. Upon the death of *Maximilian*, the contest became more declared and serious, and nothing was wanting to decide it, but the pope declaring himself for one of the candidates. *Leo* was averse to both, and dreaded the neighbourhood of both in *Italy*, where they were able, by their vast power, to make good all the imperial claims upon *Rome*, and the estates of the church. He was, however, obliged to temporize;

Leo described.

A crusade.

Marriage of Lorenzo.

Friendship between Leo and Francis.

1519. Death of the emperor Maximilian.

Conduct of the pope in the contest for the empire.

porize; but he could not long maintain his neutrality. By an excessive refinement in politics, he declared for *Francis*, whom he knew to be the weakest candidate; in hopes of finding an opportunity, before the election came on, to make him sensible of its being impossible he should succeed, and of persuading him to throw his interest into the scale of a third candidate, who might be less formidable in *Italy*. In short, *Leo* sent *Francis Orsino* as his legate into *Germany*, to do *Francis* all the service he could; but with secret orders to sound the dispositions, and examine the interests of the electors. *Leo* followed out this scheme of conduct with infinite address; but being afraid of an attack from *Charles*, who was equipping a fleet at *Naples*, *Francis* ordered his gallies, with four thousand land-troops on board, to be in readiness to defend the sea-coasts belonging to the church, and to the *Florentines*.

Death of Lorenzo.

WHILE the election of an emperor was depending, *Lorenzo de Medici* died. He left by his wife, who died a few days before in child-birth, an only daughter, *Catherine*, who was afterwards so infamous for her cruelty and dissimulation, married to *Henry II.* of *France*, and mother to three succeeding kings of that country. Upon the death of *Lorenzo* some of *Leo's* counsellors were generous enough to suggest to his holiness, that he would give a noble proof of patriotism, now that all the male lawful descendants of the great *Cosmo* were dead, but himself, if he would restore the *Florentines* to their liberties. His holiness rejected this advice, swayed partly by partiality to his own family, though an illegitimate line, and partly by his hatred to a republic, from which he had been banished.

Conduct of the pope.

He therefore committed the government of *Florence* to the cardinal *De Medici*; but restored the duchy of *Urbino*, and the cities of *Pesaro* and *Senigaglia*, which had been granted to *Lorenzo*, to the holy see, though *Lorenzo's* daughter was in the investiture. He likewise demolished the walls of the city of *Urbino*, because of the attachment the inhabitants professed for their duke *Francisco*, and rendered *Gobbio* the capital of the duchy. As he owed immense sums to the *Florentines*, in order to preserve a shew of equity, he assigned them for payment the fortress of *San Leo*, and the district of *Montefeltro*, with the *Piviero de Sessina*, which had before belonged to the *Cesentine*. The *Florentines*, who hated the apostolic chamber, were far from being pleased with this manner of repaying their money, which threw upon them the trouble and expence of garrisoning and maintaining places that were entirely in the interest of duke *Francisco*.

Charles chosen emperor of Germany.

THE competition between *Charles* and *Francis* for the empire still continued; but the two rivals proceeded in very different manners. *Francis*, sensible that the natural interest of *Charles* in *Germany* was superior to his, endeavoured to supply that disadvantage, by sending immense sums from *France* to bribe the electors and their friends; so that he carried on an open traffic of corruption, which gave vast disguise to all the princes who had any sentiments of honour, virtue, or regard to the independency of their country. On the other hand, the *Germans*, in general, declared against placing any foreigner on the imperial throne; and even the *Swiss* supplicated the pope to favour the election of *Charles*. The contest turned out entirely in favour of the latter, who, under pretence of maintaining the liberties of the *Germanic* body, instead of squandering his money amongst the electors, employed it in raising an army, which advanced to the neighbourhood of *Frankfort*, the place of the election. Notwithstanding all this, *Leo* certainly would have carried his point, and both candidates must have been disappointed, had not the reformation every day gained ground in *Germany*, under *Luther*, who was patronized and protected by *Frederic the Wise*, elector of *Saxony*. It was to this prince that the electoral college, foreseeing the calamities to which *Germany* must be exposed, offered the imperial crown, which he had many reasons for refusing; and he gave his vote for *Charles*, who was accordingly declared emperor. This preference shewn to *Charles*, exasperated *Francis*, who now pretended that he had received many grievances from the empire, and the house of *Austria*, and demanded redress of them. The pope thought this an excellent opportunity for attempting to make himself master of *Ferrara*, which had been long a favourite object with him. He committed the execution of the design to the warlike bishop of *Venetimiglia*, whom, without appearing to have any concern in the affair, he put at the head of two thousand troops; and had he been able to have passed the *Po*, he probably would have surprized the city. Though the pope, with the most solemn asseverations, disclaimed all knowledge of this attempt, yet he was not believed by the duke of *Ferrara*, or any of the *Italian* princes.

1520.
The pope endeavours to become master of Ferrara.
His failings.

In the same year 1520, his holiness, by his prothonotary, tampered with one *Rodolfo*, a captain in the duke's guards, to give admittance to his troops, which were to be commanded by *Guido Rangone*, into one of the gates of *Ferrara*, that lay at the end of a wooden bridge over the *Po*. *Rangone* privately discovered this design, with all its circumstances, to the duke, who soon defeated it, and punished *Rodolfo* for his treachery, but durst push the discovery no farther.

THOUGH

^a THOUGH there was scarcely a crime or vice, either personal or political, that *Leo* had not been guilty of, and tho' all *Europe* was sensible of the same; yet it is amazing how powerfully his pontifical dignity, joined to a certain complacency of manners, operated towards his preserving the respect and esteem of the christian princes. But *Leo*, notwithstanding all his policy, was the dupe of his own good nature, and by his boundless expences he had run himself into the most shameful necessities, which he was obliged to supply by the most infamous means. He sent all over *Europe*, armies of dominicans, and other monks and friars, attended by collectors, who kept open shop for the sale of indulgences. But tho' prodigious sums were levied by this scandalous traffic, the least share of the profit came to the pope, the rest being consumed amongst the collectors, or lavished upon his sister *Madalena* and her favourites. Every one knows in what manner those practices brought on the reformation, and how, in a few years, almost one-half of *Europe* was lost to the see of *Rome*, while the other half was staggered in its obedience. It is certain the pope gave himself very little trouble about affairs of religion, farther than as they served to replenish his coffers. All his cares tended to preserve the balance of power in *Italy*, that he might maintain himself in the possession of *Florence*, and the other *Tuscan* states, and the patrimony of the holy see, with the vast and unjust acquisitions that had been made to it by himself and his predecessor *Julius*. *Italy* had now enjoyed peace for three years, and the balance of power there, between the emperor and the *French* king, was in the hand of the pope; so that being courted by all parties, his dominions; ^c *Florence* especially, enjoyed happiness and wealth in the highest degree, while he indulged himself in every gratification, both of sensual and intellectual pleasure; to both which he was exquisitely formed by nature. He became at last satiated with those enjoyments, and once more turned his attention towards war. He could not bear the thoughts of having lost *Parma* and *Piacenza* to the church, and of his having been so often disappointed in his attempts upon *Ferrara*. He was likewise afraid, that the emperor and the *French* king might accommodate matters between themselves, so as to depress his power and that of the church in *Italy*: he therefore resolved to make a league with one of those princes, and render him subservient in driving the other out of *Italy*; in which case he thought it would be easy to drive the conqueror out likewise. Before he determined ^d which party to chuse, he dispatched into *Switzerland*, *Antonio Pucci* bishop of *Pistoia*, to hire six thousand *Swiss*, which the cantons readily consented to; and a free passage having been granted them through the state of *Milan*, they arrived in the *Romagna*, and the marquisate of *Ancona*, where they were quartered.

1521:
He is in great
prosperity.

THE public were amazed at the hiring and march of those troops in a time of profound tranquillity; and the pope at first pretended he had called them in to guard his own person. The truth was, that he had set on foot a secret treaty with the *French* king; by which the kingdom of *Naples* was to be attacked by their joint forces. *Gaeta*, and all the country between the *Garigliano* and the borders of the ecclesiastical state when conquered, were to belong to the church; as the rest of the kingdom was to go to the *French* king's ^e second son, but under the tuition of an apostolical legate, residing at *Naples*, till the young prince should be of age. The king, on the other hand, engaged to assist the pontiff against the subjects and feudatories of the apostolical see, in which *Ferrara* was thought to be included. Separately from this convention, it was agreed between his holiness and the *French* king, that the latter should take the advantage of a rebellion which had just broke out in *Spain*, to seize upon the kingdom of *Navarre*, which he did. After that, the *French* invaded *Spain* itself; but this invasion turned to the disadvantage of *Francis*, because it reunited the *Spaniards* amongst themselves. The *Swiss*, however, now preferred the friendship of *Francis*, to that of *Charles*.

Makes preparations for
war.

^f WHEN the late concluded treaty between the pope and *Francis* was examined in the council of *France*, the best heads there disapproved of it, as being too advantageous to *France*, and, therefore, containing some mystery to her prejudice; because the pope never could be supposed to see the duchy of *Milan*, and the kingdom of *Naples*, under the same head. Those, and many other reasons, most of which turned upon the pope's known dissimulation and double dealing, prevailed on *Francis* not to ratify the treaty. This irritated the pontiff, and the more, as *Lautrec* the *French* governor of the *Milanese* refused to admit any of his bulls or monitories into that duchy. The pope, therefore, for self-defence, offered his friendship and alliance to *Charles*, who readily accepted of both, as the friendship of his holiness was then of the utmost consequence to his affairs. A league was concluded between them for their mutual defence; and in it was comprehended the house ^g of *Medici*, and the state of *Florence*^b. In the same league there was an offensive article, by which the *Milanese* was to be attacked, and *Parma* and *Piacenza* restored to the

Disappointed
by Francis.

His league
with the em-
peror.

^b GUICCIARDINI, book xiv.

church; but, that the *Milanese* should return to *Francisco Sforza*; to whom it was to be guaranteed by both contracting parties. *Charles* was likewise to assist his holiness in the conquest of *Ferrara*; to pay an additional tribute for the kingdom of *Naples*, and to give the cardinal *De Medici* a pension of ten thousand ducats. *Alexander de Medici*, a natural son of the deceased *Lorenzo*, was likewise to receive an estate of ten thousand ducats a year in the kingdom of *Naples*. As to the *Milanese*, it was to be deemed a fief of the empire.

The *Milanese*
invaded.

BEFORE the main purposes of this league was to be carried into execution, the contracting parties determined to make an attempt on *Milan* and *Genoa*, both of them now belonging to *France*, by the exiles of those two states. For this purpose, the historian *Guicciardini*, who was governor of *Modena* and *Reggio* for the pope, received ten thousand crowns from his holiness, which he paid to *Morone*, one of the *Milanese* exiles. Both those attempts, however, failed through causes that are foreign to this history; as did several other attempts of the same nature, which had been formed under-hand by his holiness. He was now obliged to throw off the mask; and he appointed *Fredric*, marquis of *Mantua*, general of the ecclesiastical and *Florentine* armies, who were to march directly into *Lombardy*, and to attack the *Milanese*. The army under the marquis, was to be joined by all the men at arms which *Charles* had in *Naples*; by six thousand *Italian* foot, two thousand *Spanish* foot, and two thousand others, under the marquis of *Pescara*; four thousand *German* foot, and two thousand *Grisons*, were likewise to be taken into the pay of the confederates. As to the *Swiss* that were in the pope's pay, four thousand out of the six had returned into their own country, on account of their harvest, after costing his holiness one hundred and fifty thousand crowns to no purpose. The other two thousand were continued in the pay of the confederacy, or, as it was called, the holy league; and his holiness applied to the cantons for leave to raise six thousand more. Upon the whole, therefore, the preparations for the invasion of the *Milanese* were very formidable, and it was resolved to attack that duchy on the side towards *Como*, where the *French* government was very unpopular.

Aburd distribution of command.

Lautrec was, at this time, at the *French* court, and was with difficulty prevailed on, through the force of great promises, to return to *Milan*. The *Venetians* offered to join the *French* with six hundred men at arms, and six thousand foot; and the *Swiss* cantons, notwithstanding all their engagements with the pope, consented that the *French* king should take ten thousand of their subjects into his pay. All this while, *Francis* omitted nothing that could mollify the pope, and break his confederacy with *Charles*. *Lautrec* being thus enabled to provide for the defence of the *Milanese*, the campaign opened greatly to the disadvantage of the holy league. It must be confessed, there is something very unaccountable in the nature of the command which it was under, and can be only ascribed to the jealousy the pope entertained of his generals. *Guicciardini*^h informs us, that the marquis of *Mantua* was appointed captain-general of all the forces of the church; but that *Prospero Colonna*, though without any title, had the command of the whole army. Thus there was, it seems, a real and a nominal command. *Guicciardini*, however, informs us, that he himself controuled both those generals, by virtue of his commission of commissary-general of the whole army, which gave him extraordinary powers. From all this we may conclude, that the marquis had obtained his high rank, on account of the convenient situation of his dominions, and the force which he brought to the field; but that the pope trusted to the abilities of *Colonna* for the operations of the campaign, and to *Guicciardini*, who was himself a *Florentine*, for being a check upon both.

Progress of
the army of
the league.

His holiness shewed himself no great general by such a partition of command; especially, considering the complicated interests of the league, and the nature of the *Spaniards*, *Swiss*, and *Germans*, who were parties in it. The want of a due subordination among the chief officers soon appeared by its effects. *Prospero Colonna*, having garrisoned *Modena*, *Bologna*, *Ravenna*, and *Imola*, encamped upon the *Lenza*, within five miles of *Parma*, when he heard that four thousand *Swiss* foot was arrived at *Milan*. *Parma*, itself, had a strong garrison, under *L'Escut*, brother to *Lautrec*; and both the *Venetians* and the duke of *Ferrara* were in motion, in favour of the *French*. At last *Colonna*, who was a sound tho' a slow general, was joined by the marquis of *Mantua*, and by four hundred *Spanish* lances, under *Antonio de Leva*, who became afterwards so famous in war. This enabled *Colonna* to advance to *San Lazzaro*, within a mile of *Parma*; where he waited for a farther reinforcement from *Naples*, of three hundred lances, and two thousand *Spanish* foot, under the marquis of *Pescara*, and for the *German* infantry, who were advanced as far as *Epsburg*. *Colonna's* great dependence was upon those horse to make head against the *Swiss* in the *French* army. The *Venetians*, however, made dispositions for opposing their progress; and the *Germans* began to shew themselves uneasy for their pay, which it was dangerous for

^h GUICCIARDINI, book xiv.

^a the pope, out of whose purse it was to come, to send through the *Venetian* territories to *Trent*, where the *Germans* insisted upon receiving it. At last the marquis of *Mantua*, who, upon the whole, behaved with great honour and reputation, and the marquis of *Pescara*, made some movements in the *Mantuan*, to favour the approach of the *Germans*; but the *Veneatians*, whom *Colonna* knew not to be in earnest, retired to *Verona*, and an entire junction of all the troops, belonging to the army of the holy league, was effected.

A council of war being held, the siege of *Parma* was proposed, but rejected; and it was unanimously agreed to march against *Piacenza*, which was but weak, and weakly garri- *The siege of Parma pro-*
soned, and lay convenient for favouring an attack upon *Milan*. While dispositions were posed and re-
making for that purpose, which promised to produce decisive effects in favour of the jeeted;

^b league, a few *French* horse having passed the *Po*, a report was spread of the approach of the whole *French* army: *Giovanni de Medici* was sent out to reconnoitre, and soon discovered the mistake, and that the *French* army had repassed the river. The false alarm, however, had occasioned the design against *Piacenza* to be laid aside; nor, through the disagreement of the generals of different nations, was it ever resumed. Their animosities even proceeded so far, as to create a kind of a total inaction in the army; till the *Florentine* commissary ^d, as he acquaints us himself, in behalf of his master the pope, spirited them up so effectually, that, by a kind of a sudden impulse, they resolved at once upon the siege of *Parma*; a proposal which they had before unanimously rejected. But the execution received some delay, because the heavy artillery was not yet come up, *Colonna* not ^{but resumed,}
^c having thought it necessary against *Piacenza*. This delay was of vast service to *Lautrec*, as it gave time for his auxiliaries to join him. The siege of *Parma* was at last formed, but awkwardly carried on; and, as it appeared afterwards, the attack was made from the wrong post. *Lautrec*, by this time, having received the greatest part of his reinforcements, advanced to raise the siege of *Parma*, which was at last in great danger; that part of the town called *Codipente* being taken by the besiegers. *Lautrec* not being joined, as he expected, by six thousand more *Swiss*, who were on their march, found himself too weak to fight the army of the league; but he encouraged his brother to hold out, as he would remain in the neighbourhood, and be perpetually beating up the quarters of the enemy. *L'Escut*, however, must have been obliged, either to have surrendered the ^d place up by capitulation, or to have marched out with the garrison, and join his brother, had not the soldiers of the league plundered the inhabitants of that part of *Parma* they had taken, tho' they appeared rejoiced at returning to the obedience of the church; and this confirmed the *Parmesans* in the interest of the *French*. Advice in the mean time came, that the duke of *Ferrara* had surprized *Finale* and *San Felice*, and was advancing against *Modena*; which was, it seems, but ill prepared for a defence, through the caution of *Colonna*, who was unwilling to weaken his army.

This intelligence occasioned a meeting of the general officers of the league; where, after discoursing, rather than reasoning among themselves, it was unaccountably resolved to raise the siege of *Parma*, though it was known to be now at the last extremity. All the ^e general officers were of this opinion; but the brave and wise *Antonio de Leva*, though he concurred with them in opinion as to raising the siege, added, that he hoped they would do it only to fight *Lautrec*; and if they beat him, *Parma* must fall of course into their hands. This counsel was rejected upon various pretexts. Their resolution, however, was of such moment, and carried with it such an appearance of disgrace, that before it was put in execution, *Colonna*, and the marquis of *Pescara*, consulted *Guicciardini* the commissary, concerning it. *Guicciardini* reproached them with the inconsistency and pusillanimity of their conduct, and threatened them with the indignation of the pope. The two generals replied, that the siege could not, consistently with the rules of war, be continued; and that dispositions were making for instantly drawing off the artillery; nor durst the commissary longer oppose their joint authority. This shameful conduct, however, was no sooner known in the camp, than the soldiers openly expressed their dislike of it; and *Guicciardini*, with *Morone*, a *Milanese* exile, went to *Colonna's* quarters, where they found him very candidly disposed to reconsider the resolution, and, if he saw reason, to retract it. For this purpose, he summoned afresh the same council of war; but the marquis of *Pescara*, who had begun to draw off the artillery, refused to assist at it, as deeming it dishonourable to alter his opinion: thus the council broke up, and the resolution of abandoning the siege was immediately executed, after remaining twelve days before the place. ^{and shamefully abandoned.}

So pusillanimous a proceeding rendered the officers, to whom it was owing, so despica- ^{Grief of the}
ble in the eyes of the *Germans*, that while the army was returning to their camp at ^{San pope,}
^g *Lazaro*, they mutinied, displaced their officers, and chose others in their room, because their exorbitant demands for pay were not complied with, and withdrew from the army

of the league. The news of so many disastrous and disgraceful events overwhelmed the pope with grief and indignation; and the more, because, when they happened, he every moment expected to hear that he was master of *Parma*. He suspected the *German* and *Spanish* generals of treachery. *Guicciardini*, who was present all the time, seems inclinable to believe, that the whole was owing to the false intelligence they received, which magnified the *French* army far beyond the truth; and to the caution of *Colonna*, who imagining a battle to be inevitable, thought that his soldiers could not be brought to it, if loaded with the spoils of *Parma*. It is certain that the *French*, who under *Lautrec* were in very bad order, and could not bring the *Swiss* to act, were amazed when they heard that the siege of *Parma* was abandoned: but that event not only gave them spirits and courage, but animated the *Swiss* to their duty; and they now joined *Lautrec* in great numbers. The news of this determined the generals of the league to remove from *San Lazaro* towards *Reggio*; and this retreat would have been converted into a downright flight, had not the *Florentine* and imperial commissaries remonstrated upon the disgrace attending it. Some part of the blame was laid upon *Prospero's* too great caution, which restrained him from employing a sufficient number of light horse to scour the country, and get intelligence of the enemy's motions.

who recovers
his spirits.

Lombardy
attacked with
all the force of
the league,

LAUTREC's strength was better known at *Rome* than in the camp of the holy league; and the pope resuming his courage, brought the emperor to consent to march, with their whole force, against *Milan* itself; without regarding *Parma*, or any other object. With this view the pope had taken into his pay, but not without great opposition, a fresh body of twelve thousand *Swiss*. But the cantons hired them out on the express condition, of their being employed only in defence of the church's patrimony, and their not serving against the *French*. The cardinal of *Sion*, however, and the other agents for the holy league, accepted of them, even on that condition; as knowing it would not be difficult to prevail upon them, after descending into *Italy*, to serve against *Milan*. After various consultations, the generals of the league despairing to take *Parma*, too weak to face *Lautrec's* camp, and unable, for want of subsistence, to continue where they were, resolved to pass the *Po*. While dispositions were making for that, count *Guido Rangone*, by the pope's orders, supported by a body of *Tuscan* foot, reduced an important pass, called the mountain of *Modena*, belonging to the duke of *Ferrara*.

At this time, the army of the league was pestered by a set of banditti, who, under the denomination of *Milanese* exiles, plundered wherever they came, and even intercepted the convoys coming to their own army. *Colonna*, however, at last, made dispositions for passing the *Po*: but failed in an attempt, that was to have been executed by *Giovanni de Medici*, for burning the *French* boats on that river, near *Cremona*. But it was necessary to take care of the towns belonging to the church, and its allies, before the army passed the *Po*. *Vitelli*, therefore, was ordered to garrison them with one hundred and fifty men at arms, as many light horse, and two thousand foot, all of them *Florentines*, or paid by the money of that state; and two thousand *Swiss*, whom it was not thought safe to employ against the *French*, were detached upon the same service, under the bishop of *Pistoia*. Thus *Modena*, *Reggio*, and other towns in the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, were secured against the insults of the duke of *Ferrara*; who boasted of having been the deliverer of *Parma*, and whom the pope, as far as ecclesiastical censures could do it, had now deprived of his duchy of *Ferrara*.

1521.
which passes
the Po.

It was the first of *October*, 1521, before the army of the league, which was prodigiously encumbered with baggage, and useless attendants, passed the *Po*. This passage was effected in so slovenly and dilatory a manner, that had *Lautrec* attacked one party, while the other was passing, he might have defeated the whole. They encamped at last at *Casal Maggiore*, where a new scene of dissimulation was opened.

Cardinal de
Medici ar-
rives in the
camp.

THE *French* king, who knew the pope was the soul of the league against him, had, from the commencement of hostilities in *Lombardy*, tempted him with the most specious offers to dissolve the confederacy. *Leo*, at first, resisted him with great firmness; but perceiving that the whole weight of the war rested upon himself; that *Charles* was unable, or unwilling, to advance money; that no dependence was to be had upon the *German* and *Spanish* officers; and that the service of the *Swiss* was clogged with conditions, he began at last to harbour thoughts of an accommodation. Upon the raising the siege of *Parma*, he wrote a letter, with own hand, to cardinal *de Medici*, his substitute at *Florence*, to repair immediately to the camp of the league, with the authority of apostolical legate, to prevent the bad consequences of the dispute between *Colonna* and the marquis of *Pescara*. The cardinal did not arrive at the army till it was encamped at *Casal Maggiore*; nor had the pope yet determined to yield to the importunities of the *French* king, but to wait for events. The cardinal was the second person in the ecclesiastical state; and though he resided at *Florence*, nothing was done at *Rome* without his advice and approbation, so that even his presence was thought sufficient to overawe all differences. The army of the

a the league moved in four divisions through the *Cremoneſe* towards the *Oglio*. In this march a quarrel happened between the *Spaniſh* and *Florentine* foot, in which ſome were killed on both ſides; but it was ſoon terminated by the interpoſition of the general officers: and *Giovanni de Medici* routed a party of *Venetian* and *French* horſe, who had paſſed the *Po*, near *Cremona*. While the army of the league was encamped on the banks of the *Oglio*, a reſolution was taken to march to *Bordellano*. The badneſs of the roads obliged them to halt half way, at a place called *Rebecca*, where they received undoubted intelligence, that *Lautrec*, at the head of the *French* and *Venetian* armies, was within five miles, with a deſign to fight them if they ſhould proceed. This intelligence was the more alarming, as the pope and the cardinal had received aſſurances from the *Venetians*, that they would be inactive. There was no compariſon in the force of the two armies; that of *Lautrec* conſiſting of a ſtrong body of excellent cavalry, ſeven thouſand *French* and *Italian* foot, and ten thouſand *Swiſs*. The army of the league, on the other hand, was, from various cauſes, ſo much reduced, that it did not contain above ſeven thouſand *Germans* and *Spaniards*, and about ſix thouſand *Florentines* and other *Italians*, many of whom were new levies. After conſultation, it was reſolved to intrench themſelves at *Rebecca*, and wait for a great reinforcement of *Swiſs*, under the cardinal of *Sion*, who was upon his march, and promiſed to join the troops of the league in three or four days at fartheſt. This ſituation, however, was very diſagreeable. Their camp was expoſed to the artillery of *Porto Vico*, a *Venetian* town on the oppoſite banks of the river, and the difficulties of getting proviſions every day increaſed. But the cardinal had ſtill a notion, that the *Venetians* were not in earneſt, and gave himſelf little trouble with regard to them. The other inconveniency was more difficult to be remedied; becauſe the diſorders of the ſoldiers, the *Milanefe* exiles particularly, had been ſo great, that the peaſants could not be prevailed upon to bring proviſions into the camp. *Guicciardini*'s opinion was, that the army ſhould remove to the borders of the *Mantuan*, where they were ſure of proviſions. But this looked ſo like a retreat, and a repetition of their diſgrace at *Parma*, that the advice was rejected. The army continued at *Rebecca*, but under ſuch diſtreſs for want of bread, though there was plenty of fleſh and wine, that many of the *Florentines*, and other *Italian* foot, deferted.

Danger of the army of the league,

d AFTER the army had lain for three days in this uncomfortable ſituation, *Lautrec*, who had taken poſt at *Bordellano*, ſent part of his artillery acroſs the *Oglio* to *Porto Vico*, from whence it played upon the camp of the league. This, happening contrary to the expectation of the cardinal and the general officers, threw the army into ſuch diſorder, that before break of day they broke up, without ſound of drum or trumpet; and, as *Guicciardini* had adviſed them, they marched to *Gabbioneta*, a town within five miles of the borders of the *Mantuan*, where they took up a very ſtrong camp. It is generally acknowledged, that *Lautrec* was guilty, on this occaſion, of an unpardonable omiſſion, in rejecting the advice of his *Swiſs* officers, which was, that at the ſame time he ſent his artillery to *Porto Vico*, he ſhould have marched againſt the enemy; who being then between two fires, muſt either have ſurrendered, or have been deſtroyed. The obſtinacy of *Lautrec*, who was naturally ſelf-ſufficient, in rejecting this advice, ruined his maſter's affairs. He took up the camp of his enemies at *Rebecca*, but proceeded no farther. The generals of the league, however, perceiving they could not continue at *Gabbioneta*, becauſe of its damp unwholeſome ſituation, and being apprehenſive of the ſtrength of the *French*, carried their troops over the *Oglio*, and encamped at *Oſtiano*, where it was reſolved to remain till they were joined by the *Swiſs*, whoſe march was unaccountably retarded.

which eſcapes

WHILE the two armies continued in this inactivity, the biſhops of *Piſtoia* and *Vitelli*, at the head of the *Swiſs* and *Florentines* they commanded, forced the duke of *Ferrara*'s entrenchments, which were very ſtrong, at *Finale*, and routed his army. This obliged the duke to retire to *Ferrara*, and remove the bridge of boats he had laid over the river, to prevent his being purſued. The *Swiſs*, in the pope's pay, by this time, had entered the territory of *Beramo*; but notwithſtanding the moſt earneſt inſtances of the cardinal of *Sion* to the contrary, they diſcovered an invincible reluctance to fight againſt the *French* king. They offered, however, to march againſt *Parma* and *Piacenza*; becauſe, as they ſaid, they of right belonged to the church. Their ſcruples, however, were at laſt ſurmounted, and proceeding on their march, they defeated ſeveral parties of the *French* and *Venetians*, and encamped near the army of the league. But their ſcruples again returned, and four thouſand of the troops raiſed in the canton of *Zurich*, reſuſed to join the army of the league. All the arts and promiſes of the cardinals *de Medici* and *Sion*, and the archbiſhop of *Capua*, could not conquer their obſtinacy, and they ſeparated from their countrymen. Notwithſtanding this, the two cardinals reſolved to proceed with the ſix thouſand remaining, and they put themſelves in the centre of the army; which, ſays *Guicciardini*, was compoſed of blaſphemous robbers and murderers, preceded by ſilver croſſes, and other pompous

Conduct of the Swiſs.

badges of ecclesiastical authority; "So great, says the same author, who was on the spot, in our times is the abuse of the reverence due to religion!"

who separate
from the
French.

THE two cardinals made necessity their excuse for their marching through the *Venetian* territories for three days; which was the same excuse that senate had urged for their general *Gritti* having suffered the *French* to send their artillery to *Porto Vico*. Being arrived at *Orci Vecchi*, orders arrived from the *Swiss* cantons, commanding all their subjects to separate from both armies. The politic cardinals found means to keep back those orders from their *Swiss*; but those in the *French* pay receiving theirs, they instantly separated from *Lautrec*, who had not been in a condition to pay them for some months; because his remittances had been intercepted by the *French* king's mother, and her creatures, and converted to their own use.

The army of
the league
passes the
Adda,

THE army of the league having left *Orci Vecchi*, arrived at *Rivolta*; while *Lautrec*, after the departure of the *Swiss*, was obliged to act on the defensive, and made dispositions for disputing the passage of the *Adda* at *Cassano*, which lies opposite to *Rivolta*. Thus the fortune of war all of a sudden changed; and the towns of *Gbiradadda* being abandoned by the *French*, supplied the army of the league with plenty of provisions. The differences between *Colonna* and the marquis of *Pescara* still continued; and the former, without communicating his designs to the latter, sent over some companies of *Florentine* foot, in two barks, to surprise the town of *Vauri*, which lies on the *Adda*, seven miles from *Cassano*. This place contained a rude fortification, which it was easy to render defensible; and *Peppoli*, an officer in the *French* pay, lay there with a few foot. *Prospero's* design succeeded, and the first embarkation landed. *Peppoli* perceiving the place surprised, dispatched a messenger to *Lautrec* for a reinforcement of cavalry; and, in the mean time, made all the resistance he could against the *Italians* who had landed. According to *Paulus Jovius*, when the messenger arrived at *Cassano*, *Lautrec* was asleep; and his servants not daring to disturb him, he did not receive the message till it was too late, and then he ordered his brother *L'Escut* to set out with a detachment of horse to support *Peppoli*. By this time the cardinal *de Medici* and *Colonna*, who had artfully quartered his foot in the village opposite the *Vauri*, and who, according to order, moved with great expedition towards the river, had left *Rivolta*, and were arrived at the place of embarkation, where they used their utmost endeavours to forward the passage; while *Giovanni de Medici*, on a *Turkish* horse, to the amazement and terror of all who saw him, plunging into the river, swam to the opposite shore.

and reduces
Milan and
other places.

By this time *L'Escut* was arrived at *Vauri*, with four hundred men at arms, and a body of foot, and vigorously attacked the place where the *Italians*, who had passed the river, had entrenched themselves; but his artillery not coming up in time, he was obliged to retire to *Cassano*; and *Lautrec*, despairing now to defend the river, retired from thence with his whole army towards *Milan*. This passage of the *Adda*, in the face of so celebrated a general as *Lautrec*, retrieved the reputation of *Colonna*, and in those days was looked upon as a master-piece in the art of war. He, perhaps, shewed a greater proof of his military genius, when, instead of marching directly to *Milan*, he encamped at *Marignano*, which lies about half-way between *Milan* and *Pavia*; from which last place *Lautrec* had drawn the garrison, to strengthen his own army. From *Marignano*, where he waited three days in expectation of his artillery, his *Swiss* advanced to *Chiravalle*; while *Lautrec* made the necessary dispositions for defending the castle, city, and suburbs of *Milan*. By this situation, *Colonna*, and the generals of the league had it in their power, if repulsed at *Milan*, where all the inhabitants were disposed to receive them, to fall back to *Pavia*, where part of their light troops had already taken post. Every thing succeeded to their wish. The *Spanish* foot led the van of their army, and met with no opposition from the *Venetians* and the *Swiss* in their pay, who were posted in the suburbs of *Milan*, which the *Spanish* foot immediately took possession of. The marquis of *Pescara* then led his infantry to the *Roman* gate of *Milan*, which, without resistance, was opened to him; and the cardinal *de Medici*, *Colonna*, and the marquis of *Mantua*, entered it, wondering at the easiness of so important a conquest.

THUS the city of *Milan* was lost by the *French*, through the inexcusable negligence of *Lautrec*, who was deficient in intelligence, and trusted that the badness of the roads, in that advanced season, would have prevented the approaches of the enemy. *Lautrec*, however, was still more inexcusable, in not assembling his troops on the plain before the castle of *Milan*, which still held out with a numerous well provided garrison; and in not falling upon the troops of the league, who were in great disorder, after taking possession of the city: but the darkness of the night, in which all this happened, was pleaded as his excuse. He drew off his troops towards *Como*, where he left a garrison; and from thence he marched into the territory of *Bergamo*.

- a *LODI*, *Pavia*, and *Piacenza*, followed the example of the city of *Milan*, by admitting the troops of the league; and *Cremona* would have done the same, had not *Lautrec* thrown himself into it, and defeated the inhabitants, who had declared for the league. His success, which was unexpected by himself, was owing to the bishop of *Pistoia*'s disobeying the orders of cardinal *de Medici*, in not sending a body of *Swiss* to support the insurrection of the *Cremonese* against the *French*. *Lautrec* had despaired of being able to recover *Cremona*, and had sent orders to *Federigo da Bozzoli*, who commanded in *Parma*, to abandon that city, which he did; but upon *Lautrec*'s success at *Cremona*, a counter order was sent him, which came too late; for *Vitelli* was then in possession of *Parma*. The siege of *Como* was next undertaken by the marquis of *Pescara*. He took the place upon capitulation, which was basely violated; and, on that account, the *French* commandant challenged him to a single duel.

In the mean while, pope *Leo*, being overwhelmed by the constant series of good news, which overcame his spirits, was, in the midst of success and pleasure, seized with a slow fever, on the 1st of *December*, at *Magliano*, one of his voluptuous retirements near *Rome*, to which city he was removed. His physicians, at first, slighted his disorder; but in a very few days it carried him to his grave. His cup-bearer, *Barnabo Malespina*, was suspected of having poisoned him, and was therefore thrown into prison; from which he was delivered by the cardinal *de Medici* upon his arrival at *Rome*, and no farther enquiry was made into the matter. We shall say nothing farther in this place of *Leo*'s character, which has been already described, but that he deceived all who knew him. While a cardinal, the public had a high opinion of his virtue, and a small one of his abilities; when a pope, it was perceived that he had great abilities, and no virtue. The time he held the pontificate, is termed the golden days of literature and the arts. When he died, he was within a few days of forty eight years of age.

- LEO*'s death created a total alteration in the affairs of *Italy*. It weakened the power of *Charles* in *Lombardy*, and strengthened the connexions between the *Venetians* and *France*, which the former were ready to have abandoned. The affairs of *Charles* on this side the *Alps* were embarrassed, so that he could not improve the advantages which the army of the league had gained in *Italy*, where the *French* were still in possession of *Cremona*, *Genoa*, *Alessandria*, the castle of *Milan*, with the fortresses of *Novara*, *Trezzo*, *Pizzigioni*, *Domussola*, and *Arona*, and all the *Lago Maggiore*. The fort of *Pontremoli* was likewise recovered by the *Genoise* of his faction; but the greatest strength of the *French* now lay in the disunion of their enemies. The cardinals of *Sion* and *Medici* abandoned all other considerations to attend the papal election, which the former expected to fall upon himself. *Charles* dismissed all the *Swiss* in his pay excepting fifteen hundred; and he likewise disbanded his *German* foot. The *Florentine* troops marched back to their own country, while those of the church were partly quartered in *Modena*, and partly in the *Milanese*; of which *Lautrec* complained to the college of cardinals: but they were so divided amongst themselves, that they referred him for redress to the future pope. In the mean while the duke of *Ferrara* drew his troops into the field, and, with little or no loss, recovered *Bendino*, *Finale*, the mountain of *Modena*, the *Carfagnano*, *Lugo*, *Bagnacavello*, and the other towns in the *Romagna*, and threatened to lay siege to *Cento*. *Parma* was at this time in a dangerous situation. Its breaches had not been repaired since the late siege; the inhabitants were unarmed and dispirited, and its garrison mutinous. Encouraged by these appearances, *Lautrec*, by the advice of *Federigo da Bozzolo*, formed a design to surprise it with six hundred lances, and two thousand five hundred foot, drawn from *Cremona*, which was then his head quarters. Cardinal *de Medici* had foreseen that such an attempt would be made; and commissioned the historian *Guicciardini* to defend *Parma*. *Guicciardini* had, for some time, been governor of *Modena* and *Reggio*. An attempt had been made to prevail with the *Swiss* of the canton of *Zurich*, who remained still at *Piacenza*, to detach one thousand men for the defence of *Parma*; but they refused it for fear of weakening themselves. *Guicciardini*, therefore, was obliged to send for arms from *Reggio*, which he put into the hands of the citizens; whom, with great difficulty, he persuaded to abandon that part of the town called *Codiponte*, as being untenable; and *Bozzolo* immediately took possession of it, with three thousand foot, and some light horse, being followed by about the same number of *French* and *Venetian* foot. It happened that the waters of the *Po*, at this time, had overflowed the country, so as to render the roads impassable for *Lautrec*'s heavy artillery to come up. This was a great disappointment to *Bozzolo*, who conducted the enterprize; which chiefly depended on expedition for its success. His emissaries within the city made the people believe, that the heavy artillery was at hand; and it required all *Guicciardini*'s art and address to keep them from surrendering. To increase his difficulties, the garrison mutinied for want of pay; but the affection of the city towards the church was so great, that the inhabitants raised the money, and the mutiny was appeased.

Guicciardini.

and saves it
from the
French.

Guicciardini, if we are to believe his own report, acted on this occasion, the part both of a consummate politician and an able general. To remove all suspicion of his having selfish views, he represented to the citizens, that he could have no interest in exposing himself to danger, but their safety and the good of the church; and that he was not certain, whether the succeeding pope might not be an enemy both to him and his countrymen the *Florentines*. Notwithstanding all his arts, and the hopes he gave them of immediate relief, the citizens relapsing into their fears, came to a resolution of capitulating, and were on the point of sending out messengers to treat of it, when they saw the enemy approach the walls to enter the city by storm. *Guicciardini*, with great presence of mind, told the citizens they had nothing to do but to fight, for it was now too late to capitulate; for while they were treating, the *French* would storm and plunder their city, and carry them all into captivity. This speech had the desired effect. All thoughts of a capitulation was laid aside. The garrison ran to the walls, and the citizens observing with what ease the assailants were repulsed, bestirred themselves, so that the *French* were obliged to give over their enterprize with considerable loss, and not without some disgrace, as *Guicciardini*, who had conducted the defence, was not a man of the sword, but of the law.

THE duke of *Urbino* taking advantage of the vacancy of the pontificate, accompanied by *Malatesta* and *Oratio Baglioni*, had drawn together a considerable body of disbanded foldiers, who required no other pay than plunder, entered his dukedom; all which he recovered without fighting a stroke, excepting those places which, as we have already mentioned, had been given up by the late pope to the *Florentines*, and was by them garrisoned. Their affections however towards the *Medici* family, were much cooled by the death of *Leo*. Many amongst them could not bear that the cardinal, tho' illegitimate, should presume to exercise the same authority over them as the late pope had done; and his government over them had given them no idea of his virtue. But it was dangerous to oppose his authority, and the rather because he affected to be the sole defender of the church's patrimony during the vacancy of the holy see. *Perugia* being threatened by the duke of *Urbino*, he stretched all his credit with the *Florentines*, and at last prevailed upon them to undertake its defence. The truth is, the sacred college was so divided amongst themselves, and the profusion of the late pope had so exhausted the revenues of the holy see, that cardinal *de Medici* was the only person of great authority in *Italy*, who seemed, at this time, to have its interest at heart.

Perugia lost
by the *Floren-*
tines.

A. D. 1522.

THE duke of *Urbino* and his confederates having encamped at a short distance from *Perugia*, made excursions all over that neighbourhood. The garrison consisted of two thousand foot, and one hundred light horse, under *Guido Vaina* in the pay of the *Florentines*, five hundred foot in the pay of *Gentile*, who was lord of the place under the pope, and one hundred and twenty men of arms, and one hundred light horse commanded by *Vitello*. On the fourth day of the new year 1522, the duke of *Urbino*, whose army was now increased to five thousand foot, with a good body of horse, besides several pieces of field artillery lent him by the duke of *Ferrara*, got possession of *San Piero*, one of the suburbs of *Perugia*. He then attempted to take the place by storm; but though his assaults continued in different quarters almost a whole day, he was repulsed with considerable loss. The *Florentines* on this flattered themselves that they should easily be able to defend the place against all the power of the assailants; when *Vitello*, from private motives of his own, gave them notice that he was determined to leave it with all his troops, and did so, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of the *Florentine* general to detain him. As *Vitello*, properly speaking, was general of the ecclesiastical troops, the *Florentine* general had no pretext to oppose the return of the two brothers *Baglioni*, whose father had been put to death by the late pope. *Gentile* and the *Florentines* followed the example of *Vitello*, and while they withdrew through one gate, the *Baglioni* went out at the other.

Adrian chosen
pope.

THE cardinals in the conclave were all this time disputing about the choice of a new pope. At first the cardinal *de Medici* had great reason to hope the election would go in his favour, though he was not then fifty years of age; but the revolt of *Perugia*, and the progress of the duke of *Urbino*, damped his hopes, and his great friend cardinal *Petrucchi*, who was afraid that *Sienna* would follow the fate of *Perugia*, persuaded him by all means to accelerate the election. This consideration, joined to that of the danger of *Florence* in such an event, determined the cardinal *de Medici*; and he agreed to the election of *Adrian*, cardinal of *Tortosa*, who was a *Fleming* by birth, and was then lieutenant-governor of *Spain*, under *Charles*, whose tutor he had been. The new pope received the news of his election in *Spain*, and taking the name of *Adrian* the sixth, he repaired directly to *Italy*.

War in the
Siennese.

THE apprehensions of danger to the *Siennese* was not ill founded; for the duke of *Urbino* having likewise reduced *Todi*, marched directly against *Sienna*. The *Siennese* had no dependence but upon the *Florentines* for their defence, and the cardinal *de Medici* ordered

a the regency he had left in *Florence* to send *Vaina* with one hundred light horse and some money, to the assistance of the *Siennese*. By the help of this money they were enabled to take into their pay one thousand *Swiss* that were under the bishop of *Phoa*, and four hundred *German* foot. *Giovanni de' Medici* was likewise called out of *Lombardy* with the troops he commanded. A great party amongst the *Siennese* opposed the admission of the *Florentines* into that city; and cardinal *Patrucci* being absent, a deputation was sent out to treat with the duke of *Urbino* concerning a surrender. While this treaty was in dependence, the *Florentine* troops entered *Sienna*, and the *Swiss* auxiliaries approached it; so that the duke being in no condition to undertake a regular siege, gave over the enterprise, and returned to his own duchy. Upon his retreat, the college of cardinals solicited b the *Florentines*, and the *Swiss* who had been hired by the *Florentine* money, to attempt the recovery of *Perugia*, which they agreed to, and the cardinal of *Cortona*, who was legate of *Perugia*, marched with them in person. But the maxims of the papal court were now changed; and the cardinals who had the management at *Rome* exclaimed against the cardinal *de Medici* and the *Florentines*, for disturbing the peace of the ecclesiastical state; because some disorders had been committed by the *Florentine* troops during their marches and countermarches. When the *Florentines* arrived before *Sienna*, they found it strongly garri- c soned by the *Baglioni*; and therefore, under pretence of complying with the will of the cardinals, they turned towards *Montefeltro*. Here they had no farther object for their arms. The regency of cardinals at *Rome* had agreed that the duke of *Urbino* should keep possession of his duchy till the new pope arrived in *Italy*, provided he did not molest the *Florentines*, which he was in no condition to do; so that there was a tacit cessation of arms on both sides.

DURING those transactions in *Tuscany*, *Francesco Sforza*, who, in right of blood, was the true duke of *Milan*, was received into that capital, where *Colonna* commanded; and *Lau- Sforza received as duke of Milan.* *tree* formed the siege of *Pavia*, which *Colonna* obliged him to abandon. The *Swiss* in *Lautrec's* army demanded their arrears; but he had no money to pay them; upon which they prepared to set out for their own country: but, to shew that they were willing to do their duty, they desired to be led to the enemy next day, that they might set out on their return the day after. *Lautrec* took them at their word, and led them against d the army of the league under *Colonna*, which was posted at *Bicocca*, within strong ditches and entrenchments. The *Swiss* made a most furious attack; but were repulsed with the loss of three thousand men, and *Colonna* declined molesting them in their retreat. Next day *Lautrec* broke up his camp, and marched to *Cremona*, while the *Swiss* in his army returned to their own country. Upon his retreat, the army of the league sacked *Lodi*, and besieged *Cremona*, the city of which was given up by *L'Escut* the governor (his brother *Lautrec* being returned to *France*) who agreed that the *French* should evacuate all the *Milaneſe*, except the castles of *Milan*, *Cremona*, and *Novara*. After those great acquisitions, the army of the league marched, and took and plundered *Genoa* by the assistance of the *Florentine* artillery; so that the *French* were now in a manner expelled out of *Italy*.

e CARDINAL *de Medici* was all this while extremely uneasy, suspecting that the new pope, who was not yet arrived in *Italy*, would strip him of his greatness in *Florence*. He had privately excited the *Bentivoglio* family to make a fresh attempt upon *Bologna*, which did not succeed; and endeavoured to create such distractions in the ecclesiastical state, as might make it necessary for the new pope to employ and trust him. The *French* king was sensible how much he had been hurt by the *Florentines* being under the direction of the pope during the late war, and he formed a scheme for setting up the cardinal of *Volterra*, and the *Soderini* family, in opposition to that of *Medici*, and committed the execution of it to *Renzo*, whom we have already mentioned. This design coming to the ears of the cardinal *de Medici*, who understanding that *Renzo* was raising men with the money he f had received from the cardinal of *Volterra*, came to an accommodation with the duke of *Urbino*, and brought the *Florentines* to agree that he should command their forces from September following for one year certain, and for another eventually. The *Florentines*, at the same time, took into their pay *Oratio Baglioni*, and would have engaged his brother *Malatesta* likewise, both of them being then in the service of the *Venicians*; but the latter declined the engagement, because he had already taken money from *Renzo*. Being unwilling however to exasperate the *Florentines*, he feigned an indisposition, to excuse himself from serving against them in person, and promised to the cardinal *de Medici* that he would enter into *Florentine* pay as soon as he could do it with honour. But *Renzo* by this time was at the head of five hundred horse and seven thousand foot, and made a sudden irrup- g tion into the *Siennese*, in hopes of marching to the gates of *Florence*. On this emergency the *Florentines* appointed *Guido Rangone* to the command of their army, which they or- Siennese continues. dered to march directly to the *Siennese* against *Renzo*. *Rangone's* instructions were to harass and amuse the enemy as much as possible, and to avail himself of the situation of the

the country and *Renzo's* want of artillery; and above all things to cover the fortified towns belonging to the republic. *Renzo's* first attempt was upon *Chiusi*, where he miscarried for want of artillery; as he did in an attack upon the castle of *Torrta*, which was provided by *Rangone* with a good garrison. He then directed his march to *Sienna*, where *Pitigliano* was the *Florentine* governor; but *Rangone*, who had excellent intelligence, leaving his main army to follow him, threw himself into the town with two hundred light horse; so that *Renzo* durst not venture to assault it. He had lost a great deal of his reputation with the most sanguine of his own party; and being now in want of both money and provisions, he drew off from *Sienna* to *Aquapendente*, a town in the pope's dominions, where he thought himself secure from the pursuit of the *Florentines*. His supplies of money from the cardinal of *Volterra*, and that party, now failing him, he plundered the sea-coast of the *Siennese* territory, and assaulted *Orbitello*; but having left the few artillery he had behind him, in his retreat from *Sienna*, he was repulsed. The *Florentine* army was now advanced to the bridge of *Contina*, which divides the *Siennese* from the ecclesiastical territory, and sent a message to the college of cardinals, informing them, that unless *Renzo* was obliged to lay down his arms, they would enter the dominions of the church. The college upon this interposed, to the great satisfaction of both parties, who gave security that neither should molest the other, and agreed to refer all differences between them to the pope upon his arrival in *Italy*.

Malatesta
seizes Rimini.

THE cardinal *de Medici* continued all this time to labour for the tranquillity of the ecclesiastical dominions; but *Pandolfo Malatesta*, the representative of the antient lords of *Rimini*, seized that city. The cardinal was deputed by the college to go to *Bologna* as legate, and if he could not recover *Rimini* in the way of negotiation, he was promised that the marquis of *Mantua*, as general of the pope's dominions, should support them with an army. This commission however was imposed upon the cardinal by his enemies, for no part of those promises was fulfilled; and the affairs of the ecclesiastical state notwithstanding all his zeal, remained in as great disorder as ever.

Progress of
the imperial-
ists in
Italy.

A NEW convention was then proposed to be entered into by the parties in the holy league for maintaining the tranquillity of *Italy*, which was again threatened by the *French* king, now at peace, and powerful within his own dominions. The imperial army in the *Milanese* had no money, and its generals were unable to procure any subsistence for it in that exhausted country; and therefore, without any ceremony, they quartered them in the ecclesiastical state; but money being still wanting, don *Carlos de Lanajo*, the viceroy of *Naples*, settled the quotas of a contribution that was to be advanced by the states of *Tuscany* for their maintenance; of which the *Florentines* were to pay fifteen thousand ducats, the *Genoese* eight thousand, *Sienna* five thousand, and *Lucca* four thousand. Though those exactions were little better than robberies; yet such was their dread of the imperial power, now greatly increased by the accession of the new pope, who arrived in *Rome* the twenty-ninth of *August*, that none durst refuse to pay it. The imperial interest was now every where prevalent in *Italy*. *Henry VIII.* king of *England* was in his interest; and not only lent him money, but threatened to declare war against *Francis* if he did not agree to a truce with *Charles* for three years, in which the dominions of the church, *Sforza* duke of *Milan*, and the *Florentines*, should be comprehended. *Francis* looking upon this proposal as a renunciation of his right to the duchy of *Milan* rejected it, and made preparations for a fresh descent into *Italy*.

System of the
pope.

THE system adopted by the new pope was to unite all the states of *Italy*, especially the *Florentines*, in one common cause against the *French*; and the emperor had the same views. The *Florentines* complained that *Charles* had not, according to his promise to pope *Leo*, given in writing soon after his election, confirmed to them their privileges and possessions. But *Giovanni Manuel*, ambassador from *Charles* at *Rome*, to make them easy on that head, promised that his master should punctually fulfil his engagements; which he accordingly did the month following.

A. D. 1523.
Rimini recovered by the
pope.

IN the beginning of the year 1523, *Malatesta*, through the interposition of the duke of *Urbino*, restored *Rimini* to the holy see; and his holiness, in consideration of his former services to pope *Julius*, not only absolved him from all ecclesiastical censures, but confirmed him in his possession of the duchy of *Urbino*, but with a saving clause to the claim which the *Florentines* had upon *Montefeltro*; for which they said they had lent pope *Leo* three hundred and fifty thousand ducats, besides sixty thousand they had expended since his death, in defence of the church's patrimony. To leave no power in *Italy* disaffected, his holiness in like manner reinvested the duke of *Ferrara*, not only in all the estates he held before his variance with *Leo*, but in the castles of *San Felice* and *Finale*, and even gave him hopes of restoring to him *Modena* and *Reggio*. The duke, on his part, promised an entire submission to the holy see, and to assist in its preservation with a certain number of troops. About this time the castle of *Milan* surrendered to the imperialists; and

Milan surren-
ders to the im-
perialists.

a and *Charles*, who valued himself greatly upon his good faith, gave the investiture of it to *Sforza*. It was no surprize to the world, that pope *Adrian*, notwithstanding his professions of peace and disinterestedness, assisted a pupil who had placed him on the pontifical throne. He laboured with indefatigable pains to detach the *Venetians* from the interests of *France*, and to bring them to act offensively in favour of *Charles*. For this purpose *Carracciolo*, the apostolical prothonotary, was sent with full powers from *Charles* to negotiate at *Venice*. In this he found great difficulty, as *Francis* gave the *Venetians* the strongest assurances that he was making preparations again to march with a powerful army into *Italy*, while the imperial party pretended that he had no such intention.

b THE fate of *Italy*, at this time, depended, in a great measure, on the part that the *Florentines* were to act. The politic cardinal *de Medici*'s capital enemy, *Soderini* cardinal of *Volterra*, was the greatest favourite the pope had, and *de Medici* knew himself obnoxious to all parties, on account of the double dealing measures of *Leo*'s pontificate. He therefore seemed to abandon, now that the papal chair was filled, all thoughts of public business, and retired to *Florence*, where his power and influence were unlimited. His gentle manners, his forgiving disposition, his liberality, and above all, the many good offices which his situation had enabled him to do for the *Florentines*, had won their affections; and in the dearth of money, with which both the *French* and imperialists in *Italy* were afflicted, the friendship of *Florence* was of the utmost consequence; because they were then incomparably the richest people in *Italy* in ready money, though perhaps not the most powerful. The proposed treaty between *Charles* and the *Venetians* produced great debates in the *Venetian* senate; but as it was now known that the cardinal *de Medici* and the *Florentines* were devoted to the pope, the imperial party prevailed; and the *Venetians* obliged themselves, by treaty, to send six hundred men at arms, six hundred light horse, and six thousand foot, to the defence of *Milan* if attacked, and as many to that of *Naples*; *Charles* on his part engaging to guaranty, with a like force, all the *Venetian* possessions in *Italy*. Upon the conclusion of this treaty, the *Venetians* made the duke of *Urbino* their general.

Cardinal Medici recovers his credit at Rome,

c As the reputation of cardinal *de Medici* and the *Florentines* had contributed greatly to this new treaty, the cardinal ventured to repair to *Rome*, where he was received with the greatest marks of respect. He soon got the better of the cardinal of *Volterra*, who was a hot man, and an enthusiast for the *French* interests; for he discovered to the pope a correspondence held between *Volterra* and the *French* court; in which the former pressed *Francis* to invade *Sicily*, as the surest means of succeeding in the *Milanese*. The pope, amazed at this discovery, at the earnest request of the duke of *Sessa* and the cardinal *de Medici*, sent *Volterra* prisoner to the castle of *St. Angelo*, and ordered him to be prosecuted for high-treason, as *Sicily* was a fief of the church. This discovery riveted the cardinal *de Medici* in the pope's affections; and he now resolved openly to declare himself against *Francis*. On the third of *August*, a league was signed between the pope, the emperor, the king of *England*, the archduke of *Austria*, the duke of *Milan*, the cardinal *de Medici* and the *Florentine* state in conjunction, and the *Genoese*. By this league, it was stipulated, that an army should be raised for the defence of any of the confederates who should be attacked in *Italy*; that this army should be composed of two hundred men at arms furnished by the pope, eight hundred by *Charles*, two hundred by the *Florentines*, and two hundred, with as many light horse, by the duke of *Milan*. The pope, *Charles*, and the duke, were to provide artillery and ammunition at their own expences. The pope, the *Florentines*, and the duke, were each to pay twenty thousand ducats a month towards the war, the emperor thirty thousand, and the states of *Genoa*, *Sienna*, and *Lucca*, ten thousand amongst them, the two latter being admitted into the league. The marquis of *Mantua* was not directly made a party in this treaty, because he received pay from the pope and the *Florentines* as their general.

to which he repairs.

d DEFEATS, disgraces, disappointments, and the lately concluded treaties, seemed only to render the *French* king the more bent upon invading *Italy*, and to quicken his preparations. Though a brave, open, good-natured prince, he had, at the instigation of his mother, been guilty of the most flagrant injustice to the duke of *Bourbon*, his near relation, and the greatest, as well as the most deserving of his subjects; for he had encouraged a law-process to vest her with his estate; and he, in other respects, had treated the duke with great neglect and contempt. The spirit of the duke, who was then great constable of *France*, and the most popular man in that kingdom, could not bear all this; and he secretly linked himself with the emperor, and the king of *England*, upon terms foreign to this history. *Francis* did not discover this conspiracy, which went even so far as to strip him of his crown, and to make the duke king of *Provence*, till he had begun his march for *Italy*; and then it was too late, for the duke escaped in disguise to *Franche Compté*. The discovery altered the resolution of *Francis* of going to *Italy* in person, and he committed the care of the expedition to the admiral *Bonivette*, a man unequal to such a charge. *Bonivette* carried with him eighteen hundred lances, six thousand *Swiss*, two thousand *Gascons*, two thousand

The French king prepares to invade Italy.

thousand *Valeffe*, six thousand *Germans*, twelve thousand *French*, and three thousand *Italians*. He surprized *Novera* and *Vigevano*, and took the *Milanese* unprovided, the allies not imagining, that, after the two treaties that had been concluded, and the discovery of the duke of *Bourbon's* rebellion, *Francis* would have proceeded in his expedition; add to this, that *Colonna*, their commander in chief in the *Milanese*, laboured under an indisposition. He had flattered himself with being able to prevent the *French* from passing the *Tessino*, but they passed it at *Vigevano*, and he was obliged to retreat towards *Milan*, after sending *Antonio de Leva*, with one hundred men at arms, and three thousand foot, to defend *Pavia*. The fortifications of *Milan* were so out of repair, that they could not be defended, had the *French* immediately marched to that capital; but after trifling away some days, which gave the allies time to repair the works, they marched to *San Christoforo*, within a mile of *Milan*, and then to *Chiarevalle*, proposing to lay a regular siege to *Milan*, which was garrisoned by eight hundred men at arms, eight hundred light horse, four thousand *Spanish* foot, six thousand five hundred *Germans*, and three thousand *Italians*.

Death of pope
Adrian.

DURING this state of the war, the confederates received a shock by the death of pope *Adrian*, its author and support. While the holy see was vacant, very little discipline was observed amongst the confederates; and at this time *Guicciardini* (if we are to believe his own history) did great service to the confederates. The duke of *Ferrara*, who had been deceived by *Adrian*, attempted to recover *Modena* and *Reggio*, of which *Guicciardini* continued governor. For this purpose, he joined *Renzo*, who had with him two thousand foot, and two hundred horse; and advanced against *Modena*, which was but poorly provided for a defence. All *Guicciardini's* eloquence could scarcely persuade the citizens of *Modena*, though they hated the family of *Este*, of which the duke of *Ferrara* was the head, that they ought to defend themselves at their own expences; but at last he succeeded so well, that they raised some money, which paid the *Spanish* garrison; and the duke despairing of succeeding against *Modena*, marched against *Reggio*; which, with its castle, was surrendered to him; as was *Rubiera*, though a place of great strength, and well provided for a defence.

The French
defeated in
Lombardy,

ABOUT one thousand of the *Florentine* troops, under the marquis of *Mantua*, was at this time quartered at *Lodi*; but *Bonivette* sending the famous chevalier *Bayard*, and *Bozzolo* against him, with eight thousand foot, and eight hundred men at arms, the marquis, fearing he might be obliged to surrender prisoner of war, retired to *Ponte Vico*; upon which the *French* entered *Lodi*. The other operations of the war at this time consisted of skirmishes, surprizals, marches, and counter-marches, of no consequence to history. The viceroy of *Naples* had been, by the interest of the cardinal *de Medici*, named to the chief command of the confederate troops in *Lombardy*. *Colonna*, not brooking this preference, resolved to exert himself, and if possible to make the period of his life and his command the same, in which he succeeded. He earnestly endeavoured to procure the interest of a *Florentine* regiment of men at arms under *Vitelli*, which had done great services against the *French* at *Genoa*; but the doge declared he could not part with them, without endangering the imperial interest there. The *French* were all this while losing vast numbers of men before *Milan*; and, through the over-caution of their general, they were become even despicable to their enemies. The vacancy of the popedom still continuing, *Colonna*, who, like the other *Roman* barons, hated the power of the popes, tempted the duke of *Ferrara* to join him, by offering to order the *Spanish* foot to quit *Modena*, and to put it into the duke's hands; *Colonna* consented, but *Guicciardini* coming to the knowledge of the negotiation, persuaded the garrison not to obey *Colonna's* orders; by which the place was saved to the holy see.

and propose a
truce.

THE *French* army all this time made no progress against *Milan*; and though strongly encamped, the season was so severe, that they proposed a truce. *Pagelo Vittori*, the *Florentine* commissary, was employed in the negotiation, and would gladly have agreed to the proposal; but the *German* officers, who knew the straits to which the *French* were reduced, rejected it; upon which the admiral becke up his camp, and retired towards the *Tessino*. Both the garrison and the inhabitants of *Milan* called out to *Colonna* for a pursuit; but he boasting, that he had reduced the art of war to a regular intellectual system, which admitted leaving nothing to fortune, repressed their ardour, and would not suffer a man to leave the city; by which it is probable he lost the opportunity of ruining the *French* army. Notwithstanding this omission, it is certain he did wonders in his command, by obliging so great an army to retire with so much ignominy, and by the provident dispositions he made all over the *Milanese*, where he secured every place and pass of importance, and, without risking any thing, left his enemies to perish, which they did in vast numbers, by the diseases contracted through the unwholesomeness of their encampments, and the inclemency of the season.

a THE election of a new pope had now taken up fifty days. Cardinal *de Medici* had se-
cured to himself a considerable majority of the thirty-nine cardinals, who were shut up in
the conclave; but the opposition he met with from all the *French*, and even some of the
imperial party, prevented his being able to bring over two-thirds of the number, which
alone can make the election valid. It was evident to the cardinals, that none could be
chosen if he opposed him; so that it was in his power to protract the election as long as he
pleased; and it was plain, at the same time, he was determined to carry it in his own per-
son. The cardinals in the opposition could not agree in the nomination of a competitor
against him; and at last, partly by his insinuating placable address, and partly by offer-
ing, if chosen, to divide all his ecclesiastical preferments, which were very rich and nume-
b rous, amongst the members of the college, he was unanimously chosen pope.

Cardinal Me-
dici chosen
pope.

He took the name of *Clement VII.* and no pope ever mounted the pontifical throne with
greater advantages than he did, not only on account of the vast personal reputation he
had acquired, but because he was considered as being, in a manner, the sovereign of the
Florentine state. The character of abstemiousness, perseverance, and application to business,
he had acquired, daunted all the adversaries of the holy see; resettled the affairs of the
Romagna, and obliged even the duke of *Ferrara* to give over his design upon *Modena*,
and to retire in quiet to his capital. The war in *Lombardy*, however, still raged; but *Co-*
lonna, by his foresight, baffled the *French* in all their attempts. That great man now drew
near the end of his life. Perceiving that his disease, which had hung about him for eight
c months, endangered his faculties, he was for some weeks before his death as desirous of
the arrival of his successor, the viceroy, as he had been averse to it before. He was on his
death-bed when the viceroy arrived; but the latter was so struck with admiration at *Prospe-*
ro's conduct, that he refused to enter *Milan*, or to supersede him in his command. At last,
hearing that *Colonna* was in his last moments, unwilling that so great a man should die be-
fore he had the satisfaction of seeing him, he paid him a visit, and received his parting
breath. What is remarkable of this great man is, that he fell a sacrifice to the conse-
quences of gratifying a violent passion he had for madam *Chiara*, one of the finest women
of that age.

His character.

d IN the beginning of the year 1524, the confederates held a general meeting at *Milan*, to
concert the operations of the subsequent campaign, and the means of defraying its charges.
They were provided of every thing to render it successful, but money. Their troops had
been long without pay; and it was necessary to raise the funds for the new levies that
were making in *Germany*. Notwithstanding all the *French* had suffered, their king was so
sanguine upon the *Italian* expedition, that he had furnished *Bonivette* with troops, that
rendered him an over-match for the confederates. The pope, dreading the consequences
of a *French* victory, privately lent *Charles* thirty thousand ducats, and obliged the *Floren-*
tines to lend him thirty thousand more, in full of all demands, on account of the confede-
racy they had entered into in *Adrian's* time.

1524:
General meet-
ing of the
confederates.

e NOTWITHSTANDING this mark of affection to *Charles*, it is certain that the moment *Cle-*
ment mounted the pontifical throne, he changed the whole system of conduct he had pro-
fessed before. He saw that if *Charles*, who never had yet given the investiture of *Milan* to
Sforza, was victorious in *Lombardy*, he would give law to *Italy*; and therefore his scheme
was to ballance parties, so as to counterpoize one another. He therefore all of a sudden
began to recommend peace and moderation to both; and affected the utmost impartiality.
Charles was disgusted at so strange an alteration of behaviour. He ordered his ministers
at *Rome* to remind the pope of all the obligations he had conferred on him, and particu-
larly in the affair of his election; but above all, that it was by his counsel, which directed
Leo in every thing, that he had entered into war with the *French*. *Clement* did not deny
the charge; but frankly owned, that a pope, the common father of *Christianity*, was not
f to be directed by the conduct of a cardinal; and that pope *Clement* was a different person
from *Julio de Medici*.

The pope
changes his
system.

g THE confederates all this time acted with a manifest superiority in the *Milanese*, where
Giovanni de Medici acquired great reputation by his valour and conduct. The marquis of
Pescara, who, with all the prudence and foresight of *Colonna*, was enterprising and resolute,
was now the acting general of the confederates. The disposition of the two armies was
such, that the *French* hoped the confederates would disperse for want of money; and the
confederates, that the *French* must decamp for want of provisions. The castle of *Cremena*,
after enduring a severe siege, now surrendered to the imperialists, who then passed the *Tis-*
sino, in hopes of intercepting the *French* convoys. This obliged *Bonivette* to decamp, and
move with his army, many of whom had deserted to *Nevara*, to favour his junction with
8 or 10,000 *Swiss*, who were on their march to assist him. While he was upon this march,
he encountered great inconveniencies; and his whole army must have been cut in pieces,
if the confederate generals could have agreed on the manner of attack; but each differed

Superiority of
the confede-
rates in *Lom-*
bardy.

from another, and all of them hated *Pescara* so much, that no measure he proposed was agreed to. The advantage, however, that presented against the enemy in their retreat to *Ravinsgo* was so manifest, that the soldiers of their own accord ran to their arms, and pursued them, so that they left seven pieces of cannon in the hands of the imperialists. Next day the pursuit was renewed, and the marquis of *Pescara* coming up with a few troops, the *French* loss was considerable, especially in officers; among whom was the chevalier *Bayard*, who is said to have been one of the best and bravest men that *France* ever produced. Upon the whole, the *French* were entirely driven out of the *Milanese*.

The emperor
miscarries be-
fore Mar-
seilles.

THE main body of the *French* army, notwithstanding all the losses it had sustained, was yet entire; and though *Charles* endeavoured, by invasions and expeditions into *France*, to divert the war from the *Milanese*, yet he was very unsuccessful in those expedients; and lost before *Marseilles*, which he in vain endeavoured to take, so many men, and so much reputation, that the disappointment threw him into a disorder which threatened mortal consequences. The *French* and their king were proportionably elated; and *Francis* declared his fixed resolution to march in person into the *Milanese*. The army of *Charles* had been greatly reduced by his late attempts in *France*, and that of *Francis* was stronger than ever. His resolution being publicly known, the pope endeavoured to dissuade him from it, and to mediate a peace. With this view he employed the archbishop of *Capua* to treat first with *Francis*, and then with *Charles*. *Francis* would not suffer the archbishop to proceed in his negotiation, and recommended him to the care of his mother, who, till his return, was to reside at *Avignon*.

The French
invade the
Milanese, and
take Milan.

THE great question now between the *French* and the imperialists was, which army should arrive soonest in *Lombardy*. Both arrived, by different routs, almost at the same time. The imperialists holding a council of war at *Pavia*, it was resolved that they should leave a strong garrison in that city, under *Antonio de Leva*, consisting of three hundred men at arms, and five thousand *German* foot, and that they should again make a stand at *Milan*. But when *Morone*, to whose care the preparations at *Milan* was committed, arrived at that city, he found that the plague was raging in it, and had destroyed thirty thousand of the inhabitants, and it was easy to see the consequence, if an army should enter an infected city. *Morone* advised the inhabitants to submit to the *French*; and after providing for the safety of the citadel, he returned to *Pavia*, upon which a *French* garrison entered *Milan*, where none of the inhabitants were molested.

FRANCIS was more elated than he ought to have been, by getting possession of *Milan*, and marched thence to *Pavia*. His army, including the garrison of *Milan*, amounted to twenty-four thousand foot, and two thousand men at arms, but was every hour increasing. The marquis of *Pavia*, who was then at *Lodi*, was overjoyed at hearing that *Francis* was gone to *Pavia*, and foretold the consequences that afterwards happened. The imperialists, however, had still greater difficulties to encounter. *Charles* was so straitened for money, that he gave orders for mortgaging the revenues of his kingdom of *Naples*. Neither the pope nor the *Florentines* could be brought to advance him any, and his holiness declined to renew the engagements that had been entered into by his predecessor; thus, in fact, the whole burthen of the war rested on *Charles*, for the *Venetians*, intimidated by the *French*, refused to be farther concerned in it.

Francis be-
sieges Pavia,

THE siege of *Pavia* was now formed by *Francis*, but in so ineffectual a manner, that the imperial generals were in no pain about the consequences. The pope renewed his endeavours for peace, and dispatched the bishop of *Verona*, in shew, to mediate between the two parties, but, in reality, to execute a secret commission with *Charles*. He found them equally contumacious. The imperialists would hear of no negotiation while the *French* king possessed a foot of ground in *Italy*; and *Francis* frankly owned to the bishop, that his intention was, after he had reduced the *Milanese*, to prosecute his rights upon *Naples*, by invading that kingdom. The bishop then proceeded to his main business, which met with no difficulty. The pope promised to give no assistance, directly, nor indirectly, to the king's enemies, and undertook the same on the part of the *Florentines*. The king, on the other hand, by an instrument signed by himself, (in which the superiority of the *Medici* family over *Florence*, is expressly acknowledged) took both the pope and the *Florentines* into his protection, and it was agreed that this convention should not come to light, unless his holiness thought proper. *Clement*, by this measure, imagined, that he would gain so much upon *Francis* as to persuade him to lay aside all thoughts of invading *Naples*, but he was deceived. For it was no sooner concluded, than he ordered the duke of *Albany*, the first prince of the blood of *Scotland*, to march to *Naples*, at the head of a considerable army, which was to be reinforced in the *Romagna* with four thousand men, raised by *Renzo de Ceri*; and, at the same time, he notified his intention to his holiness by the count of *Carpi*, his ambassador at *Rome*, who likewise was charged to demand leave from his holiness to levy men in the ecclesiastical and *Florentine* dominions. This demand greatly embarrassed

and threatens
Naples.

a ruffed the pope, who laid before *Francis* many reasons for laying aside his *Neapolitan* expedition; but all would have been to no purpose, if some reinforcements that arrived at the imperial camp, had not rendered it expedient for *Francis* to recal the duke of *Albany*, and the troops under his command.

b *CHARLES*, though his affairs had a promising aspect in *Lombardy*, was now under great difficulties. His resources for money had failed him, not only in *Italy*, but from the king of *England*, who began even to demand the money that was due to him. The source of all the emperor's difficulties lying in the pope and at *Florence*, *Charles* offered *Clement* almost any terms he could demand; but his holiness insisted upon peace in *Italy*, or a neutrality to himself, which *Charles* declared was not in his power to grant him. The *Spaniards* and *Germans* in *Lombardy*, by the good management of the marquis of *Pescara*, tho' not paid, served *Charles* with wonderful fidelity, and *Francis* made but little progress in the siege of *Pavia*. A new body of *Swiss* and *Grisons* joining *Francis*, the duke of *Albany* was again dispatched upon the *Neapolitan* expedition, and the pope thought that a proper time for renewing his endeavours for peace. He sent *Vettori*, the commander of his galleys, to the viceroy of *Naples*, to shew him that it was not in his power to stop the duke of *Albany's* march; and that *Naples* being in the utmost danger, he could not do better than to consent to a cessation of arms. He added, that a definitive peace might be concluded, by putting *Milan*, in the mean while, into neutral hands; and by the emperor, for a sum of money, giving the investiture of that duchy to a second son of *France*, which would prevent it from ever being united to that crown. *Clement* likewise promised, that the dukes of *Milan* and *Bourbon* should be honourably provided for; and that he himself, the *Florentines*, and the *Venetians*, should guaranty the performance of the articles to the emperor.

c THE viceroy, and the other imperial generals, seeing under what disadvantages they made war in *Lombardy*, and that all their hopes of being supplied by the *Florentines* with money were now damped, were willing to agree to this proposal, and to draw off their army to the defence of *Naples*; had not the marquis of *Pescara* opposed the proposal with so much firmness and strength of reasoning, as determined the viceroy to reject all the pope's overtures, and to remain in *Lombardy*. This resolution served the pope as a pretext to excuse his granting the duke of *Albany* a passage through his dominions; and he addressed d a brief on that head to *Charles*, who received it from *Giovanni Corsi*, the *Florentine* ambassador at his court. *Charles*, on reading it, lost his usual moderation, and bitterly upbraided the pope for his treachery and ingratitude. The *Florentine* put *Charles* in mind, that his holiness, since his exaltation, had been the constant friend of pacific measures, and that all his counsels had been disregarded, to the great prejudice of *Charles* himself.

e THE want of money amongst the imperialists in *Lombardy* continued to distress their affairs. The duke of *Ferrara* put himself under the protection of *Francis*; and the viceroy complained that the pope infringed his neutrality by furnishing the *French* with waggons and carriages. *Giovanni de Medici* at the same time quarrelled with the viceroy, and entered the *French* service, while the duke of *Albany's* motions towards *Naples* were so slow as to raise a belief, that the true intention of *Francis* was to frighten the imperialists into a cessation of arms.

f IT was the beginning of the year 1525, before the duke of *Albany*, who had been joined in his march by *Renzo* with three thousand men, arrived at *Lucca*; and the *Lucquese* being parties in the league against *Francis*, he forced them to pay him twelve thousand ducats. He then proceeded through the dominions of *Florence*, where he was treated with the highest respect, and proceeded to *Sienna*. The pope now began to be afraid that *Francis* was in earnest as to his attempt upon *Naples*. He had in vain tried every art to retard the duke of *Albany's* march; but, upon his arrival at *Sienna*, his holiness entreated him to stop, that he might, by his authority, settle some differences between the *Petrucci* family and the council of *Nice*, in that city, the duke having been conversant in affairs of government. The pope, in paying this compliment to the duke, had a farther view than that of stopping his march; for, in fact, the *Siennese*, intimidated by the neighbourhood of the *French* army, made his holiness a pretent of their liberties, by transferring the power of their magistracy into the hands of his friends.

g THE duke of *Bourbon* arrived with a new reinforcement to the imperial army in *Lombardy*, of five hundred horse and six thousand foot, just at the time when the garrison began to be distressed for want of money and ammunition. The viceroy, however, and the imperial officers, conveyed some money by stratagem to the besieged, which contained them within the bounds of their duty; and the admirable address of the marquis of *Pescara*, prevailed with the troops, under the viceroy's and his command, to wait a month for their pay. This forbearance, and the arrival of the duke of *Bourbon*, determined the imperial generals, at all events, either to raise the siege, or to force *Francis* to a battle. They were the more encouraged to this, as they knew that the *French* king was greatly imposed

The pope and
Florentines
scurted by
Charles.

Firmness of
the marquis of
Pescara.

Complaints of
the imperialists
against the
pope.

1525.
Progress of the
duke of Al-
bany.

The imperial
army in Lom-
bardy rein-
forced.

Battle of Pavia, in which

imposed upon in his musters, and that he paid for one-third more effective men than he really had in his army. Upon the first motions of the allies, *Francis* called a council of war, in which the most experienced of his officers gave it as their opinion, that he should raise the siege of *Pavia*, and remove to a ground (many such being in the neighbourhood) where he could not be attacked with any probability of success. This advice was the most prudent, because it was certain, that the imperial army could not have subsisted many days in a body for want of money and necessaries, and that all the marquis of *Pescara's* dependence was upon an immediate and a decisive engagement. But though this counsel was backed by the pope's ambassador, who well knew the straits of the imperial army, it was rejected by *Francis*, who thought that his raising the siege would reflect upon his honour, and called to remembrance some idle words that were frequently in his mouth, that he would lose his life rather than raise the siege of *Pavia*. He, however, changed the disposition of his army, so as to render the approaches of the enemy more dangerous; but, in the mean while, he suffered the enemy to take possession of the most important posts in the neighbourhood. All the motions of the imperial army were conducted by the sagacity and intrepidity of the marquis of *Pescara*, who led the imperialists, by regular degrees, from one post of danger to another, till they came within cannon-shot of the *French* army, which lay within intrenchments. Some days passed in skirmishing and cannonading each other, and in each waiting for a favourable moment to begin the attack. At last, on the twenty-fifth of *February*, necessity obliged the marquis of *Pescara* to move towards *Mirabello*, where a strong post of the *French* was. This induced the king to march out of his intrenchments, as thinking that the enemy designed to relieve the town by forcing that post. *Francis* had some days before sustained an irreparable loss by a wound which *Giovanni de Medici*, the most promising young general of that age, received in the heel, and which obliged him to be carried to *Piacenza*. This accident wonderfully dispirited the *French* troops, who had but a mean opinion of their own generals and officers; so that when the imperialists advanced within the park of *Mirabello*, all was confusion and disorder in the *French* army; especially amongst the cavalry, which moving irregularly to the right and left, exposed the division commanded by the king to the best battalions of the imperialists, led on by the marquis of *Pescara* himself. *Francis* made a noble resistance, and behaved so bravely in his own person, that the marquis was repulsed, and obliged to call the viceroy and the *German* foot to his assistance; the battle was now renewed; the behaviour of the *Swiss* in the *French* pay that day, in no degree answered their reputation; they were routed and cut in pieces by the *German* foot; and *Francis*, who disdained to fly, was, with a handful of his nobility and officers, surrounded by the victorious army. He continued fighting with the most undaunted resolution, endeavouring to rally his troops, and to stop the progress of the enemy; but, at last, being wounded in the face and hand, and brought to the ground by his horse being killed, he was made prisoner, by the only *French* officer who had followed the duke of *Bourbon* to *Italy*. He did not know the king, who seeing the viceroy near him, discovered himself; and the viceroy most respectfully kissing his hand, received him prisoner in the name of the emperor. By this time the rout of the *French* army was completed. The marquis *De Guasto* had defeated the *French* horse that had been posted at *Mirabello*; and *Leva*, who had so gallantly defended *Pavia*, made a most furious sally with his garrison, which completed the ruin of the *French* army. About eight thousand of the *French* were killed, and most of the rest were taken and plundered, not to mention the vast loss which the *French* sustained in their nobility; the flower of whom were, that day, either killed or taken prisoners. The loss of the imperialists was about eight hundred men. As soon as the news of this defeat reached *Milan*, *Trivulzi*, the *French* governor there, and his garrison abandoned that city; and thus the *Milanese* was once more cleared of *French* troops.

the French king is taken prisoner.

Inactivity of Charles.

It is to this day unaccountable, that *Charles* did not make greater advantages than he did of his victory at *Pavia*, as he certainly now had it in his power to have marched into the heart of *France*, and to have made good all the imperial claims in *Italy*, which would have amounted to little less than a sovereignty over the whole. But *Charles* was then intent on settling the government of *Spain*, and was not much subject to resentments of any kind, though he certainly had no reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the pope, the *Florentines*, or the *Venetians*, who had all of them, for no very justifiable reasons, forfeited their engagements with him.

Danger of Florence.

THE danger of *Florence* gave the pope more concern than that of the ecclesiastical state, because he considered the *Florentines* as the subjects of his family. While he remained connected with prosperous allies, the *Florentines* appeared perfectly resigned to his will. But having, for some time past, been considered in *Italy*, and all over *Europe*, as a partizan of *France*, the secret enemies of his family in *Florence*, who were numerous and power-

a ful, began to put their countrymen in mind of those days of liberty they enjoyed during the eighteen years expulsion of the *Medici* family. It appeared by letters and papers found in the *French* king's cabinet, taken at the battle of *Pavia*, that the pope had been the main instrument of bringing the *Venetians* off from the imperial interest; and that, in short, he was the secret spring of all the hardships they had lain under before the battle of *Pavia*. Weighed down by reflections on those discoveries, and on his own conduct, he sat about drawing up a kind of an apology for himself, the matter of which was to be digested in the form of briefs, and sent to the imperial and other courts. In those briefs he pleaded necessity for all that he had seemingly done against the imperial interest, and mentioned the vast obligations that the emperor and the house of *Austria* lay under to himself, and, by his means, to his two immediate predecessors. He complained of the reservedness of the imperial generals; and put the emperor in mind, that a body of ecclesiastical and foreign soldiers were in his service in the battle of *Pavia*; and he magnified the service he had done to the emperor, by artfully amusing the duke of *Albany*, so long about the *Siennese* affair, that he thereby saved the kingdom of *Naples*.

b THE *Venetian* senate, on this occasion, preserved a wonderful serenity. Instead of desponding, like the pope, they represented to him, that, if he was disposed to act with spirit and courage, and to join with them, they might yet save *Italy* from the imperial yoke. Nothing was more practicable, than for his holiness to persuade the *Swiss* cantons to lend him a body of ten thousand men, for which the *Venetians* were willing to bear their proportion of the expence; and the *Florentines* were rich enough to raise another body of *Italian* foot; and there was little doubt to be made of their being joined by the army under the duke of *Albany* which had not yet marched beyond the limits of the ecclesiastical state; and, that the duke of *Ferrara*, who, had a great deal of money, with a strong fortified and well provided capital, would likewise join them. The substance of this proposal had, before the battle of *Pavia*, been laid before his holiness by the *Venetians*, as a proper measure, which soever side got the victory. But it was then neglected; he adopted it, however, in the present desperate state of his affairs; and was on the point of signing a convention on that head, when the archbishop of *Capua* arrived at his court.

Proposal of
the Venetians.

c THIS prelate had been long employed in *Clement's* affair, and he no sooner heard of the battle of *Pavia*, than he paid a visit to the viceroy of *Naples*. The gaining the battle of *Pavia* was so far from removing the difficulties the imperial generals were under before it was fought, that it increased them. The soldiers became licentious through the booty they had acquired, and were as clamorous as ever for their pay, which their officers could not advance them. *Lancya*, the viceroy of *Naples*, therefore, in hopes of drawing money from the pope, appeared well disposed to enter upon an accommodation with him, and gave the archbishop of *Capua* a commission for that purpose. To enforce the negotiation, however, he drew down troops to the frontiers of the ecclesiastical state, into which he threatened to penetrate, to find out the duke of *Albany*, and his master's other enemies there. Before the arrival of the archbishop of *Capua*, the pope had sent a minister to dispose the king of *England* to join in depressing the power of *Charles*. But *Clement*, who was naturally indolent, and averse to violent measures, no sooner heard the report of the archbishop of *Capua*, than he chose the way of negotiation. He recalled his minister, who was on his road to *England*; he prevailed with the duke of *Albany* to dismiss his *Italian* soldiers, and he brought about a cessation of arms between the *French* and imperial parties that were in and about *Rome*.

The pope
amused by
the viceroy.

d WHEN the negotiation opened, the viceroy insisted upon the *Venetians*, and all the other parties in the holy league formed under *Adrian*, paying up all their arrears and deficiencies in money, which the *Venetians* refused to do. As it was plain that the viceroy had set this negotiation on foot, only to get some ready money, the *Florentines*, rather than it should prove abortive, supplied the marquis of *Pescara* with twenty five thousand ducats; but took care to obtain under *Gatinara's*, the imperial plenipotentiary's, hand, an acknowledgment that this sum was to be reckoned as part of a greater to be settled by the new convention. In the mean while, the duke of *Albany*, with *Renzo de Ceri*, embarked the remainder of his troops for *France*, with the consent of the viceroy.

e THE obstinacy of the *Venetians*, in refusing to pay the money demanded by the viceroy, was of service to the pope, because it convinced the imperial generals, that there was no underhand dealing between them; so that, at last, on the first of *April*, a convention was concluded between the pope and the *Florentines* on one side, and *Gatinara* as plenipotentiary for *Charles*, or rather for the viceroy of *Naples*, on the other, the *Venetians* being excluded. By this convention, the contracting parties guaranteed, with a certain number of troops, the possession of the duchy of *Milan* to *Francesco Sforza*. The emperor took under his protection the ecclesiastical dominions, and the state of *Florence*, specifying

A convention
concluded.

The forms.

ing the house of *Medici*, and its power, in that city. *Charles* was to be paid, in ready money, a hundred thousand ducats, by way of arrears, to recal his troops from the ecclesiastical state, and to suffer no others to be quartered there without consent of his holiness. Twenty days were left for the *Venetians* to accede to the treaty; and the hundred thousand ducats were to be repaid, if *Charles* did not ratify the treaty, in five months. By one of the separate articles it was provided, that the duke of *Ferrara* should restore to the church *Reggio* and *Rubiera*, and all the places he had taken from it during the late vacancy of the holy see; in consideration of which, the pope was to pay another hundred thousand ducats to *Charles*. The last article was clogged with a condition, that examination should be made, whether those places were fiefs of the empire, in which case the pope was to hold them as such. *Paulus Jovius*, in his life of the marquis of *Pescara**, very justly blames this last article as infamous on the part of the viceroy, who had received money from the duke of *Ferrara*, on condition that those places should not be restored to the pope.

Progress of the
imperialists,

HAD it been possible for the *Swiss* to have arrived, and the other levies to have been made time enough to have opposed the progress of the imperialists in *Italy*, this treaty might have been considered as disgraceful; but, as matters were situated, the wiser part of mankind thought it prudent; because, though the imperial generals were greatly distressed for want of money, they might still have prevailed upon their troops to take the field, by promising them the plunder of rich ecclesiastical, or *Florentine*, towns and churches. Both parties seemed to be equally satisfied, and the pope obtained leave to send his compliment of condolence by the bishop of *Pistoia*, to *Francis*. The viceroy next proceeded upon his main, and, indeed, his sole business, which was to raise money. He gave the *Lucquese* his master's protection for ten thousand ducats; and he exacted fifteen thousand from the *Siennese*, whose situation was somewhat particular. Though the duke of *Albany's* authority had obliged them to re-establish the council of nine, who were the pope's creatures; yet, no sooner was the defeat of the *French* at *Pavia* known, than both the imperial and papal parties, in *Sienna*, applied to the viceroy for favour; and he, by giving general answers to both, brought both to consent to furnish him with their money. While it was telling out, *Severini*, a *Genoese* citizen, who had been an agent with the viceroy, murdered another citizen, one *Bicchi*, whom he intended next year to have placed at the head of that government, and thereby that noble city, so important by its situation between *Rome* and *Florence*, was recovered to the imperial interest: it was thought that the viceroy, however he might dissemble, abetted this revolution. Other states followed the example of *Sienna*, and all *Italy* seemed now to ply under the will of the conqueror. The marquis of *Montferrat* made a present to *Charles* of fifteen thousand ducats; and the duke of *Ferrara* advanced the viceroy fifty thousand, in part of payment of a greater sum. The states of *Milan*, the *Genoese* and *Lucquese*, stood engaged for certain sums, and *Charles* sent his generals in *Italy* fresh remittances. Historians are, to this day, at a loss to account for the farther inactivity of *Charles* at this juncture. It was expected that the viceroy, instead of treating with the pope, would have marched to the gates of *Rome*, and have completed those conquests, which the most powerful of his master's ancestors had in vain aspired after; but, instead of that, *Charles* would admit of no congratulations, or rejoicings for his victory; and spent his time in processions and prayers, that it might turn out to the good of *Christendom*. Those historians, perhaps, come nearest to truth, who say that this moderation of *Charles* was unfeigned; there seems, at least, no other probable cause to be assigned for it. His moderation went so far, that when the *Venetian* ambassador excused the conduct of his masters during the late war, *Charles* received it in good part; though he told the minister at the same time, he was perfectly well satisfied, that every word of it was a falsehood. He then assembled his council to consult upon the disposal of his royal prisoner. Some were for setting him generously free, others for imposing hard terms upon him. *Charles*, who knew no extreme either of generosity or severity, sent *Buren*, one of his favourites, to *Pizzigittone*, where *Francis* was, to propose the terms on which he might regain his liberty, which *Francis* thought to be so hard, that he rejected them; but offered to renounce all his claims upon *Milan* and *Naples*.

who gain
Sienna.

Moderation of
Charles,

and exorbitancy of his
troops.

THE moderation of *Charles* was more than over-balanced by the haughtiness and extravagant behaviour of his officers and soldiers, in *Italy*, after the battle of *Pavia*. The pope, in order to check them, ordered the convention he had made with the viceroy, to be immediately published, with the most solemn formalities, before the ratification of *Charles* arrived. This, however, did him very little service; for when the *Florentines*, by his desire, were ready, according to treaty, to have paid the arrears of their subsidy, the viceroy

a refused to deduct the 25,000 ducats, which they had advanced to the marquis of *Pescara*, while the negotiation was in dependence; almost every other article of the treaty was likewise violated. The state of the church was still full of imperial soldiers. The papal and *Florentine* parties in *Sienna* were mal-treated and plundered by the viceroy's orders or connivance; but that which gave the pope the greatest uneasiness of all was, the difficulty attending the restoring to him *Reggio* and *Rubiera*, which it was plain the viceroy encouraged the duke of *Ferrara* to retain. The viceroy's prevarication in this affair was shameful; and as the *Florentines* were ready to have paid their money, the public began to suspect that *Charles* designed to humble the pope, and to oppress the liberties of *Italy*. At last, after many solicitations, the imperial ratification of the late convention arrived; but without that of the three separate articles. *Charles* excused himself from imposing any terms upon the duke of *Milan*, who, though a feudatory of the empire, was master of his own dominions and revenues. As to the affair of *Reggio* and *Rubiera*, he desired to be excused from doing any thing in prejudice of the right of the empire; and the duke of *Ferrara* acknowledging to hold them as fiefs of the empire, therefore he could not possibly do so flagrant an injustice, as to transfer them to the holy see. This declaration, however, was accompanied with certain shrewd hints, that a great deal might be done by the seasonable application of money.

THE *Florentines* were the greatest sufferers on this occasion. The viceroy, in order to touch the money, had agreed to every thing that the pope had required; and the pope was so very anxious to have the treaty fulfilled, and to remove every stumbling-block, that he had even prevailed with the *Florentines* to advance the whole sum of a hundred thousand ducats before the ratification arrived. His holiness was struck with shame, dread, and concern, at the scandalous collusion, as he called it, between the emperor and his viceroy. He refused to accept the ratification, and insisted upon *Charles* immediately repaying to the *Florentines* the hundred thousand ducats, which all the ties of good faith obliged him to do. *Charles*, or rather his ministers, laughed at all his complaints; they pretended, that the treaty was ratified; that the restitution stipulated to be made by the *Florentines* was in a separate article inserted by inferior agents, who could conclude nothing to the emperor's prejudice. There are reasons to believe, d that had *Charles* now listened to his ministers, the whole system of *Italy* would have been overthrown. Their advice was to render the duke of *Ferrara* an effectual check upon the pope, by putting him in possession of *Modena*; to reinstate the *Benrivoglio* family in *Bologna*, and to revive the dormant claims of the empire upon *Florence*, and the other *Tuscan* states, which he ought to take into his own possession. *Clement* was no stranger to those suggestions, and losing all hopes of protection from *France*, he resolved to dissemble.

Hardships of the Florentines.

EVERY one who has read the *English* history knows, that the great ambition and vanity of *Henry VIII.* who was now on the *English* throne, led him to be the umpire or arbitrator of all differences amongst *European* states; and even *Italy*, remote as it was, must e feel his influence, and the power of his minister *Wolsey*. It was to them that the *Florentines* and the *Venetians* owed their independency, and their not becoming immediate subjects to the empire. *Wolsey* was ruffled by *Charles* having now twice disappointed him of the popedom, and for his discontinuing, since the battle of *Pavia*, certain marks of personal attention, which he had always paid him before. He therefore began to impress his master with apprehensions of *Charles's* growing power, and of the danger *England* might be in by his invading *France*; and *Henry* received his insinuations so favourably, that he intimated his disposition to serve *Francis*, to his mother the lady regent of *France*, during her son's captivity. The pope at this time seemed to be as zealous as ever for restoring the tranquility of *Italy*, and for obliging *Charles*. He continued to mediate between him and the *Venetians*, from whom the viceroy demanded, not only the guarantee of the *Milanese*, but the full sum of which they were in arrears by their treaty with the emperor in *Adrian's* time. The *Venetians* offered eighty thousand ducats; but the viceroy insisting upon a hundred thousand, the debates continued; the viceroy not chusing to break off the negotiation, because he was in great want of money. Mean while most of the *Germans* in the imperial pay in *Italy* had been dismissed; and the *Venetians*, being apprised of the coldness between *Charles* and the king of *England*, plucked up spirit enough to refuse to comply with the viceroy. The pope, and the *Florentines*, and, indeed, all the *Tuscan* states, began, from the same reasons, to stand on the like terms; and the viceroy plainly saw that he could not answer his detaining *Francis* longer in *Lombardy*, for fear of a refusal, and by his own consent he carried him by sea to *Spain*. The negotiations between the two monarchs are foreign to this history. *Charles* seemed to be more than ever fond of restoring

Vanity of Henry VIII. of England.

Francis removed to Spain.

restoring a good understanding amongst the christian powers. At first he intended to have repaired to *Italy* in person, but business detained him in *Spain*; from whence he solicited the pope to send cardinal *Salviati*, with full powers to treat of an universal peace, and with a dispensation to marry his cousin german, the infanta of *Portugal*, who was to have brought him an immense sum in ready money. He likewise gave orders that all possible means should be made use of for compromising matters between him, the *Florentines*, and *Venetians*; and at last he sent to *Sforza* the investiture of the duchy of *Milan*, in consideration of a large sum of money; though, in fact, the investiture was clogged with such conditions that *Sforza*, even after receiving it, was little better than a vassal to *Charles*.

Discontent
and conspiracy
of the marquis
of Pescara.

THE *Imperial*, *Spanish*, and *Neapolitan* generals, under *Charles*, had by this time quarrelled amongst themselves. The marquis of *Pescara* was so much provoked by *Charles* taking little or no notice of his services, that he appeared ready for any desperate undertaking. *Morone*, chancellor and first minister to *Sforza*, a man of great capacity and dexterity in business, made his master sensible he was little better than a slave; and, in some private meetings, it was agreed to cut all the *Germans* in *Italy* to pieces, and to make the marquis of *Pescara* king of *Naples*. As this could not be done without bringing the pope and the *Venetians* into the design, it was communicated to both. It was too full of dangerous importance for the pope to adopt it; and yet it was, what of all things, he wished might succeed. He took a middle way between concealing and discovering it, for he put the emperor upon his guard against discontenting his generals; and hinted, that he ought to have a watchful eye upon their conduct. The *Venetians* embraced the proposal with great eagerness, in hopes of being supported by the *French* and their regency. As to the marquis of *Pescara*, it is, as yet, a doubt how far he had been accessary to the design. The most probable opinion is, that at first he had yielded to *Morone's* suggestions; but that afterwards, seeing vast difficulties attending the execution, and that the *French* court were so solicitous about recovering their king's liberty, that they were not disposed to exasperate the emperor, and deeply embarked in negotiating with him, he resolved to discover the whole to *Charles*, who had already received hints of it from *Antonio de Leva*, and *Marino*, abbot of *Nogera*. A few days after the marquis of *Pescara* sent a trusty agent, informing *Charles* of the whole conspiracy, and obtained permission from him to continue his practices till the whole extent of it was discovered. The marquis upon this, laying aside all reserve, proposed in person the execution of the design to the duke of *Milan*, and prevailed upon *Morone* to write to the pope, who deputed a trusty agent, by a brief of credentials, to confer with the conspirators upon the subject.

His intentions,
and insincerity.

THE matter of deliberation was, that the pope, the *French*, the *Florentines*, and other states of *Italy*, should enter into a confederacy, of which the marquis of *Pescara* should be captain-general; that all the *Spanish* soldiers in the duchy of *Milan*, who would not join the marquis, should be put to the sword; and that the confederates should then proceed to the conquest of the kingdom of *Naples*, the investiture of which was to be granted by the pope to the marquis, who had no other difficulty remaining, but whether he might not stain his honour and his conscience, by taking arms against *Charles*, who was the possessor of *Naples*, under a commission from the pope, who was its lord paramount; and desired that the point might be examined by civilians. Those unseasonable qualms, after proceeding so far, gave *Morone* some suspicion of *Pescara's* sincerity; but even that did not prevent the conspiracy from going on. The duchess of *Alençon*, sister to the *French* king, had miscarried in a negotiation, which she undertook in person, for her brother's deliverance; and the regent promised the conspirators a large sum of money, and 500 lances to be sent to *Lombardy*, to favour their design. *Morone*, upon this promise, demonstrated, that it was possible for them to execute their project, even though the marquis of *Pescara* should betray them; and he proposed, if he should give them any just cause of suspicion, to detain him, and his principal officers prisoners in the castle of *Milan*, and to proceed in the execution of their design. The pope would not have agreed to so dangerous a plan of operations, had he not been alarmed by the certain intelligence he received, that *Charles* was preparing to repair in person to *Italy*, and to put himself at the head of a great army. This news struck his holiness with terror; because the reverence for the holy see, which *Charles* professed, could be no bar to his prosecuting the claims of the empire upon *Florence*, and the other *Tuscan* states. He therefore dispatched the secretary of the *French* embassy at *Rome* to conclude the negotiation with the lady regent of *France*; but he was murdered on his journey in the *Bresciano*, to the great disquiet of the pope, who was afraid he had been intercepted by the imperialists.

- a THE marquis of *Pescara*, in the mean while, received a commission from *Charles*, appointing him his captain-general in *Italy*, which he accepted of. *Charles* likewise ordered *Carraciolo*, one of his ministers, to accommodate matters with the *Venetians*; and affected to give orders for his troops to evacuate both the *Milanese* and the ecclesiastical state; and the marquis of *Pescara*, to continue his scene of dissimulation, actually withdrew some troops from the latter. This small favour was granted to the pope to soften him in the affair of the dispensation for his marriage: by which he was in hopes immediately to raise nine hundred thousand ducats ready money; and the pope was, at last, obliged, unwillingly, to send the dispensation to the cardinal *Salvini*; but with an order to him, to produce or keep it back as he should see convenient for the affairs of his holiness. *Appointed to command for the emperor in Italy.*
- b IT was now time for *Charles* to execute his great design upon *Milan*. The marquis of *Pescara* calling together his army, he sent for *Morone*; who, forgetting all his usual maxims, repaired to *Pavia*, where the marquis had his head-quarters. He received *Morone* with great civilities, and carried him into a chamber, where *Antonio de Leva* was concealed behind the hangings. The conversation turned upon the grand design of putting all the *Spaniards* in *Lombardy* to the sword, and particularly *Antonio de Leva*; who, upon the marquis retiring, appeared, and taking *Morone* into custody, sent him prisoner to the castle of *Pavia*, where he made an ample confession of all the conspiracy against *Charles*. The marquis then demanded of *Sforza*, to be put in possession of *Frezzo*, *Lecco*, and *Pizzigittone*, which are the keys of the duchy of *Milan*. This demand was complied with, and the marquis was even admitted into *Milan*; where he required the duke to sign an order for delivering up the castle of *Cremona*, and for putting into his hands some of his ministers, who had been accused of a conspiracy against the emperor, who was lord paramount of *Milan*. *Sforza* refused to comply with those, and several other, demands, and insisted upon his innocency. Upon this the marquis obliged the people of *Milan*, greatly against their will, to take an oath of fidelity to *Charles*; at the same time he filled up all the vacant places of trust and profit in the duchy, in his master's name, removing all the officers who had been appointed by the duke, and began to block up the castles of *Milan* and *Cremona*. Those proceedings overwhelmed the pope with sorrow; as all his laboured scheme, for uniting *Italy* against the emperor, was now dashed to pieces, and he was left defenceless and exposed to the resentment of *Charles*; and, at the same time, it put a stop to the progress of the negotiation between the emperor and the *Venetians*. In this crisis, the marquis of *Pescara*, worn out by fatigue, died in the end of *November* 1525. He had been early in war; and, tho' only thirty-six years of age at the time of his death, he was accounted one of the most experienced, as well as able generals in *Europe*. His memory has been severely handled by historians, for the double part he acted, towards the end of his life, between the *Italian* princes and the emperor. His death was an irreparable loss to the latter, who had no general equal to him, either in abilities or authority, to fill his place. The *Italian* states, on their side, were as much embarrassed. They saw it impossible to carry their schemes, of a coalition, into practice, without the assistance of the *French*; which they knew would fail them, or perhaps be turned against them, upon the least hopes *Charles* should give them of their king's deliverance. The king of *England* was now the declared friend of *Francis*, and had entered heartily into the *Italian* alliance. He offered to give security to the *Florentines*, that the *French* should not make a separate peace, and for the payment of the first quarter subsidy on their part. But all his assurances could not rouse the spirit of the pope, who acted on this occasion with great despondency. He began to undeceive the public, as to the good opinion it had entertained of him when he first mounted the pontifical throne; for it now appeared, that tho' he had been an excellent and a successful first minister, yet he was but a poor-spirited, irresolute, pope. The ambassadors of the confederates at *Rome* had brought him to consent to agree to an alliance against *Charles*; but on the very day he was to sign the articles, *Herrera*, an imperial minister, arrived with new propositions for the protection of *Milan*, and the reduction of *Reggio* and *Rubiera*; which made him alter his purpose. While this matter was negotiating, a treaty was concluded between the emperor and *Francis*, by which the latter obtained his liberty; and the duke of *Seffa* and *Herrera* offered, on the part of *Charles*, to withdraw the imperial army from *Lombardy*, provided the pope and his allies would advance them one hundred and fifty thousand ducats, and agree that the duke of *Bourbon* should recover the investiture of *Milan*, if *Sforza* should be found guilty of having conspired against *Charles*. *Clement* and his allies very properly thought, that the duke of *Bourbon* possessing *Milan*, was the same thing as if it was in the hands of *Charles* himself; and having some intimation that *Francis* was determined not to fulfil the terms on which he had been set at liberty, rejected the proposals, and sent *Vittori*, the *Florentine* commander of his galleys, to dispose *Francis* to enter into *Mod. Hist. Vol. XIII.* *Betrays his confederates.* *A. D. 1525. His death.* *Henry VIII. befriends Francis;* *who is freed from prison.*

into the proposed league; but *Vittori* died at *Florence* on his road. The expectations of the public from the deliverance of the *French* king were very sanguine; and it is, at present, a doubtful point among casuists, whether he was bound in honour and conscience to fulfil the terms which he had granted, while he was under duress, and were consequently extorted, and so detrimental to his people and successors, whose rights and possessions he could not dispose of. The latter was the chief argument he made use of when he arrived at *Bayonne*: he acquainted the viceroy, who pressed him to ratify the treaty of *Madrid*, that he could not do it without the consent of the states of *France*. When the pope and the *Venetians*, who thought they must be ruined if he performed the treaty of *Madrid*, sent agents to sound him on that head, they found him furnished with a variety of arguments, foreign to this part of our work, to prove that he was under no obligation to do it, and he shewed himself very desirous of entering into a confederacy with the *Italian* states against *Charles*.

The castle of
Milan be-
sieged.

Preparations
for its relief.

The Floren-
tines take
Doria into
pay.

A. D. 1526.
A treaty, and
its terms.

THE castle of *Milan*, which held out against the imperialists for *Francis Sforza*, was now reduced to great straits; and the whole duchy was laid by *de Leva*, who commanded the *Spanish* troops, under the most oppressive contributions, which at last drove the people to despair; and they endeavoured to expel the imperialists out of *Milan*; but their efforts were in vain, and served only to increase their miseries. The pope's fears, at this time, drove him to act with rashness and precipitation. Instead of waiting the result of affairs between *Francis* and *Charles*, he hurried the *Venetians* and the other *Italian* powers into an immediate war, before the *Swiss*, on whom his great dependence lay, were in readiness to march, and before the king of *England* had formally acceded to the confederacy. Orders were sent to conclude, in all events, the treaty with *Francis*; and even before that could be done, both he and the *Venetians* put troops in motion for relieving the castle of *Milan*; but with orders not to act till advice came of the treaty being signed by *Francis*. The duke of *Urbino*, now general of the *Venetians*, advanced towards the *Adda* with their men at arms, and six thousand foot; and *Guido Rangone*, the pope's general, had orders to be in readiness to march to *Piacenza* with six thousand foot, most of them *Florentines*. The duke of *Urbino* gave it as his opinion, that the confederacy would require twelve thousand *Swiss*, to enable it to act with effect against *Charles*, and the levies were trusted to *Gianjacopo de Medici*, a *Milanese*, and the bishop of *Veruli*. They each engaged to raise six thousand men, who were to enter upon pay as soon as they arrived in the duchy of *Milan*. Those proceedings, however, were interrupted by the irresolution of *Francis*, who had delivered his two sons to *Charles* as pledges for the performance of the treaty of *Madrid*, and, on their account, was very backward in proceeding to hostilities. He offered *Charles* a sum of money in lieu of *Burgundy*; but he assured the pope and the *Venetians*, that he would make no peace with *Charles*, unless the duchy of *Milan* was evacuated, and the peace of *Italy* secured. *Charles* rejected the alternative of money; and rather than agree to the proposals of *Francis*, he thought of re-establishing *Sforza* in the duchy of *Milan*. In the mean while, the pope and the *Florentines* took into their pay the famous *Genoese* admiral *Andrew Doria*, and eight of his galleys, under pretence of freeing those seas of the *Moors* and infidels; but, in reality, to oblige the imperialists to raise the siege of *Milan*, and to bring about a revolution in *Genoa*. *Doria's* yearly pay was thirty-five thousand ducats. *Charles*, alarmed with the novelty of the pope and the *Florentines* becoming maritime powers, hastened the duke of *Bourbon* into *Italy*, and ordered all the naval force he had there to join the rest of his ships of war at *Barcelona* to oppose *Doria*. Without losing sight of the duke of *Milan*, he ordered *Don Hugo de Moncada* to repair to *Milan*, and to offer to make up all matters in difference between them, and even to make proposals to the pope. *Moncada's* journey served only to accelerate the negotiation of a confederacy against *Charles*, which at length, on the seventeenth of *May*, 1526, was concluded between the plenipotentiaries of the *French* king on one part, and those of the pope and the *Venetians* on the other. The chief articles of this negotiation related to the preservation of the *Milanese* to *Sforza*, and to the procuring the liberty of the *French* king's children. It was stipulated, that at present, for the relief of *Francesco Sforza*, besieged in the castle of *Milan*, and for the recovery of that state, the campaign should be opened with eight hundred men at arms, seven hundred light horse, and eight thousand foot for the pontiff, with eight hundred men at arms, one thousand light horse, and four thousand foot on the part of the *Venetians*; and with four hundred men at arms, three hundred light horse, and four thousand foot, to be provided by the duke of *Milan*, as soon as it lay in his power; and, in the mean time, the pontiff and *Venetians* were to furnish out the four thousand foot for him: that the king should immediately send into *Italy* five hundred lances; and, during the war, should pay every month to the pontiff and *Venetians*, forty thousand crowns, with which *Swiss* infantry should be raised: that

a that the king should immediately take the field against *Charles*, on the other side of the mountains, on what quarter should appear most convenient, with an army of at least two thousand lances, and ten thousand foot, with a sufficient train of artillery: that he should fit out twelve light galleys, and the *Venetians* thirteen, at their own charge: that the pontiff should join with those the galleys which he had hired from *Andrew Doria*: that the charges of the ships necessary for the said fleet should be in common: and that the fleet should sail against *Genoa*.

It was likewise agreed amongst the contracting parties, that after the imperialists were expelled from *Lombardy*, the confederate forces should attack the kingdom of *Naples*, and that the pope might give the investiture of it, with the consent of the allies, to any
 b person he pleased; but that it should be restored to *Charles*, if within four months after the time of its being conquered, he should set at liberty the *French* king's children, and accede to the present treaty; that *Francis* should not only defend and assist the duke of *Milan*, but endeavour to effect a new confederacy between him and the *Swiss*, *Sforza* paying him a subsidy of not less than fifty thousand crowns a year; and that *Sforza* should likewise marry some noble *French* lady of that king's chusing; that *Asti* should be restored to *Francis*, and that in *Genoa*, when reduced, he should have the same superiority as heretofore; that the confederates should omit no means, either by representation or force, to bring about the liberty of the young *French* princes; that after the *Italian* wars are finished, the confederates should be obliged to assist the king beyond the mountains against *Charles*,
 c with one thousand men at arms, fifteen hundred light horse, and eleven thousand foot, or with money instead of troops, at the king's choice; that no member of the confederacy should have the liberty, without the consent of the others, to make an agreement with *Charles*, who should be permitted to make a progress to *Rome* (in case he entered into the confederacy) for the imperial crown, with a number of troops not formidable, but such as should be directed by the pontiff and the *Venetians*; that in case of the death of any member of the alliance, the league should remain firm; and that the king of *England* should be protector and conservator of the same, with liberty to enter into it; and if he entered, a state should be assigned him in the kingdom of *Naples*, of the yearly revenue of fifty-three thousand ducats, and one of ten thousand, either in the same kingdom,
 d or in another part of *Italy*, to mollify the cardinal of *York*.

We have been the more explicit in giving the contents of this new holy league, as it is called by some historians, because, though the *Florentines* were not mentioned in it as principals, yet all *Europe* very justly looked upon them as being the chief contracting parties. The ecclesiastical dominions, and the pope's coffers, were drained of men and money, and could furnish little or nothing towards carrying on the war; so that he was obliged to depend on the *Florentines* alone for both. It is remarkable, that the *Florentines* were exempted from being named as principals, lest their commerce with the towns and other places belonging to *Charles* should be interrupted: it being only said, that they should enjoy all the exemptions, privileges, and benefits of the confederacy, as much as if they were expressly comprehended in it, the pope engaging they should in no manner oppose the league.
 e Notwithstanding those plausible pretexts, we cannot help thinking that the omission was owing, in a great measure, to the jealousy of *Clement*, who thought that the naming the *Florentines* as principals, gave them too much the air of independence upon his family.

Importance of
the Floren-
tines.

It was necessary there should be a captain-general appointed for the army of this league; but the time pressed so much, that the parties had not leisure to deliberate on an affair of so great moment. *Francis* delayed the ratification of all the articles, being still reluctant to break off all conferences with the viceroy; but put his army in motion, and remitted his first payment. The pope appointed *Rangone* to command his ecclesiastical forces, which were paid by *Florentine* money, and lay now at *Piacenza*, where he ordered the *Florentine* men at arms under *Vitelli*, who commanded them in chief to attend
 f him; and he appointed the brave *Giovanni de Medici* to be captain-general of the *Italian* infantry; as he did the historian *Guicciardin*, then president of the *Romagna*, to be lieutenant-general in the army, and in all the state of the church, with (as he tells us himself) almost unlimited powers. The *Venetian* army lay under the duke of *Urbino*, as captain-general, and *Piero de Pesaro*, as provveditor, in the *Brescian*; and both armies had orders to begin hostilities immediately in the *Milanese*.

MONCADA was then in the castle of *Milan*, and endeavoured, but in vain, to bring the duke over to his master's interest. From *Milan* he proceeded to *Rome*, where, with the duke of *Sessa* and the imperial generals, he presented himself before the pope, and
 g haughtily offered him either peace or war. *Clement's* answer was, that he could determine upon neither, without consulting his ally the king of *France*. This seems to have

Negotiation
between the
imperialists
and the pope.

^b GUICCIARDINI, book xvii.

been

been the first certain information which *Moncada* had of the lately concluded holy league; and next day he offered, in the name of his master, to reinstate *Sforza* in the duchy of *Milan*, provided that castle was deposited in the hands of *Caracciolo*, till certain immaterial forms of trial, which were requisite for *Charles's* honour, could be gone through; but the pope persisting in his answer, *Moncada* and the imperialists left *Rome* in disgust. The duke of *Urbino* now acted as captain-general of the holy league; and though letters from *de Leva* and the marquis of *Guaſto* had been intercepted, pressing *Moncada* to come to an accommodation with the pope, on account of the ruinous state of their master's affairs in *Lombardy*, yet the duke had so bad an opinion of the *Italian* infantry, and so high an one of the *Spanish* and *German*, that he refused to pass the *Adda*, unless he was reinforced by five thousand *Swiss*. He would not even pass the *Oglio*, unless he was joined by the ecclesiastical and *Florentine* army, which lay near *Piacenza*; and then he proposed to entrench himself upon the banks of the *Adda* till the *Swiss* should arrive. This dependence proved very precarious. The commissaries for raising them had neither money nor credit for bringing into the field the numbers they had engaged for; and great part of the levy money was embezzled by the contractors. Those mismanagements retarded the relief of the castle of *Milan*; and the citizens, having again broken out into open hostilities against the imperialists, were again quelled and reduced by the deaths and expulsion of the ringleaders. To make some amends for this disappointment, for such it was to the army of the league, the duke of *Urbino* and *Giovanni de Medici* surprised *Lodi* and its garrison, one of the strongest and most important fortifications in all *Lombardy*.

Lodi surprised.

Inactivity of the duke of Urbino.

THE taking of *Lodi* might have been destructive to the imperialists in *Lombardy*, had it not been for the over-caution of the duke of *Urbino*, who continued single in his opinion, though a passage over the *Adda* was now secured, against marching to *Milan*, without a large body of *Swiss*. At last, he yielded so far as to consent to move from *Lodi*; but with very slow marches, and halting every second day in expectation of the *Swiss*. The whole army of the league being now joined, amounted to twenty thousand foot, with a proportionable number of cavalry; but the *Venetian* troops were much better mounted, and supplied with arms, artillery, ammunition, and provisions. The force they had to encounter was only three thousand *German*, and between five and six thousand *Spanish* foot, lying in *Milan*, but destitute of every thing. There being yet no appearance of the *Swiss*, the confederates, slow as their marches were, drew near to *Milan*; and a council of war was held upon their method of approaching to relieve the castle. The duke of *Urbino* had not been formally constituted captain-general, and only acted as such with the tacit consent of the other confederate officers, on account of his great authority and reputation. *Guicciardin*, therefore, and the *Florentine* generals, and even the *Venetian* proveditor himself, were very free in censuring his backwardness, and blaming him for the fine opportunity he was losing of relieving the castle. At last, about fifteen hundred of the *Swiss* arriving, he was prevailed on, though against his inclination, to advance within three miles of *Milan*; and in a council of war, it was determined, *July 5*, by his sole authority, to take possession of the suburbs.

The duke of Bourbon arrives in Italy.

THE night before this measure was to have been put in execution, the duke of *Bourbon*, who had arrived at *Genoa* with six gallies, and bills of exchange for one hundred thousand ducats, threw himself at the head of eight hundred chosen *Spanish* foot into *Milan*. His arrival gave great spirit to the imperialists in that city, and as much disquiet to the pope. By the original plan of the war, *Doria* had undertaken for the reduction of *Genoa*, if joined by the *French* gallies at *Marseilles*, when hostilities commenced in *Lombardy*. *Francis*, who was still solicitous about his children, had omitted to give orders for this junction, which would have rendered *Doria* superior at sea; so that he could not only have prevented the *Spanish* gallies from entering *Genoa*, but have shut up its port, which in a very short time must have obliged that city to submit. The arrival of the duke of *Bourbon* in *Milan*, being unknown to the confederates, the duke of *Urbino* advanced with great confidence against the suburbs, where he expected no opposition; but he found them well guarded, and obstinately defended. This disappointment made him relapse into all his apprehensions from the valour and discipline of the enemy; and though he had made such dispositions that, notwithstanding all the resistance he met with, he must have carried the place; yet all of a sudden, in the night of the seventh of *July*, he ordered the artillery and ammunition to be drawn off, and all the *Venetian* troops to prepare for a march; and he sent notice to the *Florentine*, and the other generals, that he expected they would follow his example. It was in vain for them to repair to his headquarters, to enquire into the reason of so sudden and disagreeable a resolution. The rea-

• SIGONIUS de rebus gestis Andreæ Doria, pag. 229. GUIC. book xvii.

a sons he assigned were, the cowardice of the *Italian* infantry, and the dispositions which the enemy had made of their artillery. He concluded, with peremptorily insisting upon a retreat to *San Martino*, where there was a strong camp, and that the army was not properly encamped on the spot where they were.

THOSE reasons were far from being relished by the other generals. *Guicciardin* represented to him the danger, as well as disgrace of so sudden a decampment, which would discourage the pope, the *Florentines*, and the *Venetians* so much, that it would ruin all the purposes of the league; and proposed to encamp in another manner. The duke of *Urbino* would hear no reasoning upon this head, and his troops began to march in a most irregular tumultuous manner. According to *Paulus Jovius*, and other authors, *Giovanni de Medici* gallantly refused to decamp by night; and at break of day he gave a furious assault upon the *Roman* gate of *Milan*, and made his retreat in good order. The duke of *Urbino*, instead of halting, as he had ordered his army, at *San Martino*, issued orders, while they were on their march, for their proceeding some miles farther to *Marignano*, under pretence that they would be there more safe from their being attacked by the Imperialists (A). When *Guicciardin* and the *Florentine* generals applied to him, to know the reason of this fresh disgrace, he refused to give them any answer; but, pointing to his general's battoon, he told them, while he held that, he was resolved to suffer no encroachment upon his authority.

As the duke of *Urbino* had been always noted both for courage and conduct, his behaviour at this time amazed the public; and the rather, because, while he lay encamped at *Marignano*, he declared, that he found the attempt to relieve the castle of *Milan* so difficult, that he would not resume it, unless he was at the head of twelve thousand *Swiss*, and of an army double to that of the enemy.

THE imperialists in *Milan* could scarce believe their eyes, when they saw the disorderly retreat of the confederates, nor did they send a single troop out to molest them; and this drew fresh reproaches upon the duke of *Urbino* from the other generals. It was thought, with some appearance of reason, that the duke was secretly disgusted at the *Florentines*, who continued to keep possession of *San Leo* and *Monte Feliro*, and with the house of *Medici*, because the daughter of *Lorenzo de Medici* bore the title of duchess of *Urbino*; and likewise, that he resented the hardships that had been put upon him by pope *Leo*, and by *Clement* himself, while he was a cardinal. Some imagined, that he had secret instructions from the senate of *Venice* for what he did; but that is improbable, because it was against the *Venetian* interest as well as glory. *Guicciardin* is of opinion, that he really distrusted the *Italian* foot; and was afraid of being defeated by the imperialists. Whatever may be in those conjectures, it is certain that this retreat was fatal to the league. The pope had depended on the reduction of *Milan*, and had no resources either of courage, constancy, or money. A body of *Spanish* foot, garrisoned at *Cerpi*, laid waste all the ecclesiastical dominions, and cut off the communication between *Florence* and the army, which was thereby distressed for want of money. As to the *Florentines*, they still continued to supply him; but the necessities of his holiness were now encreased.

THE family of *Colonna*, and the imperial party about *Rome*, had fomented insurrections in that city, and were actually in arms in its neighbourhood. This laid the pope under prodigious inconveniences, as the war was now carried on at the gates of his own capital. He began to contrive how to alter the government of *Sienna*; and was, by a pretended traitor, deluded into an attempt upon that city, which, in case of a war continuing, he thought would be of the utmost consequence both to *Rome* and *Florence*, if it was reduced to his power. The plot being discovered, the *Siennese* treated the plotters, soldiers, and party, with so much indignity, that he employed a body of *Florentines*, in conjunction with his own troops, to reduce them by force. The soldiers employed upon this occasion, amounted to twelve hundred horse and eight thousand foot, but all of them new-raised raw troops, and they approached the walls of *Sienna* with nine pieces of cannon. This army had in it a great number of exiles, whose interest within the city was very considerable; and they had given the *Florentines* the strongest assurances, that the army would no sooner appear before the city, than an insurrection of the people would happen. At the same time *Doria*, with the pope's fleet, was employed in battering the ports of the *Siennese* by sea; but the hatred which the *Siennese*, of all ranks, entertained of the pope and the *Florentines*, defeated all the hopes of the latter. No insurrection took place, and the *Florentines* were obliged to lay a regular siege to the city.

(A) *Guicciardin*, in speaking of this flight, said, that the duke might reverse the boast of *Cæsar*, and have said, *Veni, vidi, fugi*, I came, I saw, I fled.

agrees to an
amistice.

His holiness being thus, as usual, disappointed in his sanguine expectations, began to give ear to *Moncada*, who had now returned to *Rome*, under pretence of mediating between him and the *Colonna* party and the *Siennese*. This happened at the time when both he and the *Florentines* were thinking of withdrawing their army from *Sienna*. But an accommodation being now proposed, they defended it, as thinking that the continuance of the army before *Sienna* would give weight to the negotiation. At last, being disappointed in that expectation likewise, orders were actually sent, both from *Rome* and *Florence*, for raising the siege. The day before those orders were to have been executed, four hundred foot of the besieged sallied out of the city and attacked the artillery, which was guarded by a regiment under *Jacopo Corso*, which immediately gave way; and the whole army following the example, a total flight ensued, and the besiegers left in the hands of their enemies ten pieces of cannon belonging to the *Florentines*, and seven belonging to the *Perugians* or the pope; all which were carried with great triumph into *Sienna*.

Displeasure of
the Milanese.

THE progress of the war in *Lombardy* continued still to be unsuccessful, on the part of the league. Five thousand of the *Swiss* troops were arrived; but the duke of *Urbino* refused to resume the operations of the campaign, without a farther reinforcement, which, on account of the insolence and avarice of the people, could not be obtained. The imperialists availed themselves of the duke's inactivity to fortify *Milan*, and to plunder the citizens, whose oppressions grew every day more intolerable. They had no recourse but in the duke of *Bourbon*, on whom *Charles* was said to have bestowed their city and duchy. They therefore addressed him in a body, for relief to their miseries. He promised them relief, upon their paying a sum of money; but after that was paid, their distress was such that many of them put an end to their lives. The army of the league lay still at *Marignano*; and it was, at last, resolved to make an attempt for the relief of the castle; but after a fruitless motion for that purpose had been made, it surrendered by capitulation on the 24th of *July*. After the surrender, the duke of *Urbino* insisted upon a general of the whole league being formally chosen, but that election was postponed; and the *French* king growing remiss in prosecuting the war, the pope lost all spirit. It is observed, however, by historians, that during this state of inactivity, *Giovanni de Medici* trained the *Florentine* infantry in such a manner, that, from being contemptible, they became the best troops in the army. The pope, by this time, grew jealous of the king of *England*, who had not fulfilled his engagements with the league; and he solicited the *French* king to join with him and the *Venetians*, in the invasion of *Naples* by sea and land; but *Francis* continued still to treat with *Charles*, who applied himself more than ever to the affairs of the war; and his generals in *Lombardy* took *Cremona*, which the generals of the confederates again besieged, and it was again yielded to *Sforza*. In the mean while the marquis of *Mantua*, who remained inactive, and whose territories were in common to both parties, was again taken into the pay of the *Florentines*, his former time of service being expired. He was in no great reputation amongst the confederate generals, and not being employed, he wisely kept his dominions neutral, by pleading to *Charles* that he was in the pay of the *Florentines*, and to the league, that he was the feudatory of the emperor. It was, however, necessary for the *Florentines* to keep him in pay, because of the convenient situation of his states.

The Florentines uneasy.

The pope takes
refuge in the
castle of St.
Angelo.

THE *Florentines*, about this time, began very sensibly to feel the expences of the war, especially in *Lombardy*, which was carried on almost entirely at their charge; and shewed so much reluctance to advance more money, that his holiness was obliged to compromise matters with his enemies of the family of *Colonna*, who, breaking their agreement, surprised the gates of *Rome*, plundered not only his palace, but the church of *St. Peter*, and obliged him first to take refuge in the castle of *St. Angelo*, and afterwards to make a truce with the imperialists for four months. The *Florentines* were included in this truce, which was very disadvantageous to his holiness. By it he was obliged to withdraw all his troops from *Lombardy*; to order *Andrew Doria* to desist from all hostile enterprizes by sea; to pardon the *Colonna* family, and to give hostages for the performance. This truce broke all the scheme of operations in *Lombardy*, at the very time when, by the junction of the *French* troops under the marquis of *Saluzzo*, they began to wear a more favourable aspect. The pope, however, found means so far to evade the truce, that he ordered four thousand of the *Florentine* troops to remain with those in the league under *Giovanni de Medici*, on pretence of their having been taken for a certain time into the *French* pay. *Charles* began now to shew himself a great and an able prince; and instead of being amused by the fair offers of the pope and his confederates, backed by the *English* ambassador, he equipped an armament of forty sail in the port of *Carthagena*, and after putting on board it six thousand troops, he sent it to *Italy*. The war still went on in *Lombardy*, because the pope's allies were not affected by the truce he had made at *Rome*; but nothing decisive

- a decisive happened on either part. The duke of *Urbino* still continued to differ in opinion from all the other generals of the league, and was therefore unfortunate in all his designs and operations. The pope, after rendering himself contemptible to all the courts of *Europe*, by the pusillanimity and inconsistency of his conduct, having recalled part of his troops from *Lombardy*, employed them under *Vitello* against the *Colonnas*, who he saw had forced them into the truce. This scheme likewise proving ineffectual, he entered into a negotiation with the duke of *Ferrara*, which was broken off by the arrival of the *Spanish* troops in *Italy*, and by *Charles* sending to the duke the investiture of *Modena* and *Reggio*. By this time a fresh army of about fourteen thousand *Germans*, under *Fronsberg*, had entered *Lombardy*, and were opposed by the army under the duke of *Urbino*; but in a skirmish at *Borgheserte*, in the *Mantuan*, *Giovanni de Medici* lost his life, to the irreparable damage of the confederates, though he was, at the time of his death, no more than twenty-nine years of age. Negotiations, nevertheless, still went on; and while the imperial army, and that of the league, were fighting in the field, their ministers were treating in the cabinet, both with equal effect, for the war was carried on with pusillanimity, and the negotiations managed with insincerity. The pope grew every day more contemptible, and was deserted by the *French* king in an expedition he had formed against *Naples*, which at first had very promising appearances of success. The duke of *Bourbon* was now advancing against *Rome* itself, by the way of *Tuscany*; and his holiness was infinitely anxious about the fate of *Florence*, being followed but at the distance of about thirty miles by the duke of *Urbino*, whose caution was as much applauded by the *Venetians*, as it was blamed by the pope.

A new army of imperialists enter Lombardy.

ON the third of *January*, 1527, the duke of *Urbino* having advanced as far as *Parma*, began, under colour of illness, to make preparations for returning to *Lombardy*. He was still attended by *Guicciardin*, who, from the beginning of the year, had observed that the duke had done all in his power to cross the interest of the pope and the *Florentines*; and from some words that had dropped from him, he perceived he was not to be satisfied unless the latter restored to him *San Leo* and *Montefeltro*. *Guicciardin* knew that the public voice at *Florence* was for the restitution, and ventured in the name of the republic, to promise it, and even pretended, that he received letters from his holiness to that effect; for which, however, he was afterwards blamed by the pope.

Designs of the duke of Urbino.

- d THE duke of *Ferrara*, though he did not serve personally in the imperial army, directed all its motions; and, by his advice, the duke of *Bourbon*, without amusing himself with taking or garrisoning smaller places, pointed his march towards *Florence* and *Rome*. His army was in a most wretched condition, and his troops obliged to pay themselves by the contributions which they levied upon the places through which they passed. The *Spanish* foot at first mutinied, and were, with some difficulty, reduced to order by the duke; but the *Germans*, who had not, ever since their being raised, received above three ducats a man, served cheerfully under the command of *Fronsberg*, whom they entirely loved, and who promised them the plunder of *Rome*, and the rich *Italian* provinces. It was with some difficulty that the marquis of *Saluzzo* secured *Bologna* from being surprised by the imperialists. The duke of *Bourbon* was now arrived at *Buonporto*; and in a personal interview he had with the duke of *Ferrara* at *Finale*, he was confirmed in his purpose of marching directly to *Florence*, and from thence to *Rome*, though unprovided with money, artillery, pioneers, provisions, stores, and every thing that could promise him success in so desperate an undertaking. Being arrived in the *Bolognese*, he, pretending that he was marching to the relief of the kingdom of *Naples*, demanded a supply of provisions. This demand not being speedily complied with, because the imperialists had no money, they were obliged to enlarge their quarters; and had there been the least conduct or union amongst the generals of the league, they might have been easily surprised and cut in pieces; for the *Spanish* foot again mutinied for their pay, and had almost killed the duke of *Bourbon*, in endeavouring to appease them, which he could not do without giving them a sum of money, which he borrowed from the duke of *Ferrara*.

The duke of Bourbon advances against Tuscany and Rome.

POPE *Clement* had now nothing to trust to but the wants of the imperialists, for preserving himself on the pontifical throne. All the pompous promises that had been made him by the *French* king, were now vanished into air; and though the king of *England* still continued his professions of friendship to the league, yet he was at too great a distance to afford his holiness any immediate relief. The *Venetians* were slow in their motions, and backward in their payments; so that the troops under the marquis of *Saluzzo*, quartered in the *Bolognese*, could not be brought to move; but, above all, he dreaded the spirit of the *Florentines*, who were now exasperated beyond measure, on account of the immense sums that had been extorted from them, without their having the least prospect of being reimbursed. All those considerations determined the pontiff to enter into a negotiation with the imperial agents at *Rome* for a suspension of arms during eight months; which

Distress of the pope increases.

which was at last concluded, upon his holiness paying to the imperial army sixty thousand ducats, and reinstating the *Colonnas* in their lands and privileges. It was likewise agreed, that all the places which had been taken by either party in the ecclesiastical state, or the kingdom of *Naples*, should be restored. A certain time was to be allotted for the king of *France* and the *Venetians* to accede to this armistice; and the *Germans*, in any event, were to evacuate the ecclesiastical state, and that of *Florence*, upon the pope paying them the farther sum of forty thousand ducats.

Imprudence of
the pope.

THIS agreement made the pope perfectly secure, and the rather, because his lieutenant, *Guicciardin*, had intercepted some letters from the duke of *Bourbon*, by which it appeared that he was in the utmost despair and distress. He therefore imprudently dismissed all his army, excepting one hundred light horse and two thousand foot, and sent *Pieramosca*, one of the imperial agents, who had concluded the armistice into the *Bolognese*, to procure the accession of the duke of *Bourbon* to the same. That duke, partly through policy, and partly dispirited by the temper of his army intent on plunder, delayed the ratification, and was busied in procuring from the duke of *Ferrara* a supply of all kinds of necessaries for his army. The pope ordered *Guicciardin* to apply to the duke, but he received only fair words; and at last *Bourbon*, pretending to be over-ruled by the tumultuous disposition of his army, gave orders for its marching forwards. According to the best information, that duke was actually no longer master of his army, which would have killed a messenger from the viceroy of *Naples*, sent to desire him to accept of the truce, had he not fled. The pope thought that money alone was wanting to stop his progress, and he threw the charge of providing it upon the *Florentines*. Even the viceroy offered *Bourbon* twenty thousand ducats to appease his troops. But all was ineffectual; *Guicciardin* now saw that nothing but the activity of the confederates, who were in the *Bolognese*, could save the holy see from ruin, and therefore he solicited the marquis of *Saluzzo*, and the *Venetians*, to march directly to his assistance; but the pope by this time had lost his credit with all parties. They plainly saw that he would purchase peace upon any terms; and though the viceroy of *Naples* had come to *Florence*, to have an interview with the duke of *Bourbon*, to persuade him to forbear, yet all was ineffectual. The *Venetians* dallied with him; but far from refusing to assist him, they sent orders to the duke of *Urbino*, to decamp from *Casal Maggiore*, and to advance towards *Tuscany*; but all he did was sending two thousand foot to guard his own dominions.

Bourbon
marches
towards Tuf-
cany.

THE duke of *Bourbon* still continued his march towards *Tuscany*, though he had no notice that the viceroy remained still at *Florence*, and had come to an agreement with the *Florentines*, that upon the payment of sixty thousand ducats, the duke of *Bourbon's* army should return to *Lombardy* within five days, and that the viceroy was actually set out to have a personal interview with *Bourbon* for that purpose. It was thought that the viceroy's intention was to turn the whole force of the war against the *Venetians*; for he refused to separate the *Spanish* foot, as he promised, from *Bourbon's* army, which proceeded with equal rapidity and rapaciousness against friends and foes. At last *Bourbon* entered the valley of *Galeata*, which belonged to the *Florentines*; where he received from *Guicciardin* fresh advices of the accommodation that the viceroy had come to, and that he was on his journey to meet him. But all was to no purpose; for he advanced to *Santa Maria*, in *Bagno*, though all the while he pretended to be extremely desirous of a treaty.

Artful ma-
nagement of
Guicciardin.

THE interests of *Florence* and the pope were now separated, for the duke of *Bourbon* had no other option, than whether he should plunder *Florence* or *Rome*. *Guicciardin* managed so artfully, that he procured the marquis of *Saluzzo's* promise to march with the troops in the *French* pay, and part of the *Venetians*, to protect his countrymen the *Florentines*, who, on their part, agreed to give those troops pay from the time they entered *Tuscany*, and to come to no accommodation with the imperialists, even though the pope should. The *Florentines* farther agreed to restore to the duke of *Urbino*, the fortresses of *San Leo* and *Majuolo*. That duke therefore about the twenty-second of *April*, entered *Tuscany*. The cardinal of *Cortona*, at this time, acted as a kind of deputy for the pope in *Florence*; and both armies being now in *Tuscany*, he left that city, that he might pay his compliments to the duke of *Urbino*, who was at hand, and intended to enter *Florence*. The cardinal was no sooner gone, than the *Florentines*, the youthful part of them particularly, tumultuously demanded of the magistrates arms out of the arsenal, to defend themselves against all foreigners. This not being readily complied with, the insurgents seized upon the town-house, in the principal square of the city, and obliged the magistrates to proclaim *Hippolito* and *Alessandro de Medici* rebels.

Disturbances
of Florence
appeased.

THE truth is, the *Florentines*, by this time, both despised and hated the pope, and wanted to return to their popular government. While they were deliberating on the means

a means of effecting that, the duke of *Urbino*, and the marquis of *Salazze*, whose infantry was encamped in the plain near *Florence*, with the cardinal *Cortona*, *Hippolito de Medici*, and a great number of officers, entered the city, and putting fifteen hundred foot under arms, they marched in a body to the great square, which they immediately took possession of, but were repulsed in an attack they made upon the town house. Upon this, the duke of *Urbino* ordered some *Venetian* soldiers to enter *Florence*; and dispositions were made for storming the town house. *Bozzola*, presuming on his authority with the young nobility there, had repaired to them, and proposed terms of accommodation; but he hardly escaped with his life, and was going to advise the duke of *Urbino*, to proceed to extremities, when the duke resolved to try fair methods, and to promise a pardon to all the insurgents. This being offered, the tumult was accordingly composed; but *Guicciardin* was, by the cardinal of *Cortona*, blamed for his advice, because, had the place been stormed, all the enemies to the family of the *Medici* must have been put to death; while he was, on the other hand, accused by the populace for having favoured that family.

THIS dangerous commotion in *Florence*, gave the *Venetians* and the other confederates, a very indifferent opinion of the attachment of the *Florentines* to the pope and his family; and they refused to proceed farther in *Tuscany*, without greater assurances of the constancy of the *Florentines* in the confederacy; and that the *Florentines* should themselves become principals, and furnish ten thousand foot towards the common cause. The *Florentines* agreed to enter as principals; but referred themselves to the pope for the quota of troops they were to contribute. His holiness, afraid of farther exasperating the *Florentines*, pleaded to the allies the inability they were under for satisfying so exorbitant a demand, and brought the *French* and *Venetian* ambassadors to agree to a new treaty, by which they were obliged to furnish him with large sums of money. The *Venetian* senate disapproved of their ambassador's conduct; and the *French* king was but very little disposed to fulfil the agreement. The state of *Florence*, however, was probably saved by the neighbourhood of the confederate army; for the duke of *Bourbon* considering his own weakness and necessities, and that the success of any attempt against *Florence* was precarious, marched by the advice of the duke of *Ferrara* and *Morone*, who, being now released from prison, was become a strong imperialist, directly for *Rome*, which was now defenceless, the pope having disbanded all his troops. On the twenty-sixth of *April* he set out for the territory of *Arrezzo*, leaving all his cannon and heavy baggage behind him; and before the pope knew he was upon his march, he presented himself and his army before the gates of *Rome*. The *Florentines* had advice of *Bourbon's* march from *Vittillo*, but it was too late; for not knowing that *Bourbon* had left his artillery and heavy baggage behind him, they sent five thousand troops to *Rome*, in hopes that they would come time enough to succour the pope, and ordered their whole army, and that of the ecclesiastical state, to follow. *Renzo de Ceri* was entrusted by the pope for the defence of *Rome*; and he was so confident of making an effectual resistance, that he assured his holiness that he had nothing to fear, and even hindered the merchants from carrying their effects to places of security. A thick fog favoured him when he was met by *Guicciardin*. He endeavoured to persuade him from making his approaches, but he desperately resolved, being unprovided of every thing, either to die or take the city. Perceiving that the *German* foot proceeded but slowly in the service, he snatched a ladder, and in person applied it to the walls; but was killed by a shot from a *harquebuz*. His death, far from restraining the ardour of the assailants, increased it; and, with the loss of about one thousand men, they entered and sacked the city, while the pope was obliged to withdraw to the castle of *St. Angelo*. The disorders committed by the soldiers were dreadful, and the booty they made incredible. They added insults to cruelty, and scoffs to rapaciousness. Upon the news of *Bourbon's* death, his holiness, imagining that his troops, no longer animated by his implacable spirit, might listen to an accommodation, demanded a parley; but, in the mean while, neglected all means for defence. The *Spanish* and *German* foot, sensible of this, and that they had nothing to fear, proceeded to enter and to plunder the richer quarters of the city. The *Spanish* and *German* cardinals, and the nobility in their interest, thought themselves safe, and removed neither their persons nor effects. But they were deceived; for they underwent the same fate as their antagonists. The *Spaniards*, as the *Germans*, made amends by plunder for their want of pay; but many of the latter being *Lutherans*, they had no manner of regard to the sanctity either of churches or churchmen. The former were plundered of all their furniture, and the latter were punished in their persons. Cardinals and bishops were ignominiously exposed upon asses, with their legs and hands bound; and a great number of wealthy citizens, who were suspected of having secreted their effects and money, were tortured, many of them even to death, to oblige them to make discoveries. The paying an exorbitant ransom was the only safe guard that the greatest *Roman* had;

New negotiations.

Bourbon proceeds to Rome,

which he sacks, but is killed.

Disorders of his army.

and the booty, in plunder and ransoms, is said to have amounted to about two millions and a half of ducats. a

The Florentines endeavour to relieve the pope.

THOUGH the *Italians*, in general, hated both the person and power of the pope, yet they could not bear the thoughts that barbarians should domineer in *Rome*; and the *Florentines* thought themselves obliged to rescue their countryman, and the head of the church, from his danger. *Rangone* advanced with the light horse and eight hundred harquebusiers to *Ponte di Salara*, in hopes to have the glory of delivering the pontiff; but understanding there that the *Bourbonites* were masters of *Rome*, he fell back to *Otricoli*, to join the rest of his army. He was greatly blamed for this retreat, it being thought that, if he had entered *Rome*, he might have put the *Bourbonites*, who were all of them dispersed and intent on plunder, to the sword. But the root of the pope's misfortunes lay in the duke of *Urbino*, who still continued to command the *Venetians*, and who sought all opportunities to protract time. The *Swiss* in the *Venetian* service were so ill paid, that it was the third of *May* before they left *Florence*; and, by the dilatory measures of the duke, it was the eleventh before they advanced to *Crevietto*. Here *Bozzolo* laid a scheme for relieving the pope and the cardinals out of the castle of *St. Angelo*; but it proved abortive by *Bozzolo's* falling from his horse. Mean while the duke of *Urbino* amused himself in bringing about a new revolution in favour of his friends in *Perugia*; but at last, on the nineteenth of the same month, by slow degrees, he came to *Nepi*, from whence the pope was informed, by *Guicciardin*, of his approach. His holiness was now far advanced in an accommodation with the *Bourbonite* army; but on the prospect of his being relieved, he broke it off. *Rangone* offered to undertake the deliverance of the pope, if supported by the duke of *Urbino*, who consented to the same; but invented so many pretexts and trifling excuses for delaying the execution, that the design came to nothing. He even threatened to punish some of his officers who maintained that it was practicable to relieve the castle. In short, he at last declared he could not attempt it without sixteen thousand additional *Swiss* to his army, ten thousand *Italian* musqueteers, three thousand pioneers, and forty pieces of cannon. He desired *Guicciardin* to inform his holiness, that he could not proceed till such a force was assembled. b

Backwardness of Urbino.

It was plain from this proposition, that the duke meant to do nothing, because it was not only impossible to bring such an army to the field, but a fresh army was then on its march from *Naples* to reinforce the *Bourbonites* in *Rome*. After various consultations the confederate army retired to *Monteruosi*, shamefully abandoning the pope in his danger. The great prince of *Orange*, the founder of the *Dutch* republic, had succeeded to the duke of *Bourbon's* command; and it, perhaps, was from the contempt he contracted for the pope and his religion, on this occasion, that he conceived ideas of the necessity for a reformation. The viceroy of *Naples* had been employed by the pope, when all other resources failed, for an accommodation; and he readily undertook it, both because he was disposed to serve his holiness, and because he was in hopes to have supplanted the prince of *Orange* in his command; but when he came to *Rome*, far from having any authority with the *Bourbonites*, he found his life in danger, by his offering to take upon him to treat; and therefore the pope was obliged, on the sixth of *June*, to come to a most disgraceful accommodation with his enemies. The terms were, that he should pay them four hundred thousand ducats, of which one hundred thousand were to be paid immediately, and the rest at stated times, but the whole within two months; and he was to remain a close prisoner till the first one hundred and fifty thousand were paid, together with the thirteen cardinals who were with him; after which they were to be removed to *Gaeta*, or *Naples*, there to wait for the determination of *Charles*: he likewise agreed to give hostages for the payment of the money, the castles of *St. Angelo*, *Ostia*, *Civita Vecchia*, and *Civita Castellana*, together with the cities of *Piacenza*, *Parma*, and *Modena*, and to submit to many other mortifications. c

Retreat of the confederates.

BUT his holiness, in this agreement, stipulated for more than he could perform. *Andrew Doria* being in possession of *Civita Vecchia*, refused to give it up without being paid his arrears; and the cities of *Parma* and *Piacenza* refused to submit to the *Spaniards*. The duke of *Ferrara* seized *Modena*, without resistance; and the *Venetians*, though they seemed to blame him, made themselves masters of *Ravenna*; as *Sigismondo Malatesta* did of *Rimini*. d

The pope redeems himself from captivity.

THE *Florentines*, on this occasion, experienced a new revolution. The cardinal of *Cortona* continued to govern that state in the pontiff's name; but he no sooner heard of his being made a prisoner, than, despairing of raising money from the citizens, and loth to advance any himself, he summoned a general meeting, and he resigned into the hands of the citizens his power and authority, which they gladly accepted of, and thereby resumed their popular form of government. All he bargained for was, that the pope's nephews might have e

Revolution in Florence in favour of the popular government.

THE *Florentines*, on this occasion, experienced a new revolution. The cardinal of *Cortona* continued to govern that state in the pontiff's name; but he no sooner heard of his being made a prisoner, than, despairing of raising money from the citizens, and loth to advance any himself, he summoned a general meeting, and he resigned into the hands of the citizens his power and authority, which they gladly accepted of, and thereby resumed their popular form of government. All he bargained for was, that the pope's nephews might have f

- a have liberty to remain at *Florence* in a private capacity ; and that a general amnesty should be published ; all which being obtained, he retired to *Lucca*. He was scarcely arrived there, when he repented of his pusillanimous precipitate conduct, and sent messengers to prevail on the governors of the citadels of *Pisa* and *Leghorn*, who were friends to the *Medici* family, to keep possession of those forts. The *Florentines*, having foreseen what would happen, had been before-hand with him, and partly by persuasion, partly by money, had got the places into their own hands. The *Florentine* people, thus having almost miraculously recovered their liberty and constitution, chose *Niccolò Capponi* gonfalonier of justice for one year, with a liberty of being confirmed for three. He was a person highly respectable by his blood, but more by his wisdom and virtue. He was zealous for the freedom of his country ; but endeavoured to persuade his fellow-citizens to avoid that democratical spirit which had so often endangered or overturned their constitution.

b THE *Florentines* were too much exasperated when they reflected on the vast sums they had expended in the quarrels of the *Medici* family, to hearken to the voice of reason. The enemies of that house calculated, that it had cost them five hundred thousand ducats to defend the duchy of *Urbino* for the holy see ; that pope *Leo's* wars with the *French* king had cost them as much ; that they had paid three hundred thousand ducats to the viceroy of *Naples* and the imperial generals, about the time of *Clement's* creation ; and that they had expended six hundred thousand in the war against *Charles* ; so that, upon the whole, they calculated that the pope's quarrels, which were entirely foreign to their own, had cost them about two millions of ducats in a few years, (a sum that no crowned head in *Europe* could have advanced in so short a time) without receiving from it the smallest benefit either of power or revenue. The recollection of all this rendered the *Florentines* quite outrageous against the partizans of the *Medici*, whom they bitterly persecuted on every occasion. They went so far as to demolish all the arms and marks of distinction belonging to that house throughout their city, and even proceeded to appropriate their private estates for reimbursing themselves.

- c THE *Bourbon* army (for it properly can go under no other name) still remained in *Rome* ; and the sweets of plunder had extinguished all discipline among them. They now listened to nothing but the dictates of rapaciousness. They disregarded the prince of *Orange*, while d the viceroy of *Naples*, and the marquis of *Guaſto*, were obliged to fly from *Rome* to escape their fury. This intemperate behaviour saved the pope from utter ruin. Twenty-two thousand regular troops were assembled in *Rome*, and its neighbourhood ; and they might have possessed themselves of all the ecclesiastical state ; but their views were confined to plunder entirely, and their riotous manner of life, together with the heats of the season, introduced amongst them pestilential diseases, which communicated themselves even to *Florence*, and swept off prodigious numbers. The inactivity of the *Bourbon* army, and the death of its general, prevailed with the *French* king to renew his negotiations for a general league against *Charles* in *Italy*, into which the king of *England* readily entered ; but failing in the performance of his engagements, they were converted into a subsidy in money, and e *Francis* linked himself with the *Venetians* and the duke of *Milan*. It was agreed, to take into the pay of their confederacy ten thousand *Swiss* and ten thousand *Italian* foot, besides ten thousand *French*, that were to be commanded by *Pietro Navarra*, five hundred lances, and eighteen pieces of artillery, the whole to be commanded by *Lautrec*, at the desire of the king of *England*.

f THE partizans of the *Medici* family continued still powerful in *Florence* : and though the emperor offered to take the new-modelled state under his protection, at their own request made by the duke of *Ferrara*, they entered into the new confederacy, and obliged themselves to keep in pay five thousand foot, which highly exasperated *Charles*. The pestilence at last communicating itself to the army of the league, it retired first to *Orvieto*, and afterwards to *Castello della Pieve* ; and being apprehensive they might be attacked by the imperialists, it was with difficulty they were prevented from taking shelter in the state of *Florence*. The pope now despaired of relief ; and all the favour he could obtain, was leave to remain in the castle of *St. Angelo*, and to apply to *Charles* for favour by the cardinal of *Farnese*, who declined the legation. *Lautrec* at last, in the beginning of *July*, proceeded to *Italy*, the king of *England* having advanced vast sums for support of the league. The armaments on the part of the confederates were expected to be more powerful than any that had been yet made ; and *Lautrec* had the title of captain-general of the league. His motions encouraged the *Venetians* and the *Milanese* to bestir themselves in *Lombardy* ; but they were repulsed by *Antonio de Leva*, who likewise defeated the *Swiss* governor of *Mus*, as he g was advancing to join the *French* army.

THE relief of the pope from his confinement in the castle of *St. Angelo*, became now a serious matter with all the powers of *Europe*. The emperor hearing of his captivity, ridiculously

The Medici hated there.

Miseries of Rome continued.

A new confederacy.

Diffimulation of the emperor.

culously put himself into mourning, yet continued him in prison: upon which the kings of *England* and *France* sent formal ambassies to demand from *Charles* the deliverance of his holiness. This produced only vague promises; and had it not been for too much exasperating the other powers of *Europe*, particularly *England*, he would have ordered him to be carried to *Spain*; but *Charles* was intimidated by the confederacy that had been formed; and, in compliment to *Henry*, he ordered his holiness to be restored to his liberty, and put in possession of the towns and places that had been taken from him. This was far from giving peace to *Christendom*. The kings of *France* and *England*, though their views in making war were very different, prescribed to *Charles* the preliminaries for a treaty; the chief articles of which were, his accepting of two millions of ducats in lieu of all his demands; his sending home the *French* king's children, and suffering the affairs of *Italy* to remain as they were. *Charles* rejected those terms, and made preparations for an *Italian* war with more vigour than ever. The imperial army in *Rome* continued still indolent and inactive, and was daily wasting away by the plague, which drove the prince of *Orange* to *Sienna*, where he was obliged to employ his authority and some force to preserve the imperial interest.

Disorders of
the Bourbon-
ites.

HITHERTO *Charles* had proceeded no farther in the liberation of the pope, than by pretending to issue orders out. But his troops refused to obey; and the pope, unable to raise any more money than the first payment of one hundred and fifty thousand ducats, or to give any fresh security for the payment of the rest, they threatened to hang up all the hostages. At last, however, they moved from *Rome*, as it were for the change of air; and, after plundering *Terni* and *Narni*, they prepared to make an irruption into the *Florentine* dominions. This was the more practicable on account of the weakness of the confederate army, the greatest part of which was assembled in the *Milanese*. The *Florentines* were sensible of their danger, and had raised for their defence eighty men at arms, one hundred and fifty light horse, and four thousand foot, all of them in excellent order, and punctually paid, which was far from being the case with the troops of their allies. The duke of *Urbino's* dilatory motions were now openly blamed by all the parties of the confederacy; and the *Venetians* themselves, suspecting him of treachery, had put his wife and son under arrest at *Venice*. It was thought, however, at this time, that the imperial army in *Italy* was reduced to ten thousand foot, which encouraged the confederates to make some motions in the *Romagna*, where they took the abbey of *San Pietro*, and some other inconsiderable places. Afterwards the duke of *Urbino* took up his quarters at *Narni*, as the *French* did at *Bevagna*; while the *Florentine* infantry, commanded by *Oratio Baglioni*, having no quarters assigned them, took and plundered the town of *Montefalco*, and afterwards the *Bressian*. Alike ineffectual were the operations of the confederates in *Lombardy*, till the arrival of *Lautrec* in *Piedmont*, in the beginning of *August*. His first undertaking was against *Bosco*, which he obliged to surrender, though it was garrisoned by one thousand imperialists. About the same time *Andrew Doria*, who was now in the pay of *Francis*, obliged *Genoa* again to submit to the *French*. Those successes gave great spirit to the affairs of the league under *Lautrec*, whose army was now assembled; and he laid siege to the important city of *Alessandria*, which he took; but he was obliged to put it into the hands of the duke of *Milan*. The city of *Milan* was, at this time, possessed by *Antonio de Leva*, who dispatched one of his officers, *Belgiojoso*, to defend *Pavia*, which *Lautrec* instantly invested, and took about the middle of *September*. It is said, the remembrance of the defeat and disgrace which the *French* had suffered before that city, made them treat the inhabitants with vast inhumanity.

Affairs of
Lombardy.

Danger of
Florence.

THE *Florentines*, at this time, considered themselves as being in the most imminent danger. The great force of the league lay in *Lombardy*; and their dominions were exposed to the imperial army in the *Romagna* and the ecclesiastical state. *Lautrec* had been soured by being forced to resign *Alessandria* to the confederates, and was therefore glad of an opportunity to humble them. After the taking of *Pavia*, the *Florentines* solicited him to march forward to the *Romagna*, while the duke of *Milan* and the *Venetians* insisted upon his besieging *Milan*. *Lautrec* complied with the *Venetians*, pretending that his orders were first to deliver the pope from his prison, and then to attempt the conquest of *Naples*. It was thought that *Lautrec* had private orders from *Francis*, not to put *Sforza* in possession of all the *Milanese*, but to keep it as a bait for the emperor, during the negotiation, which was still in dependence,

Obstinacy of
the emperor.

THE loss of *Pavia* and *Alessandria*, far from mollifying *Charles*, rendered him more obstinate than ever, and he rose in his demands; one of which was, that the *Florentines* should pay him thirty thousand ducats for the non-observance of their engagements. At last, *Lautrec*, having concerted measures with *Doria* and the *Venetians*, for attacking *Naples* by sea, passed the *Po*; but received private orders from *Francis* to act with great coldness, so that he threw all the impediments he could into the affairs of the confederacy. He brought the duke

a duke of *Ferrara*, however, to agree to become a party in the league, which he did upon conditions very advantageous to himself and his family; and his example was followed by the marquis of *Mantua*. The slowness of *Lautrec's* marches again endangered *Florence*; for tho' the duke of *Urbino* and the marquis of *Saluzzo* were now in *Tuscany*, their armies were so ill paid, that, if the imperialists had advanced, they must have retired under the walls of *Florence*, the duke of *Urbino's* troops not exceeding three thousand men. *Lautrec* remained all this time near *Parma* and *Piacenza*; but the apprehensions of his advancing to free the pope, now rendered *Charles* in earnest about his deliverance: tho' his terms continued to be so unfavourable to the pontiff, that the negotiation was spun out to a great length to no purpose. His holiness pressed *Lautrec* to hasten his march, protesting that he should be obliged, if he did not, to accept of the emperor's terms, hard as they were. But *Charles*, who was apprehensive of a revolution in *Naples*, partly freed him from that disagreeable necessity, by ordering *Moncada* to finish the negotiation, and to restore the pontiff to his liberty, which was done on the last day of *October*. The terms were, that his holiness should observe a strict neutrality between *Charles* and his enemies; and that he should deposit in the emperor's hands *Ostia*, *Civita Vecchia*, *Civita Castellana*, and the citadel of *Forli*; and give hostages for the performance of the treaty. He was likewise to pay, in the whole, about three hundred and fifty thousand ducats amongst the *Spanish* and *German* soldiers; and to grant the emperor liberty to raise money out of the ecclesiastical revenues of *Spain* and *Naples*. His holiness was reduced to great difficulties, and obliged to pursue some very
c simoniacal measures to enable him to fulfil his contract. He even distrusted *Moncada* so much, that he stole in disguise out of the castle, and posted to *Orvieto*, before he could think himself in safety. Upon the pope's deliverance, *Lautrec* advanced to *Bologna*, where he spent twenty days, and strongly solicited the pope to enter into the confederacy; but he met only with evasive answers. The negotiations for peace, however, still went on, and *Charles* appeared willing to make up matters with the *Florentines*; but the negotiation proving ineffectual, war was denounced on the part of the confederacy against the emperor, who thereupon ordered the *French*, the *Venetian*, and *Florentine* ambassadors to be put under arrest.

A. D. 1528.
The pope delivered.

d ALL hopes of an accommodation being now over, *Lautrec* left *Bologna*, and began his march for *Naples* by the way of the *Romagna* and the marquisate of *Ancona*, greatly against the will of the *Florentines* and the pope, who pressed him to march by the way of *Sienna*, that their territories might be covered from the imperialists, who still remained in the country near *Rome*. But *Lautrec* by this time had entered *Naples*, and waited for the coming up of the *Florentine* foot, which went by the name of the *black bands*, whom he esteemed to be the best troops then in *Italy*. While those bands were on their march, they took and plundered *Aquila*; but on the 22d of *March*, having joined the confederate army, they and a body of *French* were sent, under *Pietro Navarra*, to besiege *Melfi*. The emulation between the *Florentines* and the *French* was so great, that they proceeded to a small breach they had made without any order, and so irregularly, that they were taken on their flanks, and repulsed with some loss. Next morning they renewed the assault, and took the town
e by storm, putting all the peasants and townsmen to the sword; while the prince of *Melfi* himself retired to the citadel, which, in a short time, he was obliged to surrender. All the garrison, except the prince and a few of his officers, were killed, and the whole loss of the besieged amounted to three thousand men. This success was followed by others of still greater importance; and, had not the confederate fleet under *Doria* been dispersed by a storm, the conquest of *Naples* might have been completed that summer. *Lautrec*, however, formed the siege of *Naples*, in which the *Florentine* troops distinguished themselves to great advantage; though, not being supported by a proper cavalry, they suffered much, and grew more cautious; but *Lautrec* had not a naval force to make his undertaking good.
f *Doria* had secretly resolved to fall off from the league, and the *Venetians* were employed in other conquests. Those disadvantages, but above all the diminution of the *Florentine* troops from three thousand to two thousand, disheartened the *French*. *Lautrec* had, again and again, pressed the pope to enter into the league, which he seemed inclinable to do, and to desist from all his pretensions upon *Florence*, provided the *Venetians* would restore to him *Ravenna*, which they refused to do; but his holiness recovered *Rimini*, and, under pretence of acting as a mediator, he still declined acceding to the confederacy.

March of
Lautrec to
Naples.

His success,
and bravery
of the Floren-
tines there.

THE true cause of his backwardness was soon known to be the earnest desire he had to recover the dominion of *Florence* to himself and his family. Ever since his deliverance out of the castle of *St. Angelo*, he had been secretly carrying on intrigues in that city, and had
g sent a *Florentine* prelate to manage his concerns there, protesting, that he had laid aside all designs upon their freedom; and that all he begged was, that he and his family should not be exposed to insults; but remain in quiet possession of their external ornaments and

Policy of the
pope.

marks of honour. The *Florentines* were so distrustful of his intentions, that they refused audience to his ambassador, which obliged his holiness to have recourse to the mediation of the *French* king. This expedient proved equally unsuccessful; for the *Florentines* still appeared averse to treat with him. At last, he applied to *Lautrec* to restore *Fabio Petrucci* to the government of *Sienna*, and to remove from thence the friends of *Florence*; but the friendship of the *Florentines* was at this time of so much importance to *Lautrec*, that he refused to concern himself in the matter. His holiness then endeavoured to prevail with *Pirro da Castel di Piero*, on pretext of some private grievances, to surprise *Sienna* with eight hundred men, and some exiles he had collected at *Chiusi*: but the vigilance of the *Florentines* defeated this design also; for they made the viscount of *Turenne* sensible, that the pope had nothing in his eye but to gratify his private ambition, and distress the *Florentines*, by obtaining possession of *Sienna*, which, by its situation, would have greatly forwarded his views.

Siege of Naples, and death of Lautrec.

THE siege of *Naples* still went on; but *Doria* now declared that he was entered into the emperor's service; and by his defection, together with the plague and the diseases that raged in the *French* camp, their troops were reduced to a handful, which must have been intirely cut in pieces, had it not been for the valour of the *Florentine* auxiliaries. At last, *Lautrec*, who was an excellent officer, dying, the marquis of *Saluzzo*, a general far inferior to him in abilities, succeeded to his command. Unable longer to continue the siege of *Naples*, he drew off his troops towards *Aversa*; but being briskly attacked in his retreat by the imperialists under the prince of *Orange*, he was obliged to yield himself a prisoner; and to agree, that the *French* under his command should return to their own country without their colours, arms, horses, or effects; and that the *Florentine* and other *Italian* infantry should not serve against the emperor for six months: and thus all the mighty preparations and successes of the *French*, in the kingdom of *Naples*, came to nothing.

Ruin of the French in Naples.

Affairs of Lombardy and Naples.

THE imperialists all this time maintained their ground in *Lombardy*, though under great disadvantages, through the good conduct of *Antonio de Leva*; but *Doria* got possession of *Genoa*, which he restored to its liberty. The *Florentines*, nevertheless, continued firm to their engagements with *France* and *England*, and consented to pay one third of the troops that served under *Renzo da Ceri*, who was still in possession of some places in the kingdom of *Naples*. All parties were now tired of the war, and entered upon a fresh treaty for peace; but, in the mean time, the imperialists under the prince of *Orange* retook *Aquila* and *Matrice*, which last place had been abandoned by *Camillo Pardo*, who likewise carried off with him the money advanced by the *Florentines* for its defence. The pope, all this while, pretended to breathe nothing but peace; and offered, if *Ravenna* and *Cervia* were restored to him, to make up all matters in dispute with the *Florentines*, who still continued to supply *Renzo* with men and money. Their firmness induced *Charles* to listen to the proposals of his holiness, whose views continued to be fixed on the recovering his authority in *Florence*. He plainly perceived, that he could not bring the *French* to be subservient to his designs there, and he hoped every thing from *Charles*. *Braccio Baglioni* had claims upon *Perugia*, in which he was favoured by the pope, out of hatred to the *Florentines*; and that induced his rival *Malatesta* to leave the service of his holiness, and to enter into that of the *French* and the *Florentines*. The pope did all he could to prevent this defection from his interests; but the *Florentines* thought him so useful an ally, that they gave him two thousand crowns salary, and the command of one thousand foot, besides providing for his sons, and giving him other lucrative places and pensions. He, on his part, engaged, upon the *Florentines* paying two hundred foot for the defence of *Perugia*, which they likewise took into their protection, to have always one thousand of his own troops at their service, even though he should be abandoned by the *French*.

Firmness of the Florentines against the pope,

who gains over Malatesta.

THE pope complained bitterly, on this occasion, to the *French* king, that the *Florentines* had debauched from his service a subject and a state belonging to the holy see; and *Francis* endeavoured to persuade *Malatesta* to continue in the pontiff's pay. But all was in vain; for *Malatesta* obstinately adhered to his engagements with the *Florentines*, who now openly assisted him, in defiance of his holiness. *Capponi* continued to be still gonfalonier of *Florence*, and endeavoured, by wisdom and moderation, to preserve the liberties of his country; but without doing any thing harsh or unjust to the adherents of the house of *Medici*. This conduct was disliked by the enemies of that house, who continued implacable against it; and, after two years of *Capponi*'s office were expired, they caballed against his continuing in it a third. *Capponi* still maintained his credit with the wisest and worthiest part of the citizens, and with their privacy he entered into a private correspondence with the pontiff, to divert him from coming to any violent resolutions against the state. The correspondence, however, was discovered to *Capponi*'s enemies, by his dropping a letter which he had received from *Rome*; and which was so maliciously represented by some of the members of the

a the higher council, that the youths of *Florence* rose in arms, seized on the town house, and, calling the magistrates and citizens together in a tumultuous manner, they first put the gonfalonier under arrest, and deprived him of his office: a sentence which was ratified by the upper council. After this, the gonfalonier was tried before the proper judges for corresponding with the enemies of the state; but, being acquitted by them with great honour, he was attended to his palace by the nobility and chief citizens of *Florence* in a body. He was succeeded in his office of gonfalonier by *Francesco Carducci*, a person of very inferior qualities to him.

*Resolution in
their govern-
ment.*

b THE duke of *Urbino* still continued to command the troops of the confederates in *Lombardy*, and had by this time cleared himself of all suspicion at *Venice*. He had, in conjunction with the *French* general *St. Paul*, and the duke of *Milan*, recovered almost the whole duchy, except *Milan* and *Como*, which were still maintained by *Antonio de Leva*, who, about this time, recovered *Novara*; and, though disabled by the gout, lameness, rheumatism, and other diseases, he surprised, defeated, and took prisoner *St. Paul* at *Landriano*. This defeat obliged the *French* to evacuate almost all the *Milanese*, and to retire to *Lodi*. But the negotiations for peace became now more serious than ever, and the chief powers at war seemed sincerely disposed towards an accommodation. The pope had behaved so artfully, that though he was despised and distrusted by all parties, yet his friendship became necessary to all of them; but the emperor outbid all the rest. A treaty was concluded between them at *Barcelona*, by which his holiness obliged himself to grant the imperial troops a free passage through the ecclesiastical state. *Charles*, on the other hand, engaged to reinstate *Alessandro de Medici*, the son of *Lorenzo de Medici*, the late nominal duke of *Urbino*, in all his family rights, and power over the *Florentine* state, as exercised before the expulsion of his family; his holiness promising to pay the necessary expences attending that restitution. The pope was again to be put into the possession of *Cervia*, *Ravenna*, *Modena*, *Reggio*, and *Rubiera*, without prejudice, however, to the rights of the empire and those of the holy see. The pope was to grant the investiture of the kingdom of *Naples* to *Charles*, together with a vast number of ecclesiastical immunities and privileges in that kingdom; and, in case *Francesco Sforza* was, upon trial, found to have been guilty of high treason against his imperial majesty, the duchy of *Milan* was to be disposed of, by the joint consent of both parties. Other articles, not so material to our present purpose, were likewise stipulated between them; and, to bind the whole accommodation, *Charles* agreed to give his natural daughter, *Margaret*, in marriage to *Alessandro de Medici*, with an annuity of twenty thousand ducats, and an investiture of all the secular greatness of the *Medici* family. It is remarkable, that though *Charles*, when this peace was concluded, did not know of the advantageous turn his affairs had taken in *Lombardy*, yet he readily confirmed the articles on the 29th of *June*, and solemnly swore to the observance of them before the high altar of the cathedral church of *Barcelona*.

*Affairs of
Lombardy.*

*A peace to the
prejudice of the
Florentines,*

c THIS peace was not the only blow the *Florentines* received at this time; for while *Francis* was giving them the strongest assurances of his adherence to his league with them, he actually entered into a negotiation at *Cambray* for an accommodation with *Charles*. The conferences were managed by the *French* king's mother and the lady *Margaret*, sister to the emperor, assisted by ambassadors from *England* and the pope. On the 5th of *August* the treaty was concluded and published. The terms were, that the *French* king's children should be released, on payment of a large sum to *Charles*, who was to be put into possession of all that the *French* held either in the duchy of *Milan*, or the kingdom of *Naples*. *Francis* was likewise to assist *Charles* in obliging the *Venetians* to restore the towns they had taken from him in *Puglia*, and they and the *Florentines* had four months allowed them for acceding to the treaty.

d IT must be confessed, that the whole of this negotiation was disgraceful to *Francis*, who, in other respects, was a generous open-hearted prince. But, indeed, the nature of the times did not much favour the exercise of those virtues in sovereigns. *Francis* seemed to be ashamed of what he had done; and, after the peace had been concluded in his name, he came to *Cambray*, where the ambassadors of the confederates, particularly those of *Florence*, still remained. He artfully declined giving them all audience at once; but taking each separately, he apologized to all for the necessity he was under, on account of his children, to conclude the peace. As to the *Florentines*, he seemed greatly concerned for their interest, because they had depended on his good faith. He pretended, to their ambassadors, that he never would see them oppressed; and promised to lend them forty thousand crowns, to assist them in defending their liberties; and gave leave for *Stefano Colonna*, an officer of reputation in his service, to enter into their pay. But our author observes, that the promise of the money vanished into smoke.

*who are abandoned by the
French king.*

g EVERY thing now tended towards the great catastrophe of the *Florentine* liberty. *Charles* had

Charles begins hostilities against them,

had sent before him two thousand *Spanish* foot, to wait for his arrival at *Genoa*; and no sooner had he signed the convention with the pope, than he ordered the prince of *Orange* who was then at *Aquila*, on the confines of *Naples*, reviewing his troops, to march into the *Florentine* territories. The prince detested the commission; but was obliged to obey, tho' he threw all the rubs he could in the way to render it abortive. On the last of *July* he repaired to *Rome*, to concert with his holiness the operations of the campaign. Many difficulties occurred, and the prince was sometimes on the point of breaking off the conferences. He pleaded, that he had no money; and the pontiff, with great difficulty, agreed to advance thirty thousand ducats, and forty thousand more in a short time, upon the prince's undertaking to drive *Malatesta Baglione* out of *Perugia*, and to reduce that city to the obedience of the church; and then to proceed against *Florence*, where he was to re-establish the authority of the *Medici* family. The prince, having now no farther pretexts for delay, assembled his army, which consisted of three thousand *German*, and four thousand *Italian* foot; the chief officers under him being *Pierlugi da Farnese*, the count *di San Secondo*, colonel *Martio*, and *Schiarra Colonna*. He was to be followed by the *Spanish* foot under the marquis of *Guasto* in *Naples*; and the pope lent him three pieces of cannon, and other artillery, out of the castle of *St. Angelo*. a b

and lands at Genoa.

THE *Florentines* were far from being daunted, as the pope had expected, at the march of the prince, and appeared to be unanimously resolved to defend their liberties and independency, when advice came of *Charles* having arrived at *Genoa*, on the 12th of *August*, with a large fleet, on board of which were nine thousand foot and one thousand horse, all veteran troops; while at the same time *Felix*, one of his generals, marched into *Lombardy* with eight thousand *Germans*. The *Florentines* were well apprized of the designs on foot against them; but could not bring themselves to believe, that the immemorial hatred between the popes of *Rome* and the emperors of *Germany* were so far extinguished, as that *Charles* could easily behold *Florence* become again subject to the holy see. The boasted confederacy was now reduced to the *Florentines*, the *Venetians*, and the duke of *Ferrara*, the duke of *Milan* having entered into a private negotiation with his holiness. The *Venetians* sought only to secure what they had acquired; and the duke of *Ferrara* was sure of having good terms, but held out till he could get the best. The *Florentines*, alone, acted with good faith to themselves and their allies. That they might not be wanting in point of prudence, as soon as they heard that *Charles* was arrived in *Italy*, they deputed four of their most considerable citizens to attend him as their ambassadors, and fairly to represent the hardships they were under. The *Venetians* were offended at this step of the *Florentines*, who were likewise blamed by the duke of *Ferrara*, because it looked like a separate negotiation. That duke, however, imitated their example; and the *Venetians* themselves consented that the duke of *Milan* should make the best terms he could with the emperor. c d

Courage and conduct of the Florentines.

THOUGH the *Florentines* proceeded with great wisdom and decency, yet they were not fully apprized of the connexions between *Charles* and the pope. The reader, perhaps, needs not be informed that the divorce was now in agitation between *Henry VIII.* and queen *Catharine*, aunt to *Charles*, who had treated the pope so favourably as he did, that he might prevail with him to refuse the divorce, and to excommunicate *Henry*, if he should marry another wife, while *Catharine* was alive. His holiness was sensible how much this affair concerned the house of *Austria*, and had made the reinstating the *Medici* family to their power in *Florence* the price of his compliance. The *Florentine* ambassadors acquitted themselves to admiration, and with great dignity. Repairing to *Genoa*, where *Charles* was, they congratulated him on his arrival, and discharged their commission; but without making any mean submissions. They were answered by *Charles's* first minister, that it did not consist with the imperial dignity to treat with the ambassadors of a subject state, who had joined the enemies of its lawful sovereign, and therefore had forfeited its privileges; and that *Charles* expected they should obtain a commission for a treaty with the pontiff, after which he would perhaps deign to hear what they had to propose. The ambassadors reported this answer to their principals at *Florence*, who sent them an ample commission to treat with *Charles*, but not with the pontiff; ordering them, at the same time, to admit of no proposals from him, and not to visit the cardinal *de Medici*, who was one of the ambassadors attending *Charles* on behalf of his holiness. For those reasons, when *Charles*, in the beginning of *September*, went to *Piacenza*, he refused to suffer the *Florentine* ambassadors to enter that city. Even this severe treatment did not discourage the *Florentines* from making preparations for a gallant defence. They took into their pay the warlike abbot of *Farfa* and two hundred horse, and sent him money for raising one thousand foot, which was, by the pope's orders, intercepted near *Bracciano*: the abbot, however, soon made reprisals, by seizing the person of cardinal *Santa Croce*, one of the ambassadors the pope sent to *Charles*, and putting him under arrest, which obliged his holiness to refund the money. They had cast their eyes upon *Don Ercole da Este*, the duke of *Ferrara's* eldest son, to be captain-general. e f g

a neral of their troops, and had sent him levy money for one thousand foot; but the duke of *Ferrara* prevailed upon his son not to accept the command; and he was mean enough even to detain the money, though he sent his cavalry into the *Florentine* service.

His holiness having, by those proceedings, entered into a state of hostilities with the *Florentines*, and treated *Malatesta Baglioni* as a rebel, *Charles* gave orders for *Antonio de Leva* to enter *Lombardy* at the head of all the *Spanish* forces, and offered to land them at *Spetia* in the *Genoese* dominions, as being near *Florence*; but the pope, looking on that territory as his own, was far from encouraging so powerful an invasion; and therefore it was resolved to begin the operations on the side of the *Romagna*, under the prince of *Orange*. He accordingly directed his march against *Spelle*, where the best of his officers, *Giovanni de Urbino*,
b was killed by a shot from the place, while he was reconnoitring it. The garrison, which consisted of five hundred foot and twenty horse, was commanded by *Lione Baglioni*, a natural brother of *Malatesta*, who made a cowardly surrender of the place, upon a single battery being opened against it; the garrison capitulating to march out without any arms but their swords, and as many effects as they could carry, and not to serve against *Charles* for three months.

THE bishop of *Tarbe* was at this time in *Tuscany*, as ambassador from *France*, and encouraging the few remains of the confederacy, particularly the *Florentines*, to hold out to the last, because his master was preparing to send a great force to their assistance. The intention of *Francis*, by those declarations, was to multiply the difficulties of *Charles*, every day
c producing fresh doubts and obstacles to the execution of the treaty between them. 'Tho' he had no intention to favour the *Florentines*, yet he thought he might more readily recover his children by spiring up an opposition to him in *Tuscany*. He succeeded so far, that the war was renewed between *Charles*, on the one part, and the duke of *Milan* and the *Venetians*, on the other, in *Lombardy*. The pope, being afraid that, by this newly rekindled war, he might be disappointed in his views upon *Tuscany*, interposed as a mediator with all parties; and *Charles*, alarmed by the progress of the *Turks* in *Hungary* and *Austria*, became every day more pliable. The *Venetians*, on the other hand, always frugal of their money, had laid up their fleet, and had sent orders to their general, the duke of *Urbino*, to act upon the defensive in the *Bresciano*. In the mean while, the active *Antonio de Leva*, whom
d age and infirmities had now reduced to be carried in a litter upon men's shoulders, took *Pavia*, almost without resistance; while the marquis of *Mantua*, who was now in the imperial pay, was making preparations for besieging the duke of *Milan* in *Cremona*, which was succoured by the *Venetians*, who dreaded the neighbourhood of the imperialists.

AFTER the prince of *Orange* had taken *Spelle*, being joined by the *Spanish* foot under the marquis *de Guaſto*, he advanced against *Perugia*, where he had entered into a secret negotiation with *Malatesta* to persuade him to submit to the pope. As the views of his holiness against *Perugia* reached at that time no farther, than that the inhabitants, and the garrison, which consisted of three thousand *Florentine* foot, might not interrupt his designs upon *Florence*, he offered *Malatesta* very advantageous terms; and that not only his estate and
e effects should be preserved, but that he should be at liberty to withdraw with the garrison, to the defence of the *Florentines*; and that none of his enemies should be admitted into *Perugia*. *Malatesta* would have gladly accepted of those terms; but, out of a point of honour, he declared he would not, unless with the consent of the *Florentines*. To bring the latter to agree to them, he informed them, that he could not defend *Perugia*, without a fresh supply of one thousand foot, and unless they would cover the neighbourhood of *Perugia* with the rest of their troops, which, in fact, it was not possible for them to do, without leaving their own capital defenceless. *Malatesta* then represented to them, that, in all probability, if an accommodation was not effected, the prince of *Orange* would advance with his main army directly against *Florence*, and leave *Perugia* to the mercy of the pope,
f who had troops of his own sufficient to distress, if not to reduce it.

MALATESTA's suggestions were fully debated at *Florence*, where the danger their garrison was in of being intercepted, and some distrust they had of his fidelity, prevailed on the magistracy to resolve upon granting him leave to accept of the terms proposed by the pope and the prince of *Orange*. They accordingly, on the 6th of *September*, sent a messenger with leave to *Malatesta* to close with the terms proposed to him; but by all means to withdraw his garrison to *Florence*. Before this messenger arrived at *Perugia*, the prince of *Orange* had made so great a progress, that *Malatesta* had agreed to the terms; and the prince, that the garrison might receive no interruption in returning to *Florence*, had agreed to make a halt of two days to favour their retreat. It was the 12th of *December* before the
g *Florentines* marched out of *Perugia*, which they did with such expedition, that they arrived the same day at *Cortona*; and the imperialists still advancing, the whole war was in a manner contracted to the neighbourhood of *Florence*.

Progress of the war against them.

Diffimulation of Francis.

Progress of the prince of Orange.

Difficulties about Malatesta.

Perugia evacuated.

Siege of Cortona.

THE *Venetians* and the duke of *Ferrara*, well knowing that the pope's principal object ^a was to re-establish his family in *Florence*, were all this while exciting the *Florentines* to persevere in their own defence, in hopes of obtaining better terms for themselves; nor, in the end, were they deceived in their schemes, though they deceived the *Florentines* in all the magnificent promises they made them. The prince of *Orange* was at this time busy in the siege of *Cortona*, which proceeded but slowly, though the place had but seven hundred in garrison; whereas it required one thousand to make an effectual defence. *Antonio Francesco Albizi* then commanded for the *Florentines* in *Arezzo*, where the garrison was very strong. Being apprehensive of the fate of *Cortona*, and that, after taking it, the prince of *Orange* would certainly march directly against *Florence*, and thereby cut off all communication between that city and *Arezzo*, he resolved to withdraw the garrison, and to leave ^b no more than one hundred soldiers for the defence of the castle; but being arrived at *Feghini*, he had an interview with *Malatesta*, who persuaded him to send back one thousand of his men to *Arezzo*.

which is taken; as is Arezzo.

IN the mean while, on the 17th of *September*, the prince of *Orange* continued the siege of *Cortona*, though not very briskly; but the garrison, despairing of relief either from *Florence* or *Arezzo*, surrendered the place, and agreed to pay to the prince twenty thousand ducats to exempt them from being plundered. The example of *Cortona* was followed by *Arezzo*, which the garrison abandoned; and the inhabitants surrendered, on condition of being taken under the imperial protection, and not to return under the government of the *Florentines*, as imagining that they must then return to be subject to the house of *Medici*. But ^c *Charles* had now declared, that he would hear of no terms, nor admit the *Florentine* ambassadors to treat, unless the *Medici* were re-established in their power over the *Florentines*; and the prince of *Orange* declared, that he must proceed to extremities, if that re-establishment was not complied with.

The Florentines abandoned by their allies.

IT is amazing that the *Florentines* had the courage and constancy to withstand, as they did, so many powerful enemies, and the practices of so many treacherous allies. *Italy* considered the reduction of *Florence* as the price of her peace; and every prince and state within it thought themselves concerned either in opposing or forwarding the favourite view of his holiness; but all for the same end, their own interest. His holiness thought no gratification too great, that could acquire a friend or remove an enemy: even petty lords availed ^d themselves of the distresses of the *Florentines*, by receiving money for their levies, and then going over to their enemies. The army of the prince of *Orange* now consisted of four thousand five hundred *Spanish* and *German* foot, all of them excellent troops, and about six thousand *Italians*, three hundred men at arms, and five hundred light horse; but it was miserably provided in cannon, so that the prince was obliged to apply to the *Siennese*. The aversion which that people had for the house of *Medici* was equal to that of the *Florentines*; and though they were in no condition to refuse the prince's demands, yet they proceeded in their compliance with him reluctantly and slowly. With this melancholy prospect before their eyes, the *Florentines* still continued to treat. By gaining time, they had leisure to fortify their city; and they were in hopes that the imperial army must moulder away, or be ^e disbanded for want of money. But, above all, they were still in hopes of being able to mollify *Charles*, and had chosen four new ambassadors to treat with him.

Suggestions against them.

BUT they soon found all their expectations vain, and that they must stand or fall by themselves. Nothing was so much talked of in *Italy*, both amongst their friends and allies, as their ingratitude towards the house of *Medici*, who had raised them to so high a pitch of grandeur; who, by their private fortunes, had enriched their state, adorned their city, and polished their manners; who had ruled them with such gentleness and justice, that their superiority was not felt, who never had been accused but upon groundless suspicions and unsupported clamour; and who never had had an enemy but those who were enemies to the peace of their country, and the order of government. The *Florentines*, on the other ^f hand, having but newly recovered their liberty, were passionately fond of it; but they perceived that they could not enjoy it, and manifest their aversion to the house of *Medici* at the same time. They, therefore, in a general meeting, or parliament, resolved to agree to re-admit the family of *Medici*, and to treat with the pope, provided their liberties were not to be affected, or the popular form of their government altered. Deputies were sent to signify this resolution to the pope, and others were sent to the prince of *Orange*, who had expressed great kindness for their state, provided the *Medici* family was restored to it. The pope behaved towards the ambassadors with his usual politeness, dissimulation, and caution. He protested, that he had no design upon the liberties of *Florence*; that he had no difference with their state, farther than as being an ally to the emperor, who was the direct lord of it; ^g and that the best method they could pursue was to leave their interests intirely in his hands, and to trust to his honour, being determined to employ all his credit with *Charles* in their favour,

They negotiate with the pope;

a favour, and to do them more good offices than they had reason to expect at his hands. The *Florentines*, to put his professions to a trial, requested that he would procure an immediate stop to be put to the march of the imperial army; which the crafty pontiff absolutely refused to do, as well knowing to what the request tended. As to the prince of *Orange*, he pretended, that, being under the emperor's orders, he could do nothing of himself. Notwithstanding this, the slowness of his motions were very favourable to the *Florentines*.

THE latter, all this while, continued their endeavours to fortify their city; but found it impracticable to do it effectually, before the prince of *Orange*, who, on the 24th of September, lay at *Monte Varchi* in the *Val d' Arno*, eight miles distant from *Florence*, could come before it. They received likewise intelligence, that *Ramazotto*, a papal general, had advanced from the *Bolognese*, and had entered the vale of *Mugello* with three thousand men, in order to proceed to *Prato*; so that their city was in danger of being shut up by its enemies on all sides. The apprehension of this drove many of the inhabitants out of *Florence*; and the council of ten, who had the management of the war, gave it as their unanimous opinion, that the *Florentines* had no chance for safety, but to send a free and unconditional offer of submission to the will of the sovereign pontiff. That council, however, being subordinate to the supreme council, the affair was laid before them, who, with the gonfalonier at their head, and supported by the partizans of popular government, and the youth of the city, condemned the resolution, and prepared for a vigorous defence.

THE prince of *Orange*, without shewing any resentment at the *Siennese* for not expediting the march of their artillery, pretended he could not advance farther than *Feghini* and *Acisa*, which he did on the 27th, before the arrival of the artillery from *Sienna*; but it was thought, that, if he had proceeded on the 28th, which was the day the disagreement happened between the supreme council and the council of ten, he might have taken possession of *Florence*, even without artillery. His slowness raised the *Florentines* from their despondency; and they worked so incessantly upon their fortifications, that, by the 4th of October, they were judged to be in a state of defence. The citizens became now unanimous to hold out to the last; and their resolution was confirmed when they received advice that *Ramazotto*, whose troops were without money, and without discipline, having plundered the *Mugello*, was returned to the *Bolognese*, where he purchased from his soldiers all their plunder.

d THE pope, from the late applications made to him by the *Florentines*, and the new deputation they had ordered to *Charles*, imagined that they were disposed to make an absolute surrender of their government into his hands, and sent the archbishop of *Capua* to the imperial camp, to prevent the country being ravaged. The archbishop was obliged to pass through *Florence*, where he found the citizens far otherwise disposed than his holiness had imagined, which made him hasten the interview which he proposed to have with the emperor at *Bologna*, concerning the affairs of *Italy*, but chiefly those of *Florence*.

It was the 20th of October before the prince of *Orange*, who still pretended to wait for the *Siennese* artillery, reached the plain of *Ripoli*, two miles from *Florence*, with all his troops and cannon. As the situation of that city is very unequal, lying in the midst of hills interspersed with vallies, and divided by the river *Arno*, the siege of it proved a matter of more difficulty than the prince had foreseen. On the 24th he took possession of the hills near the fortifications, all along from the gate of *San Miniato* to that of *San Giorgio*, on the one side, and, on the other, from the same gate to the road from the gate of *San Nicolo*. The *Florentines* had in their city eight thousand troops, on whom they might depend; and they had placed sufficient garrisons in *Prato*, *Pistoia*, *Empoli*, *Pisa*, and *Livorno*; and intrusted the defence of the places of less importance to their own inhabitants, and the strength of their situation. The *Siennese* thought that this was a proper time for recovering *Monte Pulciano* from the *Florentines*; but it was luckily saved by some *Florentine* foot who were in the place, and who were afterwards supported by three hundred horse under *Napoleone Orsino*, a *Florentine* officer. The country of *Tuscany*, at this time, was terribly ravaged by troops of banditti and irregulars, the *Siennese* particularly, who plundered equally friends and foes.

It was now plain to his holiness, that the siege of *Florence* would prove a matter of the utmost difficulty. He was then arrived at *Bologna*, to which place *Charles* repaired soon after; and at their interview, and in their conversation, they treated each other with the greatest marks of friendship, esteem, and affection. *Charles*, receiving undoubted intelligence that the *Turks* had been repulsed before *Vienna*, and had retreated towards *Hungary*, resolved now to proceed more earnestly than ever in settling the affairs of *Italy*. He had been prevailed upon by the pope to admit the new *Florentine* deputies to an audience; and the answer he gave them was dictated by his holiness, who more than ever insisted upon the reduction of *Florence*. *Charles*, who had been impressed with a notion that the *Florentines* always inclined to the *French* interest, had no objection to that; but complained of the

the want of money, and said, that it was necessary to come to an accommodation with the *Venetians* and the duke of *Milan*, who otherwise might assist the *Florentines*. The pope, on the other hand, offered to pay to the army of the prince of *Orange*, who had left the siege, and was come to *Bologna* to assist at the conferences, sixty thousand ducats every month, provided his imperial majesty, after coming to an agreement with the *Venetians* and the duke of *Milan*, would employ all his troops in *Lombardy* in the siege of *Florence*. The affair of the restitution of *Modena* and *Reggio*, to the duke of *Ferrara*, came next to be considered. *Charles* had promised to that duke, that they should be restored to him; but the pope remained inflexible against the restitution; because of their importance to *Parma* and *Piacenza*.

Progress of the
reformation.

WHILE the conferences were thus depending at *Bologna*, accounts came of the vast progress the *Lutherans* were making in *Germany*, where every thing was in confusion, and which the *Turks* again threatened to invade. This news determined *Charles* to come to some agreement with the duke of *Milan* and the *Venetians*. Before his arrival in *Italy*, he had been so exasperated at that duke, that it was thought he would have cut off his head, had it been in his power; but reflecting now on the vast sums he had to no purpose lavished in *Italy*, his only study was how to bring about an accommodation with him, without derogating from the imperial authority. Had he listened to *Anthony de Leva*, he would have transferred the *Milanese* to the house of *Medici*; but the pope was averse to that proposal, because of the danger and difficulty with which it must be attended, and became a strong advocate for *Sforza*, who continued to be strenuously supported by the *Venetians*. *Charles*, therefore, resolving to cut short all difficulties, sent *Sforza* a safe-conduct, that he might come and justify his conduct before him at *Bologna*. *Sforza* accepted of the safe conduct, and arrived at *Bologna*, where appearing before the emperor, he thanked him for being admitted to his presence; but added, that he required no other safe-conduct than his own innocence and his majesty's justice, and laid the paper that contained it before *Charles*, who was highly pleased with the duke's magnanimity. It was now the end of *November*; and though the pope was indefatigable in his endeavours to bring about a peace between *Charles* and the *Venetians*, as well as *Sforza*, the negotiations took up almost a month. At last, on the 23d of *December*, both accommodations were concluded.

Sforza submits
to *Charles*.

A peace con-
cluded.

By that with *Sforza*, the latter was to pay to *Charles*, within one year, one hundred thousand ducats, and fifty thousand ducats annually for ten years after; in consideration of which, *Charles* agreed to confirm to *Sforza* the investiture of the *Milanese*; but he was to keep in his hands *Como*, and the castle of *Milan*, till the first payment was made. By the treaty with the *Venetians*, the latter promised to restore *Ravenna* and *Cervia*, with all their dependencies, to the pope; to restore to the emperor all that they possessed in the kingdom of *Naples*; and to pay him, by way of arrears, fifty thousand ducats, upon his restoring to them their places in his possession; and they were afterwards to pay one hundred thousand ducats more. These are the only heads of this accommodation that fall within our design.

The siege of
Florence con-
tinued.

ALL the wars of *Italy* were now contracted to the siege of *Florence*, which continued to make so gallant a defence, that the prince of *Orange* was obliged to bring a body of pioneers, and some field-pieces, from *Lucca*. He then erected a battery against the bastion of *San Miniato*, which he endeavoured to storm, but with very little success; so that all he could do was to take possession of the towns of *Colle* and *San Geminiano*, for securing his convoys from *Sienna*, from whence he drew his provisions. All his assaults continuing ineffectual, the operations of the siege were slackened, and the prince, drawing off his troops, turned it into a kind of blockade; during which the besieged made several sallies with considerable success. In this languishing state of the siege, *Charles*, having completed his accommodation, sent from *Lombardy* four thousand *German*, and two thousand five hundred *Spanish* foot, eight hundred *Italians*, and above three hundred light horse, with twenty-five pieces of artillery, to assist at the siege of *Florence*; but the valour of the besieged, and the strength of the city, was such, that the besiegers durst not venture upon an assault: while the *Florentines*, now thinking they were no match for their enemies in the open field, discontinued their sallies; so that, for some time, a total inactivity ensued between the two parties. The prince, however, found means to send fifteen hundred foot, four hundred horse, and four pieces of cannon, against *Lastra*, which, according to *Paul Jovius*, made a noble defence; but not being relieved in time, it was taken, and about two hundred of the garrison put to the sword. This loss was recompensed to the *Florentines* by a successful sally, which *Stefano Colonna*, at the head of sixteen thousand *Florentines*, all disguised like *Spaniards*, made upon a quarter of the besiegers, where he put a vast number to the sword, and returned to *Florence*, without losing a man. It was about this time that *Pirro di Piero*, in marching to attack *Montopoli*, a town in the *Pisan* territory, was intercepted by the

a the *Florentine* garrison of *Empoli*, which defeated him, and made many of his men prisoners. *Napoleone Orsino* likewise checked *Alessandro Vitelli*, who committed great ravages in the territory of *Borgo San Sepolcro*. On the other hand, the *Florentine* garrisons of *Pistoia* and *Prato*, intimidated by the reinforcement that had arrived from *Lombardy* to the besiegers, abandoned those places, which immediately submitted to the pontiff; as did *Pietra Santa*.

IN the beginning of the year 1530, the besiegers had been so far from making any progress against *Florence*, that the pope was persuaded, by *Malatesta Baglioni*, to send the bishop of *Faenza* to *Florence* to treat with them of an accommodation. The *Florentines*, who were far from being averse to peace, suffered this negotiation to go on. But the whole appeared afterwards to be an artifice of *Malatesta*, whose time in the *Florentine* service was now almost expired; for the *Florentines*, for fear of his going over to the pope, who had offered him great terms, renewed their contract with him, and appointed him to be their captain-general. The bishop of *Faenza's* negotiation, however, with *Malatesta*, encouraged the *Florentines* to make fresh applications, by their ambassadors, to the emperor and the pope; but without, in the least, departing from the demands they had made for securing their liberties: and this rendered the whole negotiation fruitless; for *Charles* refused to admit them to his presence, and they returned to *Florence*. to the disadvantage of the imperialists.

THE marquis *Del Guasto* commanded the imperial troops, that had come from *Lombardy* to assist at the siege of *Florence*; and he encamped at *Peretola*, without venturing to advance farther, leaving the operations of the siege to the prince of *Orange*, who thought his character was now at stake, and resolved to proceed with the utmost vigour. In *January*, he erected new works, ordered his troops to take post nearer the city, and made dispositions for battering the bastion of *San Giorgio*, the strongest about *Florence*, and defended by *Stefano Colonna*. But after all the vast preparations the prince made, finding the attempt impracticable, he desisted from it; and thus a blockade, rather than a siege, was still continued. It is reinforced.

THE *Florentines* were now in high spirits: by the accessions of strength the garrison had received, it amounted to about ten thousand men; but they received the pay of fourteen thousand. This confirmed the soldiers in their duty, and they refused no toils or danger in discharging it. Their officers, to encourage them to perseverance in those sentiments, held an assembly in the church of *San Nicolo*, where, after mass had been performed, they took a solemn oath, in the presence of *Malatesta*, their captain-general, to defend the city to the last extremity. They were not, however, unanimous in this resolution; for *Napoleone Orsino*, after receiving advance-money from the *Florentines*, left their service, and at *Bracciano* entered into that of the pope and the emperor, to whom he promised that all the subalterns in his pay should follow him. Resolution of the Florentine officers.

THE unexpected defence made by the *Florentines* was so alarming to the pope, that he at last had recourse to the *French* king. *Francis*, who had his reasons at that time for managing his holiness, in his earnest solicitation sent *Clermont*, one of his ministers, to *Florence*, where, after making the best apology he could for the necessity his master was under to abandon them at the treaty of *Cambray*, offered his mediation between them and his holiness; but at the same time gave them to understand in public, that *Francis* expected they would, in any event, submit to the pontiff and the emperor; and that all they were to expect from his negotiation, was to get the best terms that possibly could be obtained. But *Francis* was insincere in the whole transaction; for though *Clermont*, in his master's name, required both *Malatesta* and *Stefano Colonna*, who received *French* pay, to leave *Florence*, he secretly advised them to the contrary; and though *Francis* had carried his dissimulation so far as to recal *Vigny*, his resident at *Florence*, from thence, yet he still maintained an agent there, and gave the heads of the *Florentines* private assurances that he would send them effectual assistance as soon as he could recover his children out of the emperor's hands. The pope used likewise his utmost endeavours to prevail with *Francis* to discharge the *Florentine* ambassador from his court, and presented his chancellor and favourite with a cardinal's hat and the legateship of *France*, by the hands of the bishop of *Tarbe*. That prelate was, at the same time, empowered by his holiness to propose an interview between himself, the *French* king, and the emperor, at *Turin*. To this proposal he was answered, that such a meeting could, with no propriety, take place, while the young princes of *France* continued in prison; nor did his majesty think it safe for him to run himself into the like danger. The pope applies to Francis.

HIS holiness having miscarried in this scheme, he persuaded the emperor to repair with him to *Sienna*, that they might be nearer at hand for giving orders about the siege of *Florence*; but the emperor shewing some impatience at not having received the imperial crown in *Italy*, it was proposed that that ceremony should be performed at *Rome*. When he and the pope were on the point of setting out for that city, advices came that the disorders in His policy.

Germany

Germany were encreased, and that the presence of *Charles* in the empire was now absolutely necessary for suppressing them, by calling a diet of the empire, a general council of the church, and for electing his brother the archduke *Ferdinand*, king of the *Romans*. Upon this the emperor and his holiness repaired to *Bologna*, where *Charles* was crowned. This ceremony being over, the duke of *Ferrara's* affairs came next under consideration. The emperor had a much greater personal regard for that duke than he had for the pontiff, and had eluded all the pope's arts to bring him to a declaration in his favour concerning *Modena* and *Reggio*. On the seventh of *March* the duke came, under a safe conduct that had been granted him, to *Bologna*, and the pope and he entered together into a compromise to refer all matters in difference between them to the emperor's arbitration. *Charles* affected great partiality for the pope, to whom he promised to adjudge *Modena* and *Reggio*, if upon examination they should be found to belong to the holy see; and if they should not, he promised to let the time prefixed for the arbitration elapse, without pronouncing any sentence at all. At the same time *Charles*, still farther to please his holiness, obliged the duke of *Ferrara* to recal his ambassador from *Florence*, and to furnish a body of pioneers to assist in the siege of that city. It was the twenty-second of *March* before the emperor left *Bologna*, and the thirty-first of the same month before the pontiff set out for *Rome*.

Progress of the
siege of Flo-
rence.

THE prospect of taking *Florence* was still at a great distance; and though the prince of *Orange* had several times ordered the bastion of *San Giorgio* to be stormed, his troops were repulsed in all their assaults. The prince did not succeed better in his attempts to batter the same bastion, for his artillery was too weak to make any considerable impression upon it; and his army must have been greatly reduced in numbers, had it not received daily supplies of disbanded soldiers, invited thither by the plunder of the *Florentine* territories, and unable to find employment in any other part of *Italy*.

FRANCESCO FERUCCIO was then the *Florentine* commandant in the important town of *Empoli*. He had, by his boldness, activity, and fortune, risen to that station from a low command; and having been extremely fortunate in his excursions, he had got together a choice body of troops. The pope had got possession of the city of *Volterra*, as dependent upon *Florence*; but the castle holding out, the imperial army battered it with five pieces of artillery which they had brought from *Genoa*. The *Florentines* had the preservation of this fortress greatly at heart, and ordered one hundred and fifty horse, and five companies of foot, to advance to *Empoli*, and to put themselves under the command of *Feruccio*, who was to attempt the relief of the castle of *Volterra*. This detachment set out by night for *Empoli*, the foot taking one way, and the horse another; and the foot having defeated a party of imperialists who attacked them, both they and the horse arrived safe at *Empoli*. *Feruccio* lost no time in marching to the relief of the castle of *Volterra*, which he entered on the twenty sixth of *April* with two thousand foot and one hundred and fifty horse. He instantly attacked and carried the intrenchments that had been raised by the imperialists, and the very next morning the city, and all the artillery employed in the siege, fell into his hands. This fortunate expedition was followed by other vigorous measures, which *Feruccio* undertook. His army daily increasing, he laid a scheme for surprising *Colle* and *San Geminiano*, and thereby cutting off all communication between *Siena* and the imperial army before *Florence*, which must thereby have been vastly distressed; and which now despairing of taking *Florence* by storm, had again turned the siege into a blockade. But *Maramaus*, an imperial general, arriving with two thousand five hundred foot, all of them volunteers, in the neighbourhood of *Volterra*, defeated *Feruccio's* schemes.

Imprudence of
Feruccio.

His imprudence occasioned a still greater blow to *Florence*. When he marched to the relief of *Volterra*, he left too slight a garrison in *Empoli*. This encouraged the marquis *del Guasto* to attack the place, which he took by storm, and put the garrison to the sword. This loss was the more sensibly felt by the *Florentines*, who greatly depended upon the convenience of its situation for distressing the imperialists, and obliging them to raise the blockade. On the other hand, the marquis *del Guasto*, after taking *Empoli*, joined *Maramaus*, who remained in the neighbourhood, or rather the suburbs, of *Volterra*; and his army then consisting of about six thousand men, he battered the city; and having made a breach, he attempted to storm it, but was beat off with the loss of four hundred men. He erected a new battery, and made a fresh assault; but being repulsed with a still greater loss, he raised the siege.

Distress of the
Florentines.

By this time the blockade of *Florence* had, by degrees, reduced that city to great want of provisions. On the ninth of *May* they attacked the imperialists, by a sally from the *Roman* gate; but with very little success, having lost one hundred and thirty men, and the besiegers about two hundred. They had now placed their chief dependence upon being succoured by the *French* king, who had actually remitted to them, though in partial ineffectual payments, twenty thousand ducats. But they were soon satisfied that they had nothing

- a thing to expect from *Francis*. The time of the performance of all his mighty promises was now arrived. He had, in the beginning of *June*, recovered his children, by paying the money stipulated for their deliverance. But some fresh causes of discontent, on both hands, arising between the pope and the emperor, the former began now to make advances to *Francis*, who was by no means averse to an accommodation; so that, instead of sending the *Florentines* assistance, as he had promised, in men and money, he sent *Pierfrancesco da Pontremoli* to negotiate an agreement between them and the pontiff. The arrival of this minister at *Florence* threw a dreadful damp upon the *Florentines*, who now saw they were to be sacrificed to the extreme desire which *Francis* had to keep the pope on his side, by suffering the siege to go forward. Notwithstanding this galling disappointment, and all the miseries
- b they suffered, the *Florentines* still kept up their spirits; and on the very day that the marquis *del Guasto* took *Empoli*, *Malatesta* and *Stefano Colonna* made a sally with three thousand men, in two divisions, to attack the imperialists, who were quartered in the fortified monastery of *San Donato*. *Stefano* entered the trenches, and did considerable execution upon the enemy; but not being supported by *Malatesta*, whom he therefore accused of cowardice and treachery, he was obliged to retreat to the city.

Their losses.

- THE distress of the *Florentines* for provisions still encreasing, and all their hopes of foreign assistance being now at an end, they had no resource but in *Feruccio*. They sent him orders to march from *Volterra* to *Pisa*, and after assembling all the forces there he could to march to *Florence*, being determined upon his arrival to throw open their gates, and to come to a
- c decisive action with the besiegers. Necessity alone justified this expedient, as *Feruccio* must fight his way through his enemies, every step he advanced. It was suspected, with some appearance of reason, that *Malatesta* apprized the prince of *Orange*, with whom he kept up a correspondence, of this design; and that he had given him assurances he would not attack the imperialists in his absence. Be that as it will, the prince, against all the rules of war, drew off the best part of his troops from the siege, and advanced to fight *Feruccio*, who, in his march from *Pisa*, proceeded by the way of *Lucca*, in hopes of being joined by some of the *Lucchese*. The two armies met together near *Cavinana*: that of the imperialists was superior in every respect; and a bloody engagement ensued, in which the prince of *Orange*, distinguishing himself rather as a private subaltern than a general, was killed.
- d The imperialists, however, were victorious; and *Feruccio*, who was taken prisoner, was put to death in cold blood by *Maramaus*, in resentment, as was supposed, of his hanging a trumpeter, who, during the siege of *Volterra*, had been sent into that city with a message.

They lose all hopes of relief, by the defeat of Feruccio.

- THOUGH *Guicciardin*, in his relation of all the passages during this siege, is evidently partial to the interests of the pope, whom he served; yet it appears upon the face of the very facts he relates, that the *Florentine* magistrates continued to defend themselves with astonishing intrepidity, still trusting to the care of Providence, or to some accident that might happen in their favour. Though pressed to surrender by *Gonzaga*, who succeeded the prince of *Orange* in his command, they rejected all terms of accommodation; and some
- e amongst them were enthusiasts enough to believe that God would work a miracle for their deliverance. A great part of the citizens, however, were in their hearts disposed to listen to an accommodation; but were over-awed from discovering their sentiments. The magistrates, with the gonfalonier at their head, now came to the desperate resolution of attacking their enemies in their entrenchments, and gave orders for that purpose to their general *Malatesta*. He at first remonstrated upon the madness of the attempt, and the wickedness of bringing inevitable ruin on so noble a city; but at last, finding all his representations in vain, and influenced with the hopes of being restored by the pope to the government of *Perugia*, he flatly refused to obey the orders given him, and put his troops under arms. Upon this the magistrates formally divested him of his command; and some of the
- f most resolute of the citizens went to intimate to him his dismissal, and an order to withdraw out of the city with his own troops. All this put *Malatesta* into such a fury, that he drew his dagger, and would have killed one of the messengers, had he not been saved by some of his attendants. *Malatesta's* obstinacy, however, on this occasion saved the city and its inhabitants from destruction, by encouraging all the *Medicean*, and the moderate party, to join him; so that all *Florence* was instantly in an uproar. This did not deter the gonfalonier, and those of his party, who put themselves in arms, and threatened some times to attack *Malatesta*, and some times the imperialists.

Their courage.

- At last, however, the party for an accommodation growing every hour more numerous, the gonfalonier was obliged to submit, and to send out a deputation to *Gonzaga*, with the
- g terms on which they were willing to conclude a convention. These were, that the *Florentines* should, in a few days, pay to the army eighty thousand ducats, on condition of its raising the siege; that the pope should agree to submit to the arbitration of *Charles* the form

They are compelled by Malatesta and misery to capitulate.

A. D. 1531.
The terms.

of government under which the *Florentines* were to live, with a salvo, however, to the enjoyment of their liberties, and that he should pronounce sentence on that head within three months; that all injuries done to the pope, his family, friends, and servants, should be forgiven; and that *Malatesta* should remain with a guard of two thousand infantry in the city, till the declaration of *Charles* should arrive.

Not observed
by the pope :

WHEN we consider the state of *Florence*, at the time when this capitulation was made, it cannot be said to have been very disadvantageous to the *Florentines*, it being, in fact, the same that they so frequently offered before; but had been rejected on account of the salvo to public liberty. But the pope was glad of a capitulation at any rate, because he knew well how to break it, if his party was once admitted into *Florence*. The *Florentine* state had now exhausted all its wealth; and great difficulties were found in raising money, both for the imperialists and for paying off their own troops. His holiness took advantage of this; and his apostolical commissary, *Bartolomeo Valori*, confederated with *Malatesta*, who was now become the creature of the pope, from the extreme desire he had to return to *Perugia*; and, by their own authority, they convoked, according to ancient custom, an assembly of the people in parliament, none of the magistracy daring to oppose him; and in this parliament the popular constitution of *Florence* was abolished. Twelve citizens, partizans of the *Medici* family, were chosen to new model the constitution, which they restored to the form it had before the last revolution, when the *Medici* interest was expelled. This being done, their army was paid off; but their officers defrauded the soldiers of the greatest part of the money, which they carried back with them to *Florence*, leaving the others disbanded and dispersed. As to the imperial troops, after they were paid off, they evacuated *Florence*, and all its territory, and marched to *Sienna*, there to new model the government, according to the will of their master. *Malatesta Baglioni* obtaining the pope's leave for his return to *Perugia*, immediately set off for that city; and, without any regard to the capitulation, left *Florence* to the mercy of the pope.

who acts cru-
elly and des-
potically.

His holiness had so far a regard for public decency, that he did not chuse, without some slight shew of reason, to break through that article of the capitulation, which stipulated a pardon for all his and his family's enemies. His creatures in *Florence* who held the government, pretended that no pardon had been promised to those who had been guilty of malversations in the state; and under that infamous distinction they cruelly persecuted all the friends and instruments of the late popular government. Great numbers of them were imprisoned or banished; and, to strike the public with the greater terror, six of the principal amongst them were beheaded. By those inhumanities the family of the *Medici*, being now superior to all opposition, became absolute in *Florence*, and their power increased in proportion as the strength and riches of that city were diminished. Even the miseries of the people contributed to their greatness. The territory of *Florence* had for some years been either uncultivated, or the harvest had been cut down by their enemies. All their cattle and flocks had been devoured and destroyed likewise; so that the people being without the common necessities of life, were obliged to purchase them at exorbitant rates from other states, which finished the small remains of their substance.

Charles
changes their
government in
favour of the
Medici fa-
mily.

CHARLES resided all this time in *Germany*, where he found his affairs so perplexed, that he was obliged to indulge the pope in all his requests. As soon as the capitulation of *Florence* was finished, it was sent to him by his holiness, together with the form and substance of the declaration he was to make concerning the *Florentine* government, and which was confirmed by *Charles*. Without taking the least notice of the salvo for liberty^a, or paying any regard to the capitulation, he acted in his imperial character, and as having a right to prescribe to the *Florentines* what form of government he pleased. He ordered, that the city should be governed by the same magistrates, and after the same manner by which it used to be governed in times when the *Medici* held it; and that *Alessandro*, who was the pontiff's nephew, and the head of his family, should be the head of the government, and, in default of issue, should be succeeded one after another by the children, descendants, and nearest of the same family. By the same declaration, *Florence* was restored to all her rights and privileges that had been granted, either by the emperor or his predecessors, with a proviso that they should be considered as forfeited, if the citizens should attempt any thing against the *Medici* family. To oblige the pope still farther, the imperialists restored all his friends in *Sienna* to their estates and authority in the government; and when they marched for *Piedmont*, they left in the city a garrison of three hundred *Spanish* foot, under the command of the duke of *Melfi*, a man very unfit for such a trust.

Coldness be-
tween the pope
and Charles,

THE pope having thus gained from *Charles* all that he could demand, began to abate somewhat of that high veneration he had expressed for him before, and to be less careful of pleasing

^a GUICCIARDINI, book xx.

- a him. The prodigious abuses of the papal power in *Germany* endangered the allegiance of that empire to *Charles*; and even the *Roman* Catholic princes and states there loudly called for a general council, as being the only remedy for the public distractions. The emperor was of the same opinion, and earnestly applied to the pope to convoke one. This could be no agreeable proposal to his holiness, who was conscious of his having been guilty of subornation, simony, perjury, treachery, usurpation, and every species of wickedness. He sent *Charles* many reasons why it was not proper at that time to convoke a general council; but gave him leave to promise, in his name, to the diet, that he would call one, provided it might be held in *Italy*, himself presiding at it; and that the *Lutherans* and the other sectaries should, in the mean time, return to the obedience of the church, and bind themselves to submit to the decisions of the council. *Charles* was sensible that those inadmissible conditions amounted to a refusal on the part of the pope of what he required; and his resentment manifested itself in an affair that nearly concerned his holiness.

THE time was now come for *Charles* to pronounce sentence between the pope and the duke of *Ferrara*. The differences between them had been canvassed by the ablest lawyers in *Italy*; and *Charles*, on the strength of their opinion, had decreed that *Modena* and *Reggio*^b rightfully and lawfully belonged to that duke; and that, upon his paying to his holiness one hundred thousand crowns, he should be confirmed in the investiture of *Ferrara*, and the tribute required of him reduced to its old rate. This sentence was extremely mortifying to the pope, who complained that *Charles* had broken his promise of not pronouncing against him in any event. *Charles*, on the other hand, laid all the blame upon the pope's nuncio, the bishop of *Vasone*, who presuming on the justice of his master's cause, had incessantly and arrogantly solicited *Charles* to pronounce sentence, and insolently pretended that he declined it, only to avoid doing justice to his holiness. The pope was far from being satisfied with this apology, and refused either to ratify the sentence, or to accept of the money, which was tendered to him by the duke. This did not prevent *Charles* from resigning *Modena*, which he had long held as a deposit, to the duke, whom his holiness wanted, by all means, to oppress.

who decides the affair of Modena against him.

- d *ALESSANDRO DE MEDICI* was now invested with all his family power in *Florence*, which he held under an oath of allegiance to the emperor, whose natural daughter he was to marry. The implacable restless pontiff had secretly determined to alter the system of his political conduct. The *French* king, from motives foreign to this history, continued to be the inveterate enemy of *Charles*; but not being in a condition to enter into an open war with him, he had recourse to intrigues in *Germany*, where he gave the Protestants, and the enemies of the house of *Austria*, hopes that he would declare himself their protector, though at the same time he was publicly burning heretics in his own capital; but his great scheme was to detach the pope from the emperor. A secret correspondence for that purpose had been carried on between *Francis* and his holiness; and the former had even proposed a marriage between his second son and *Clement's* niece Catherine, the daughter of *Lorenzo de Medici*. His holiness was not proof against so dazzling an alliance, and, provided *Francis* was sincere in the proposal, he resolved to embrace it whatever it cost him. In the mean while he resolved to keep fair with *Charles*, to whom he advanced forty thousand crowns, towards the expences of his war with the *Turks*; and he sent another of his nephews, the cardinal *de Medici*, to attend him in *Germany* as apostolical legate. The troubles of the empire daily increasing, and the infidels again threatening to invade it with a powerful army, *Charles* ordered the marquis *del Guasto* to march to *Germany*, with all the *Spanish* troops, and as many *Florentine* and other *Italian* horse and foot as he could take into his pay. All the apprehensions of invasion from the *Turks* soon vanishing, *Charles*, who was excessively bent upon returning to *Spain*, having compromised matters in the best manner he could, with the Protestants, ordered the *Florentines*, and other *Italians* in his service, to march to *Hungary*. This they absolutely refused to do; and a downright mutiny ensued, though *Charles* had in person endeavoured to appease them. They all of them broke up their camp, and, to a man, returned towards *Italy*, destroying the houses and lands of the imperial subjects all the way they passed, in revenge, as they said, of the ravages the imperialists had committed in *Italy*.

Francis intrigues against Charles.

Affairs of Germany.

THE young cardinal *de Medici* was suspected to have been the secret instigator of this mutiny, and for that purpose had employed *Piermaria Rosso*, an *Italian* general. This suspicion was confirmed by the cardinal and *Piermaria* leaving *Charles*, who was now on his return to *Spain* by the way of *Italy*, and posting after the mutineers. *Charles* reflected,

A. D. 1532. Cardinal de Medici arrested.

^b GUICCIARDINI, book xx.

that the cardinal might be offended at the preference he had given to his cousin *Alfonso* in the government of *Florence*, and that it was possible he would put himself at the head of the mutineers, and attempt a revolution in that state. He therefore ordered both him and *Piermaria* to be arrested. It soon appeared, that the cardinal had acted from no motive but that of youthful levity; and he was immediately released by the emperor, who made an apology both to him and the pope for what had happened, and soon after released *Piermaria* likewise.

Interview between Charles and the pope.

UPON the arrival of *Charles* in *Italy*, he had intelligence that the kings of *France* and *England* had been hindered only by the retreat of the *Turks* out of *Germany*, from attacking the duchy of *Milan*. He likewise had an intimation of the secret negotiation carrying on between the pope and the *French* king. He therefore invited the pope to another personal interview at *Bologna*, to which his holiness readily agreed, that he might give *Charles* no pretext for remaining any considerable time in *Italy*. This new interview took place about the end of the year, and, like the former, it passed with all the exterior demonstrations of affection and friendship on both sides: but their interior sentiments were very different. *Charles* again insisted upon the pope convoking a general council, and upon a public league being formed amongst all the potentates and states of *Italy*, by which each was to contribute a proportionable quota for the defence of the *Milano*, in case it should be again attacked by *Francis*. He likewise proposed a marriage between the pope's niece *Catharine* and the duke of *Milan*, the better to break off the connections between his holiness and the *French* king.

A congress of the Italian states.

THE pope formed strong objections to all those proposals. He was against the league, because he had certain intelligence that the *French* king, if farther exasperated, would join with the king of *England*. He repeated the objections he had urged before against the council, and he declined the marriage between *Sforza* and his niece, for fear of exasperating *Francis*. After various conferences between his holiness and the emperor, they agreed to refer the matter of the confederacy to be settled by commissioners appointed on both sides. Those on the part of *Charles* were *Covos*, the grand commendatory of *Leon*; *Granville*, afterwards the celebrated cardinal of that name; and *Prata*: on the part of the pope appeared cardinal *de Medici*, *Jacopo Salviati*, and *Guicciardin*. The instructions of the latter were to proceed with great caution, so as to conceal the true motives why the pope was so averse to the league. They accordingly offered to renew the former confederacy, provided the *Venetians*, who by it were obliged only to the defence of the kingdom of *Naples*, and the duchy of *Milan*, could be brought to enter into it by extending their engagements to preserve the peace of *Italy* in general. They represented, at the same time, that any confederacy amongst the states of *Italy* must be very ineffectual for preserving its peace, or for defending them against the power of *France*, if the *Venetians* were not parties in it.

Meets with difficulties.

CHARLES had no objection to the *Venetians* being invited into the confederacy; but insisted upon their guarantying the republic of *Genoa* as it then stood. The proposal was brought before the senate of *Venice*, and there fully debated, but rejected; the republic, at the same time, declaring that she was ready to fulfil her former engagements. Though *Charles* was exasperated at this refusal, he insisted, with the pope, upon the conferences being continued, and upon the practicability of such a league being formed, though the *Venetians* did not extend their engagements. He prevailed so far, that invitations were sent to all the states and princes of *Italy* to assist at the conference; and each having private reasons for not disobliging *Charles*, they made no difficulty in attending, and in assenting, in general terms, to the proposed league. The settling the proportions of the contributions created, however, many difficulties. The duke of *Ferrara*, who was now considered as a powerful prince, complained that the pope and he were in a state of mutual distrust, and that it was plain his holiness would take the first opportunity of distressing him, because he had hitherto refused to abide by the imperial award; and, upon the whole, it was unreasonable to expect he should contribute to defend the dominions of others, while he was in danger of losing his own. In short, that while he was obliged to maintain strong garrisons in *Modena* and *Reggio*, he was in no condition to pay towards maintaining those of *Milan* and *Genoa*.

THE representations of the duke had their weight with *Charles*, who insisted upon the pope conforming to the award he had pronounced. As this was a matter that so nearly touched the dignity of *Charles*, the pope did not absolutely refuse to comply with what he required; but demanded that the duke should acknowledge he held the places in dispute as fiefs of the holy see. As they had always been considered as fiefs of the empire, this demand could not be complied with, unless the consent of the *Germanic* body was obtained. *Charles*, however, continued to press the matter with his holiness, and required him

^a him to consent that he would not act offensively against any part of the duke's dominions during the continuance of the league; but all he could obtain was, that the pope consented to a suspension of all hostilities for eighteen months. This matter being compromised, the terms of the confederacy were signed on the twenty-fourth of February. *which end in a confederacy.*

This confederacy obliged the emperor, and all the potentates and states of *Naples*, the *Venetians* excepted, to defend *Italy*, and to furnish each a certain number of troops for that end. The emperor was to contribute in money every month thirty thousand ducats. The pope, for himself and the *Florentines*, twenty thousand; the duke of *Milan* ten thousand; the duke of *Ferrara* twelve thousand; the *Genoese* six thousand; the *Siennese* two thousand; and the *Lucquese* one thousand. A certain sum was to be immediately deposited in case of a sudden attack; but it was not to be broken into, unless the danger was threatening. It was agreed to pay a small annuity to the generals who were in the service of the league, even in time of peace, provided they did not leave *Italy*; and that the *Swiss* should receive certain gratuities to keep them from joining the *French*. *Antony de Lève* was unanimously appointed captain general of all the troops of the confederacy, and it was agreed that he should reside at *Milan*.

It is observable, that the pope would not agree to the *Florentines* being named as contracting parties in this league, otherwise than as they had been in the former; nor could *Charles* object to the omission.

^c This great point being settled, the affair of the general council next came under deliberation. But here *Charles* found his holiness more intractable than he had been with regard to the league, to which his great objection of offending *Francis* had been partly removed, by suppressing all mention of the *Florentines* as principals. *Charles* insisted upon an immediate indiction of the council, which the pope absolutely refused to comply with, unless it should be previously accepted by the kings of *England* and *France*, without whole consent it was impossible it could be attended with any good effect. He offered, however, to send nuncios to all the Christian powers to dispose them to compliance; but *Charles* could not bring him to promise that he would summon the council, even if they should not concur; so that, though the nuncios set out, there was little hopes of their succeeding. *Differences continue between the pope and Charles.*

^d WHILE those matters were under debate, the arrival of two *French* cardinals at *Bologna* to treat of the marriage between the *French* king's son and *Catherine de Medici*, left *Charles* no room to doubt of the correspondence between him and the pontiff. The truth is, the match in every respect was so unequal, that neither *Charles* nor the pontiff believed that *Francis* in proposing it was in earnest; and the former had ever mentioned it in that light to *Charles*, who seemed to disregard it. Upon the arrival, however, of the cardinals, *Charles* reproached *Clement* with underhand dealing; but he put his majesty in mind that he had mentioned the affair to him before, and that he still continued of opinion that *Francis* meant only to amuse him; but that it would not be decent for him to be the first to break off a negotiation which did so much honour to his family. *Charles* required he would put the *French* king's sincerity to the test, by insisting upon the cardinals immediately receiving full powers from *France* to settle the contract of marriage. This demand was complied with, and the cardinals in a very few days received their commissions with full powers. *Negotiation and agreement between the pope and Francis.*

^e CHARLES was now convinced that if the pope had not made concessions to his prejudice, *Francis* would never have agreed to so extravagant a proposal; and he soon was certainly informed that an interview had been agreed upon between them at *Nizza*, a town belonging to *Savoy*. Had not *Charles* been so intent as he was upon his journey to *Spain*, he would have perhaps found means to have made his holiness repent of his conduct. But he was in haste to set out for *Spain*, with intention, as was thought, to have broken off the match between his natural daughter and *Alessandro de Medici*, if that between *Catherine* and the *French* king's son should take place. But his holiness, having now secured to his family the government of *Florence*, regarded the dictates of ambition, and rested secure in the protection of *France* against all the resentment of *Charles*. Some who wished his family well suggested, that by matching *Catherine* to the *French* prince, he gave the latter and his descendants a plausible handle for claiming *Florence* and its territory, in prejudice of the other branches of the house. But *Clement*, dazzled by the splendor of the match, was deaf to all remonstrances. Not being, however, willing to break with *Charles*, he entered into a separate agreement with him, by which he promised to pronounce sentence against *Henry* and his wife *Anne Bullen*, and to enter into all reasonable measures against *England*, both parties engaging themselves not to conclude any new alliances without mutual consent. *Charles* found himself obliged to agree to those terms, only because they were the best he could obtain; and upon the faith of this convention, he gave orders for disbanding the army he had in *Italy*. *An interview proposed. Accommodation of the pope with Charles.*

CHARLES

CHARLES having embarked at *Genoa* for *Spain*, the pope made a merit with the *French* a
cardinals of the convention he had concluded. According to *Paulus Jovius*, the two car-
dinals had brought him a letter from the *French* king, recommending it to his holiness, by
all means, to persuade *Charles* to dismiss his army; so that *Francis* had no reason for
taking the convention amiss. It appears, in fact, that *Francis* looked upon the dismissal
of the imperial army as the most effectual service that could have been done him at that
time. He pressed the pope to hasten their interview at *Nizza*, and promised neither to press
him on the head of any fresh engagements, nor, as he had ineffectually done, upon the
creation of new cardinals, nor to draw him into a war, nor even to solicit him to favour
the king of *England* in the proceedings concerning his marriage.

Affairs of
England.

It is probable, that if the connexions between his holiness and the *French* king had b
sooner taken place, the latter might have prevailed upon *Henry* to have kept some mea-
sures with the pope. He had even taken advantage of some remaining qualms that *Henry*
was touched with on the head of renouncing his former religion, to get him to consent
to send a civil message to the pope, who, in that case, promised to form the process
anew, and to pronounce the sentence between him and *Catherine* to be invalid.
But the courier charged with this commission arrived two days later than the time
assigned by the pope, who had, by that time, thundered out his excommunications against
Henry. Notwithstanding this, his holiness being extremely loth to be deprived of so no-
ble a province as *England* had always been to the holy see, entertained some secret hopes c
that *Francis* would find means to reconcile him and *Henry*; and this made him the more
intent upon the interview. The place of it, however, was changed to *Marseilles*, at the
request of the duke of *Savoy*, who was afraid of offending *Charles*, if the interview should
be held in his dominions. This change of place was agreeable to both parties, as it
did honour to *Francis*, and gave the pope an opportunity to boast of the prodigious pains
he took, and labour he submitted to, in forming a league against the infidels, and in re-
ducing *Henry* back to the pale of the church; for such were the pretexts he made use of
for his voyage. His true motive, however, was discovered by his putting his niece *Ca-*
therine on board the *French* gallies, which were commanded by the duke of *Albany*, who
landed her at *Nizza*, and returned with the gallies to *Pisa*, where the pope embarked, on
the fourth of *October*, for *Marseilles*, with visible demonstrations of his pleasure in under- d
taking the voyage, which was prosperous. Being landed at *Marseilles*, he entered that
city in a triumphant manner, attended by a numerous cavalcade of cardinals. The
French king, attended by his son the duke of *Orleans*, the future bridegroom, and his court,
entered that city in like manner soon after, and took up his lodging in the same palace
with the pope. The interview was full of mutual expressions of friendship; and the king
won the heart of his holiness by intreating him to send for his niece to *Marseilles*, where,
as soon as she arrived, the marriage was celebrated and consummated. The festivity
of the occasion did not admit of much public business being transacted. It seems pro-
bable, however, that a private convention was entered into by the king and his holiness, e
for transferring to the duke of *Orleans* the duchy of *Milan*, as being the most effectual
way not only to gratify the pope's private ambition, but to prevent any disputes amongst
the children of *Francis* after his death. *Francis* had this acquisition so much at heart, that
he performed his promise of not teasing the pope with any troublesome requests, except-
ing that of his creating three new cardinals, which his holiness, though with great reluc-
tance, did; and, according to *Guicciardin*, the duke of *Albany's* brother was one of them.
As to the affairs of *England*, *Francis* gave up all concern with them; and one day hap-
pening to come into the pope's bed-chamber, where he found some of *Henry's* agents be-
having irreverently towards the pontiff, and threatening him with an appeal to a general
council, he told his holiness that he had no objection to his proceeding against the *Eng-*
lish with the utmost rigour of ecclesiastical censures. After this, the greatest harmony, in f
every respect, reigned between the king and the pontiff, even to the incredible resolution they
took of spiriting up the Protestants of *Germany* against *Charles*, in which they both con-
curred. Upon *Clement's* return to *Rome*, he took a severe revenge upon his enemies, and
those of the house of *Medici*; and died soon after he had made his nephew *Alexander* mas-
ter of *Florence*.

The pope goes
to Marseilles,
where his
niece
is married
to the duke of
Orleans.

History of the
Medici fami-
ly.

Alexander,

We now take leave of *Florence* as a republic; and the remaining part of its history is
blended with that of the other states and kingdoms of *Europe* that have been given in the
course of this work. *Alexander de Medici*, after marrying *Margaret*, the natural daughter
of *Charles V.* was by him made sovereign master of *Florence* in 1531; and though he
pretended to govern by the advice of a council of citizens, yet he was guilty of the most g
tyrannical proceedings. The *Florentines*, however, had not forgotten that they had once
been free; and *Lorenzo*, or *Laurenfin de Medici*, who was descended from a younger brother

a ther of *Cosmo* the father of his country, laid a plot to destroy him. He was assisted in this by the abhorrence in which the *Florentine* nobility in general held *Alexander*, who had invaded the beds of the most considerable amongst them. *Lorenzo* knowing his cousin's weakness in that respect, pretended that he would introduce into his apartment a beautiful lady; by which means, getting admittance into *Alexander's* bed-chamber, he and his associates put him to death.

ALEXANDER was succeeded by *Cosmo*, the son of *John de Medici*, whom we have already mentioned to have served so bravely in the *Spanish* and *French* armies, and who was so universally beloved, that he had the epithet of *the Popular*. *Cosmo* was at *Trabeia*, one of his lordships, when he heard of *Alexander's* death; and though he was then but seventeen years of age, he formed a scheme for succeeding him, but without discovering the least appearance of his intention. Leaving his youthful companions, he applied himself to *Vitelli*, whose father had been put to death at *Florence* by the enemies of the house of *Medici*, and who was at the head of a considerable body of troops. *Vitelli* readily promised him his assistance; and *Cosmo* repaired to *Florence*, where he concerted measures with cardinal *Cibo* and his mother, who was of the house of *Salviati*. The *Florentines*, on the death of *Alexander*, were divided amongst themselves on the form of government they should establish, and seemed inclinable to re-establish their ancient liberty. Upon this, *Cosmo*, though he had been received with great civility in the senate, ordered *Vitelli* to enter *Florence* with his troops, and to surround the senate-house, while the members were debating. This vigorous step reconciled all parties, and they submitted to *Cosmo* in the same manner as they had done to his predecessor. It was not long before a party was formed against him, at the head of which was cardinal *Salviati*, who had dissuaded him all he could from accepting of his new power. But *Cosmo*, having obtained the approbation of the emperor, and got possession of his predecessor's money, forced all the discontented to leave *Florence*, and to retire to *Bologna*, where they raised some troops under the command of *Peter Strozzi*, the son of *Philip*. *Cosmo* was so well served by *Vitelli*, and his other officers, that *Strozzi* and the exiled *Florentines* were every where routed. Numbers, and amongst them *Philip Strozzi*, were taken prisoners, and sent to *Florence*, where they were executed; but *Strozzi*, fearing to be put to the torture, killed himself. *Cosmo's* authority being thus established, he wanted to marry his predecessor's widow; but the emperor, her father, for reasons of state, gave her to the duke of *Parma*, by whom she had the famous *Alexander Farnese*, who succeeded his father. *Cosmo*, therefore, married *Eleonora de Toledo*, daughter to the duke of *Alva*, viceroy of *Naples*, and he ever after persevered in his attachment to the Imperialists. In consequence of this connection, *Cosmo's* power was so firmly established at *Florence*, that *Pius V.* bestowed upon him the title of grand duke of *Tuscany*, and crowned him as such at *Rome* with his own hands; nor did the *Florentines* ever attempt to shake off his yoke. *Cosmo* was a zealous enemy of the reformation; and in the year 1546, he furnished the pope's army, that was to march into *Germany* against the Protestants, with two hundred bombardiers. Some of the powers of *Europe* at first remonstrated against the pope's bestowing upon him the title of grand duke; but, at last, all of them acquiesced. When the *Siennese* revolted from *Charles V.* in 1552, on account of the severities practised by his governors, and his having built a fort to bridle that city, *Henry II.* of *France* supported the revolt with a powerful body of troops; but the Imperialists were assisted by *Cosmo*, and a sharp war broke out on that account. *Peter Strozzi* was the *French* general, and was guilty of many excesses against *Cosmo's* subjects; but at last he was defeated by the count *de Martignan*, who commanded for *Cosmo*. The *French* king, however, sending fresh reinforcements to *Sienna*, the inhabitants continued to make a vigorous defence, while the pope, the *Venetians*, and the duke of *Ferrara*, interceded in their favour; but all their resistance was ineffectual. A private treaty had been made at *Leghorn* between *Charles* and *Cosmo*, by which the former agreed, upon the reduction of *Sienna*, to give it up to the latter, by way of indemnification for the great expences which he and the house of *Medici* had been at in the service of the house of *Austria*. This rendered *Cosmo* very active against the *Siennese*, who would have made a better defence, had they not demolished the castle that had been built within their city by the emperor. The imperial general was *Don Garcia*, son to the viceroy of *Naples*, and brother to *Cosmo's* wife; and the *Siennese* continued so obstinate, that the viceroy himself was about to have taken the command, when he died in *Florence*. *Cosmo's* troops, however, blockaded *Sienna* so closely, that it was reduced to the utmost necessity, and at last obliged to surrender to the emperor, whom the *Siennese* received not, as formerly, in quality of their protector, but as their absolute sovereign. *Charles* did not reign long enough to make good his bargain with *Cosmo*; but his son and successor, *Philip II.* punctually performed it the first year of his reign, by resigning to him all his right and title to the *Siennese*, in consideration of the attachment of the house of *Medici* to that of *Austria*, and to indemnify *Cosmo* for the expences of the war.

and *Cosmo*,
who is made
great duke of
Florence.

This rendered him the most powerful prince in *Italy*, and he employed all his force and interest in supporting the house of *Austria*. Amongst other marks of his regard for that family, he instituted the order of the knights of *St. Stephen*. The original design of those knights was to serve against the piratical states of *Barbary*, who, about the year 1554, infested the coasts of *Italy*. *Philip II.* of *Spain*, having, about the year 1562 transferred all the district of *Sienna* to *Cosmo*, excepting that chain of garrisons which is now called *Strada de gli Presidii*, lying upon the coasts of *Tuscany*, the knights of *St. Stephen*, who were by that time a regular institution, were employed to defend them, and allowed a noble palace and church for their residence at *Pisa*, which they still possess, though the order is now greatly decayed. *Cosmo*, during his life-time, escaped many dangerous conspiracies, which were formed against his life by the *Florentines*, who could not forget that they were once free, and that under him they were slaves with gilded chains. His first wife, already mentioned, was highly serviceable to him at the court of *Spain*, and contributed greatly to the glory of his fortunes; but though he had many children, it cannot be said that he was happy in his progeny, as appears from the following incident, which may be met with in *Keysser's Travels*, and is countenanced by the relation of other creditable authors.

Tragical account of *Cosmo's* sons.

THE names of two of *Cosmo's* sons were *John* and *Garcias*, or *Garcia*. The former, when young, was made a cardinal, through his father's interest; but never could conciliate to himself the affection or friendship of his brother *Garcia*, who was known to be of a furious vindictive disposition. One day the two brothers, while at hunting, found themselves alone in following the chace, far removed from all their attendants; and *Garcia* took that opportunity of quarreling with his brother, whom he stabbed to the heart with his dagger. He then rejoined his company, without discovering in his countenance or manner the smallest emotion, as if any thing extraordinary had happened. The cardinal's horse, however, returning without his rider, the company, by tracing back the prints of his hoofs, discovered the place where *John* lay murdered. His body being carried to *Florence*, the grand duke, his father, ordered that the circumstance of his being murdered should be concealed; and gave out, that his son died of an apoplectic fit, while he was hunting. He then ordered the dead body to be conveyed into an inner apartment, and sending for *Garcia*, to whose malignant disposition he was no stranger, he taxed him with the murder. The youth denied it at first with great warmth, and in the strongest manner; but being introduced into the room where the body lay, it is said to have bled (very possibly by chance) at his approach. He then threw himself at his father's feet, and confessed the charge. The father, who had resolved on the part he was to act, solemnly desired his son to prepare for death; adding, that he ought to account it a happiness that he was about to lose that life, of which his crime had rendered him unworthy, by no other hand than that of him who gave it. He then plucked out of its sheath the dagger with which *Garcia* had murdered the cardinal, and which still hung by his side, and plunging it into his bosom, he fell dead by his brother's body. This dreadful catastrophe happened in 1562, when the cardinal was no more than eighteen, and *Garcia* fifteen years of age. The father ordered the facts to be concealed; and all but they from whom it could not be concealed, believed that the two brothers died of a pestilential distemper, which then raged in *Florence*. To give this report authenticity, both bodies were buried with great pomp, and a funeral oration was pronounced over that of *Garcia*. The tragedy, however, proved fatal to the mother, who was so affected with the death of her two sons, that she survived them but a few days. As to *Cosmo* himself, in all other respects but his family afflictions, he was the most fortunate prince of his age; and, after living in the greatest glory and happiness, he died in 1574, in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, and in the fifty-fifth of his age.

Character of *Cosmo*.

BUT neither the personal glory, success, nor happiness of *Cosmo*, nor his fortune in war, nor his high alliances, have rendered his memory so distinguished, as the prodigious encouragement he gave to the study and practice of all the fine arts, which received from him not only patronage, but perfection. In him all the fine taste, the unbounded generosity, and the discerning spirit of the *Medici* family, seemed to center. The immense buildings he began and completed, his incredible collections of statues, ancient and modern, paintings, jewels, plate, precious stones from all quarters of the earth, instruments of every kind, armour, and of every rarity that can be named, would be incredible, had not all travellers in *Europe*, of any curiosity seen them; and did not great part of them still remain at *Florence*. In short, we need not fear to pronounce, that no prince of his revenue ever equalled him as a patron of learning and the arts, unless perhaps we except his ancestor the great *Cosmo*, the father of his country. But we are to reflect, that in the time of *Cosmo*, the first great duke, the arts had arrived at the highest pitch of taste, magnificence, and perfection, all which was owing to him: and, indeed, it would not be too bold to say, that he raised them higher than they had been since the *Augustan* age. If the benefactions

a factions of some of the caliphs of *Egypt*, and of *Lewis XIV.* towards the liberal arts, is compared to that of *Cosmo*, he must have the preference, not only because their power and ability exceeded his, but because true architecture, painting, and sculpture, were unknown to the *Asiatic* caliphs, and because all that *Lewis* expended did not prevent their declining from the perfection in which they were left by *Cosmo*.

We have, in speaking of the first *Cosmo*, conjectured that he and his family probably knew certain channels of commerce, which had possibly been lost by the discovery of *America*; nor is it absurd to believe, that part of the immense sums expended by the great duke *Cosmo* were furnished by *Philip II.* whose prodigious returns of treasure, from the discovery of *America*, were perhaps greater than any *European* prince ever was master of.

b *COSMO*, the first great duke, was succeeded by his son *Francis I.* who married *Joanna*, or *Jane*, daughter of the emperor *Ferdinand I.* by whom he had eleven children; but the males all died young, and the females were incapable of succession. His daughter, *Maria de Medici*, became queen of *France* by marrying *Henry IV.* Her public history is well known, as well as that of her father, which may be met with in other parts of this work. The misfortunes which befel her, by her disagreement with her son, were in a great measure owing to two *Florentine* favourites, whom she carried with her into *France*, the marshal *d'Ancre* and his wife. Upon the death of the great duchess *Jane*, who was daughter, sister, aunt, and niece to emperors, *Francis* fell in love with a *Venetian* lady of the house of *Capello*, who was the widow of a gentleman of the house of *Salviati*. Having declared his intention to marry her, the senate, out of regard to her father's family, declared her the daughter of their republic, and made her a present of a ducal crown. *Francis* lived nine years with this lady, who is celebrated for her beauty; but little of importance happened to *Florence* or to *Tuscany*, under his government. He died in 1587, and was succeeded by his brother *Ferdinand I.* who was a cardinal; but resigned his hat when he was fifty two years of age. He married the princess *Christina*, daughter to *Charles II.* duke of *Lorraine*. He had by her almost as numerous a progeny as his brother; but only two of his sons survived him, of whom the elder, *Cosmo*, was his successor; and the younger, *Charles*, came to the highest preferments in the church. The most distinguished occurrence in the reign of *Ferdinand* was the vast magnificence with which he celebrated the nuptials between his niece *Mary* and the *French* king in 1600, who had sent him a procuration for that purpose. No expences were spared on this occasion; and the representation of one comedy is said to have cost him sixty thousand crowns. He died in the year 1609, and was succeeded by his son *Cosmo II.* who married *Magdalen* of *Austria*, sister to the emperor *Ferdinand II.* By her he had three daughters, and four sons; of whom the eldest, *Ferdinand*, succeeded him; and the two next were cardinals. Under this prince, who, like his immediate predecessors applied himself entirely to domestic affairs, and governed his people with great lenity, the *Florentines* were happy, and so powerful, that *Cosmo*, without laying any additional tax upon his subjects, in the year 1667, sent an army of twenty thousand men to the assistance of the duke of *Mantua* against the duke of *Savoy*. This quarrel being made up by the interposition of other princes, *Cosmo* gave way to his natural disposition, which was for peace and tranquility; and he died in the year 1621. He imitated his predecessors in their love for the fine arts, and greatly promoted the building of the chapel of *San Lorenzo*, begun in 1604, where the great dukes of *Tuscany* are buried in a mausoleum, which is accounted the most splendid of any in the world, and is said to have cost some millions sterling. *Cosmo II.* was succeeded by *Ferdinand II.* and was a prince of a more active disposition than any of his three immediate predecessors. The disputes about the succession to *Mantua* reviving, he interposed with his uncle the emperor *Ferdinand II.* and procured the suspension of the ban of the empire, which was about to have been pronounced against the duke of *Nevers*, who had strong pretensions upon that succession in right of blood. We shall, in the History of *Parma*, see with what spirit he supported his brother-in-law, duke *Edward*. He married *Viçtoire de la Rovere*, daughter to the last duke of *Urbino*, by whom he had two sons, *Cosmo III.* and *Francis-Maria*, afterwards a cardinal, and died in the year 1670.

He is succeeded by his son Francis;

and he by his brother Ferdinand.

Cosmo II. succeeds.

g *COSMO III.* in the year 1661, married *Margaret-Louisa* of *Orleans*, daughter to *Gaston* duke of *Orleans*, brother to *Lewis XIII.* Alliances with the court of *France*, which was at that time in the height of its splendour, were courted by all the inferior *Roman catholic* princes in *Europe*, as it intitled them to the friendship of the house of *Bourbon*. *Cosmo*, however, could not have made a more unfortunate match, as a husband: he was entirely under the direction of his mother, the grand duchess dowager, one of the most severe and austere ladies in all *Italy*; while, on the other hand, her daughter-in-law, having been bred up in all the gaiety and licentiousness of the *French* court, and attended by a numerous retinue of servants of the same cast, paid very little regard to the remonstrances of her mother-in-law upon the levity of her behaviour; and even presumed, upon the greatness of her birth, to give law to the duke her husband. There seems, however, to have been nothing criminal

Cosmo III. The history of his marriage.

minal in the conduct of the young grand dutchess, but her disagreement with the manners a
of her husband and her mother-in-law, which had spread the gloom of devotion and for-
mality over all the *Florentine* court. She resembled him, however, in one particular, that
she encouraged men of sense and genius. While she was at *Florence*, she heard that the
famous abbot *Siri*, who was a monk of *St. Benedict*, in the abbey of *St. George* at *Venice*,
had been banished that city, on a strict prosecution, only for having spoken slightly of the
republic. The abbot, repairing to *Florence*, was presented to the grand dutchess, and she
recommended him to his most Christian majesty who made him his historiographer. But
her love of learning, however, could not procure agreement between her husband and her,
they being, in other respects, directly the reverse of each other in temper and disposition.
The great dutchess dowager continuing still to have the ascendancy over her son, persuaded b
him to interpose his authority, to prevail with his wife to conform herself to the *Italian* man-
ners; but neither love nor authority made any impression upon the dutchess: and though
she had brought the duke two sons, *Ferdinand* and *John-Gaston*, and a princess, *Mary Mag-*
dalen, afterwards married to *John-William* of *Neubourg*, elector *Palatine*, daily quarrels hap-
pened between her and the great duke; 'till, at last, they separated, and she returned to
Paris, where she was allowed an appointment agreeable to her rank, and which she en-
joyed to the day of her death. Though this separation gave disgust to the pride of his
most Christian majesty, yet he had at that time political reasons for not resenting it other-
wise than by sending instructions to the marquis *du Pré*, his ambassador at *Florence*, to ap-
ply to the great duke, and to endeavour to effect a reconciliation, as also to insist upon c
three points. The first was, that the grand duke should, by inviting her to return to
Florence, take back his wife; the second, that he should pay her debts, which, it seems,
she had contracted to a large amount; and thirdly, that, when she should return, she
should have the same power in the management of public affairs that the duke allowed to
his mother. *Cosmo* answered, with great firmness, that, as to the first request, he was ready
at any time to receive his wife, if she should please to return to him; but that her sepa-
rating from him being entirely the result of her own choice, and without his participation,
he would make no advances towards inviting her to return. As to the second article, he
answered, that while she lived with him, he had always maintained her according to her
birth and station; and that, since their separation, he had ordered her appointments to be d
punctually paid her, and therefore did not think himself obliged to discharge those debts
which she had contracted through extravagance and want of œconomy. As to the last
article, he said, that, as soon as his wife had given as strong proofs of her attachment to
his interest as his mother had done, she should enjoy the same authority in public affairs.

His answer
to the French
ambassador.

THE marquis endeavoured to shake *Cosmo's* resolution on those heads, by proposing, on
the part of his master, another match between his eldest son and another princess of the
blood of *France*, in order to renew the good correspondence between his crown and the
house of *Medici*; but the duke, who was heartily disgusted with *French* princesses, civil-
ly declined the honour of the alliance, under pretence that his son was too young to think
of marrying. Notwithstanding this, the young prince soon after married the princess *Vio-* e
lante Beatrice of *Bavaria*, a family that was then intirely in the imperial interest, the elec-
tor himself being that very year general of the emperor's army upon the *Upper Rhine*;
and prince *Clement* of *Bavaria*, his brother, who had been chosen the year before elector of
Cologne, having rejected all terms of accommodation with his most Christian majesty.
The match of the grand prince into the house of *Bavaria*, together with the league of
Augsburgh, in which *Cosmo* became a party, discouraged his most Christian majesty from
any farther advances towards the court of *Florence*; and in the year 1697, when the repu-
tation of the *French* monarchy and arms began to decline, his eldest son having no issue, he
married, on the 2d of *July*, his second son *John-Gaston*, who succeeded him, to the princess
Anna-Maria-Francisca of *Saxe-Lawenbourg*, widow of *Philip-William* count palatine of the f
Rhine. This lady, besides the splendour of her birth, had great pretensions to her father's
dominions, and was, in her own right, actually possessed of a vast fortune. Her father,
Julius-Francis of *Saxe-Lawenbourg*, had died *September 29*, 1699; but his succession was dis-
puted with his daughter by the houses of *Saxony* and *Anbalt-Brunswic*; the first, in right of
a reciprocal family-compact between the elector of *Saxony* and the last duke; and the lat-
ter in right of blood and alliances; while both pretended that a female descendant was
incapable of succeeding to that duchy. *John-Gaston* brought the affair before the impe-
rial courts of judicature, and took a journey to *Germany*, where he not only carried
on the process, but managed the great estates that fell to his wife in *Bohemia*, by the indis-
puted rights of heritage from her father. As to the law-process, several precedents were g
produced, to prove that the estates in question were inheritable by women as well as men;
but the forms of the imperial courts retarding the decision, he returned, after a long stay
in *Germany*, to *Florence*.

a NEITHER of the two sons of *Cosmo III.* having male issue, and there being but little probability of their having any, the great duke's brother, *Francis-Maria of Medici*, being of a vigorous constitution, some years after, was applied to by the court of *Vienna* to resign the purple, to which he had been raised by pope *Innocent XI.* in 1686, to qualify himself for marriage. It was generally thought that the imperial court would have bestowed upon him one of the archduchess's daughters, sisters to the emperor *Joseph*; and it is certain, that the house of *Medici* was so much in favour at the court of *Vienna*, that, in the year 1699, the reigning great duke of *Tuscany* obtained from the emperor the title of *Royal Highness*, the same having been before conferred on the duke of *Lorraine*. *Obtains the title of royal highness.*

b NOTWITHSTANDING the new title conferred on the grand duke, it was not immediately allowed of by the powers of *Europe*. The count of *Lamberg*, the imperial ambassador, was the first who, by his master's order, conferred it on *Cosmo*, in answering the compliments made him by the marquis *Vitelli*, who had been sent ambassador to *Rome* from the great duke for that purpose. In the jubilee year, 1700, *Cosmo III.* went to pay his devotions at *Rome*, where he was received by his holiness *Innocent XII.* with such compliments and caresses as astonished all the world. Every day they were seen walking with one another in the utmost familiarity; and they agreed, that all kind of ceremony should be dropt between them. It is necessary to explain the reason for this, and of some ridiculous incidents that followed. *His attachment to the pope.*

c *COSMO III.* in his own person, kept up the greatest shew of devotion of any prince in *Europe*. In his court and attendance his œconomy was next to parsimonious; but he repaired every night to the church of the *Annonciata* in *Florence*, and assisted at the litanies, which were there sung with the best music in *Italy*. He was at great pains to bring religious persons to his court, and to recommend them to the pope, who generally bestowed upon them some ecclesiastical preferment. By his interest, cardinal *Morigia* was raised to the purple; and another religious was made archbishop of *Ragusa*, on the merit of wearing a long beard. Those assiduities had endeared him so much to his holiness, that the latter, while he was at *Rome*, not only gave him the title of royal highness, but prevailed with all the cardinals and foreign ministers, whom he could influence, to do the same: some, however, of the latter stood out, and others made great difficulties; but at last, by the d pope's unwearied application, all objections were got over, and the matter was at last considered as being regulated. This important point being gained, the pope and the grand duke became more intimate together than ever; but the people of *Rome* were inexpressibly astonished at seeing his royal highness appear abroad in the habit and dignity of a canon of *St. Peter's* church. It happened on the following occasion. *His devotion.*

EVERY one knows, or has heard of, the holy handkerchief, which is preserved in the church of *St. Peter* at *Rome*, and which is said to be impressed with the picture of our Saviour's face, as he was going to his crucifixion. The veneration in which this relick is held is such, that when it is exposed, which is only on very solemn occasions, the people can behold it only at a great distance, and none have the privilege of exhibiting it but the canons of *St. Peter's*. *Cosmo*, however, was smitten with so extravagant a fit of devotion, that he employed all his interest with his holiness to have a nearer view of, and to touch, the handkerchief; but was informed, that he could not be gratified, because of the anathemas and fulminations that lie against every man who shall mount the tribunal of the holy relicks, or presume to touch them, unless he is a canon of *St. Peter's*: he was even told by his holiness, that it was an indulgence the pontifical power itself could not grant. After great consultation, however, his holiness fell upon an expedient that gratified his friend in his darling passion. The grand duke being then a widower, the pope ordained and declared him a canon of *St. Peter's*; and his royal highness, in a purple habit, and a surplice on his shoulders, having assisted at the brief which declared him a priest, was conducted to the f tribunal, where he had the pleasure of touching and handling the holy handkerchief, with the other relicks; and he bestowed his benediction, at the same time, upon seventy thousand spectators then present. But this was not the only piece of religious foppery that his royal highness was guilty of on this occasion. Upon his holiness presenting him with a few toys and relicks, the duke gave two hundred pistoles to the bearers, and sent the pope presents to the amount of a large sum in jewels and money. Happening to pray before an altar in a church where his holiness arrived, he crawled upon his knees to the pontifical chair; and when the pope desired him to rise, "Permit, said he, the grand duke of *Tuscany* to adore the vicar of *Christ* with that veneration which is due to him." *He is made a canon of St. Peter's.*

g His royal highness, however, during his residence at *Rome*, went only by the name of count *Pitigliano*, which exposed him sometimes to unforeseen adventures. While he was one day on his knees in church, a lady, whose husband had been banished out of *Tuscany*, placed herself by him, and applied to him, as count *Pitigliano*, for his good offices with the great duke. *His adventures at Rome.*

He breaks with
the Genoese
and the Luc-
quesse.

duke to repeal the sentence of her husband's banishment, which he very obligingly promised her. At another time a courtesan threw herself at his feet, and, pretending to be penitent, the great duke gave her five hundred crowns to enable her to enter into a monastery. Notwithstanding those weaknesses, which it is hard to determine whether they were real or affected, *Cosmo* was far from being void of spirit or policy: he had at that time, besides devotion, many important affairs to manage at the court of *Rome*. The ill state of the king of *Spain's* health, and the treaty of partition of his dominions that had been made, laid the grand duke under great difficulties; and it was natural, upon the approaching event of his catholic majesty's death, for him to consult with his holiness upon the measures he was to pursue for securing, if possible, the succession to his dominions in his own family. With this view, he applied to obtain from his holiness his assent to his brother's resigning his cardinal's hat, and to bestow it upon his son *Gaston*. He had likewise several quarrels with the *Genoese* and the *Lucquesse*. The former had come to a resolution to make *la Spezia* a free port, which could not be done without vast prejudice to *Leghorn*; so that his royal highness negotiated not only with his holiness, but with all the princes in *Italy*, to prevent the project. He was embroiled with the latter on the following occasion. Two natives of *Lucca* had been condemned for their crimes to the galleys; but were rescued out of the prison of *Pietra Santa*, belonging to the great duke, by their friends and relations; for which his royal highness demanded satisfaction from the *Lucquesse* magistracy, who very readily agreed to give all the offenders up to justice, if they could be taken. They found means, however, to make their escape, and the *Lucquesse* made their apologies to the court of *Florence*. But they were far from satisfying the great duke. He had intelligence that the malefactors escaped by connivance, and that forty of them had taken refuge in a castle belonging to *Lucca*. He demanded, that they should be delivered up to him; and the *Lucquesse* refusing to comply, he ordered all the natives of *Lucca* in his dominions to be immediately arrested, and put under confinement. Upon this, the *Lucquesse* raised troops, and sent for assistance to their allies the *Genoese*, which was immediately granted them. Both those differences, however, were made up; the first by the mediation of the dukes of *Modena* and *Parma*, and the second by the submission of the *Lucquesse*.

His difficulties.

UPON the death of the king of *Spain*, and the succession of the duke of *Anjou* to that crown, the grand duke of *Tuscany* secretly resolved to take part with *France*; but so as to give no umbrage, if possible, to the imperialists. His motives were, that the emperor, upon the extinction of the house of *Medici* without male issue, might seize upon the succession, as being a fief of the empire; while he might have a chance, as indeed afterwards happened, of treating with the court of *Spain*, and rendering his dukedom an independent sovereignty. He was, however, under some difficulties with regard to his brother, who was protector both of the imperial and *Spanish* interests at *Rome*, and held very rich livings in the kingdom of *Naples* and in *Sicily*. But a branch of the house of *Bourbon* now succeeding to the crown of *Spain*, and that succession being disputed by the emperor, the cardinal could no longer continue the protector of both nations, and must declare himself for one or the other. The pope affected a strict neutrality in the dispute; but as there was little room to doubt that he favoured the *French* interest, the great duke made no scruple of paying a visit, in his own galley, to the duke of *Anjou*, who now assumed the title of king of *Spain*, when he came to *Leghorn*. This visit amazed all *Europe*, because, till then, his royal highness had been always deemed to be attached to the imperial interest, and its strongest partizan in all *Italy*. The young king was not instructed how to receive him; and his royal highness was not a little disgusted when his majesty did not, during all the time of the interview, desire him to be covered; a privilege made use of by many grandees of *Spain*, even without their king's permission. But his brother, the cardinal, having a great reluctance to part with the rich livings he held under the emperor, had a much more difficult task to manage. It would not be very instructive to the reader, to inform him of all the doublings and shiftings of his eminency on this occasion. It is sufficient to say, that he practised every art to keep himself well with both parties, and by the vast power he had in the consistory, as well as by the influence he had over his brother, he was long courted by both; and, at last, the *French* king secretly fixed him in his interest, by offering to make him cardinal protector of *France*, if he should lose that of the empire and of *Hungary*. But, even after the cardinal had come to this resolution, he frequented, as much as ever, the assemblies which the imperial ambassador's lady, the countess *de Lamberg*, held at her palace; while the cardinal *Janson*, the *French* minister at *Rome*, pressing him to declare himself, he ordered the imperial and *Spanish* arms over his palace to be covered from the public view, which they were for two months. Notwithstanding his profound dissimulation, he was more than suspected by the countess, who, by way of raillery, expressed her concern at the umbrage which the *French* court might take at his frequenting her assemblies; and upon his eminency

Cardinal de
Medici embraces the
French interest.

- a nency replying, that the livings he held from his Catholic majesty were too valuable to be thrown to the cocks, she sarcastically told him, that he did right in imitating the princes of his family, who owed, originally, their greatness to their œconomy. He was forced at last to throw off the mask; and the scaffolding being taken down above his gate, the arms of *France* and *Spain* appeared; but, to the no small mortification of the *Spaniards*, those of *France* had the right hand. It was thought, at this time, that the match between the cardinal and the archduchess was far advanced; but being now dropt by his declaring for *France*, count *Lamberg* published a kind of a protest that, as the succession to the *Spanish* monarchy had devolved upon the house of *Austria*, nothing done by the cardinal *de Medici* ought to prejudice the rights of that family. The moderation of the cardinal was such,
- b that, instead of resenting this protest, he retired to his brother's court at *Florence*; and indeed the whole policy of the house of *Medici*, at this memorable juncture, turned upon giving as little offence as possible to either of the contending parties; and in this they succeeded so well, that they were involved in none of the disputes of those times; but maintained a respectable neutrality with all parties; so that the remaining history of the life of *Cosmo III.* relates only to his private affairs.

Great encouragement of the duke of Florence to learned men.

- By the great œconomy he observed in his court and palace, he had amassed so much money, that he was looked upon to be the richest prince in Christendom; but his parsimony subjected him to many affronts from the *Florentines*, who did not fail sometimes to reproach him with the original meanness of his family: his friends, however, excused him, on account of his being obliged to maintain a court for his son, and another for his brother, and because of the vast sums he expended upon learning and learned men. The vast encouragement he gave to the famous *Magliabecchi*, with the vast erudition and oddities of that extraordinary person, is well known to all *Europe*; and it was through *Cosmo's* interest that the learned cardinal *Norris* was brought out of an obscure monastery and advanced to the purple. When young he had made a visit to the *English* court, in the reign of *Charles II.* but though he always professed a great friendship for the family of *Stuart*, yet we do not find that he was very liberal in contributing towards the efforts made for replacing king *James* on the throne of *Great Britain*, though often applied to for that purpose by the cardinal *d'Este*, and the other friends of that family; nay, by the pope himself, for whom he
- d had so great a veneration. He affected, however, to be the head and patron of all the *Roman Catholics* in *Great Britain*; and he exerted all his interest with foreign courts in their service. Being a complete politician, his success in this was incredible; and it was primarily owing to him that the papists met with such indulgences as they did, even after the accession of *George I.* to the crown of *Great Britain*. His great study was chemistry; and his friends could not oblige him more than by sending for medicines prepared in his laboratory by himself. He entertained at his court the best physicians he could find, and they were consulted all over *Europe*; and being courted by all the *European* princes in his time, he may be said to have been in every respect happy, but in the melancholy prospect of his son, from whom he had no hopes of issue, being the last of his family. This consideration rendered him indifferent as to all the stipulations preceding the quadruple alliance in 1718, by the fifth article of which, the duchies of *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, were to be accounted for ever as male fiefs of the empire, and were to descend, in default of male heirs, to the queen of *Spain's* eldest son. As the consent of the empire was necessary, the emperor was to use his utmost endeavours to obtain it. *Leghorn* was to remain a free port, and the king of *Spain* was to yield to his son the town *Porto Longone*, with what he possessed in the island of *Elba*, as soon as the prince of *Spain* should be in possession of *Tuscany*. None of these duchies was to be possessed by a prince who should, at the same time, be king of *Spain*; nor was the king of *Spain* ever to take upon himself the guardianship of that prince. To alleviate any chagrin which the great duke might conceive at this article, it was agreed,
- e that it never was to be allowed, during the lives of the possessors of *Tuscany* and *Parma*, that any forces of any country whatsoever, whether their own or hired, should, either by the emperor, the kings of *France* or *Spain*, or even by the prince appointed to the succession, be introduced into any garrison, city, port, or town of those duchies. It is not, however, easy to reconcile this with the remaining part of the article; viz. that, for security of the succession, six thousand *Swiss* were to be put into *Leghorn*, *Porto Ferraro*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*.

Revolutions in the succession of Tuscany,

- COSMO III.* did not long survive this destination of his dominions, for he died the most aged prince in Christendom in 1723. He was succeeded by his son *Gaston*, whose character and manner of life greatly resembled that of his father. The reader, in the history of *Parma*, will learn the various events which attended the conclusion of the quadruple alliance, which was exclaimed against by all *Italy*; and, amongst others, the grand duke *Gaston* presented memorials against it at the congress of *Cambray*. By the treaty between the

A. D. 1723.

A. D. 1725. emperor and *Spain*, who ran into one another's arms in the year 1725, upon king *George I.* a
 having declined accepting the sole mediation at *Cambray*, the emperor granted (without the
 consent of the empire) the investiture of the dukedoms of *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*,
 to the queen of *Spain*'s eldest son, in case these dukedoms should be vacant for want of
 heirs; the determination of king *George* and the regent of *France* in the treaty of *London*,
 that they are masculine fiefs of the empire, being taken for granted. Those stipulations
 were enforced by the treaty of *Seville* in 1728, by the ninth article of which, six thousand of
 his Catholic majesty's troops were immediately to be introduced to garrison *Leghorn*, *Porto*
Ferraro, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, to secure that possession to *Don Carlos*; and, by the fol-
 lowing article, the contracting powers were to use the most effectual means for persuading
 the dukes of *Tuscany* and *Parma* to admit of the garrisons, which, however, were to do b
 nothing to the prejudice of the reigning princes, but to pay them all the honours due to
 sovereigns in their own dominions. This treaty was guarantied to *Don Carlos* by *Spain*,
Great-Britain, *France*, and the states-general; but was complained of by the court of *Vienna*,
 as being inconsistent with, or rather a breach of the fifth article of the quadruple alliance;
 but in the year 1731, the great duke, who had conceived an invincible aversion to the
 house of *Austria*, together with his sister, not only ratified all the stipulations with regard
 to the succession to his dominions, but in consequence of this new treaty, *Don Carlos* was
 invited to *Florence*, there to be educated. Even the emperor at last agreed to the intro-
 duction of *Spanish* troops into the duchy of *Tuscany*; and this secured the succession of *Don*
Carlos. It is certain, however, that her Catholic majesty, by this time, had projected the c
 conquest of *Naples* and *Sicily* for her eldest son.

Death of the
 great duke.
 A. D. 1737.

THE reader, in the history of *Parma*, will see the progress of the war, which terminated
 in the emperor's losing *Naples* and *Sicily*; and in his son-in-law, the duke of *Lorrain* (the
 present emperor) being named to the succession of *Tuscany*; while his duchy of *Lorrain* was
 annexed to the monarchy of *France*. The great duke of *Tuscany*, while those matters were
 in agitation, was so much decayed in person and intellects, that he took little or no con-
 cern in them; and did not even make any remonstrances against the imperial court, who
 ordered a body of troops to move towards his dominions, in the beginning of the winter of
 1736, to oblige the *Spaniards* to evacuate his dominions, which they accordingly did. He
 died in *July* 1737, and the duke of *Lorrain* immediately took possession of his dominions. d
 The queen of *Spain*, notwithstanding her eldest son was then king of *Naples* and *Sicily*,
 could not bear the thoughts of so noble an acquisition as that of the great duchy of *Tuscany*
 being torn from her family, and endeavoured to engage, but without any effect, the court
 of *Great-Britain* to assist her in recovering it for her son the duke of *Parma*, by offering to
 engage her husband to relinquish all pretensions to *Gibraltar* and *Port-mahon*; and to give
 the *British* nation satisfaction with regard to the *American* differences subsisting between its
 government and *Spain*.

A. D. 1753.

BUT as no power in *Europe* could be jealous of that duke being master of *Tuscany*, and as
 such an engagement might have occasioned a fresh war, her proposal was rejected by the
British court. Since the accession of the duke of *Lorrain*, now emperor of *Germany*, to the e
 great duchy of *Tuscany*, the *Florentines* have made no figure in the affairs of *Italy*; but the
 court of *Vienna* has taken some steps towards rendering it, in time, a very comfortable ap-
 penage for the younger branches of the *Lorrain*, or rather the *Austrian* family. In the year
 1753, it was resolved, that for the future the entire military force of the great duchy, should
 consist of only three regiments of foot and one of dragoons of five hundred men. To sup-
 port this establishment, a *French* company offered to farm the revenues of the duchy. But
 his imperial majesty rejected the proposal, and fixed upon another company, composed of
 his own subjects, to manage the revenues under the direction of M. *Richard*, a gentleman
 of *Lorrain*. By this new institution, the finances of the duchy were divided into twenty
 shares, one half of which his imperial majesty reserved to himself. By those, and other fru- f
 gal measures, the emperor was enabled to erect a college for the improvement of agricul-
 ture at *Florence*; a science to which the *Florentines* are peculiarly adapted; and in the year
 1755, he raised another regiment of dragoons, and regimented his militia. The duchy
 is now governed by a council of regency, a military board, and other officers of state, who
 have made many excellent regulations, by which, during the war now raging in *Germany*,
 his imperial majesty has been enabled to draw many useful recruits from the grand duchy
 of *Tuscany*, which have done him great service in his armies.

A. D. 1762.

The HISTORY of BOLOGNA.

S E C T. I.

Containing the state of Bologna in the days of Charles the Great; it is dismantled by Lodovic, son of the emperor Lothair; the privilege of its church several times confirmed; the valour of the Bolognese during the Italian war in 1076; new regulations in Bologna; their differences with pope Urban II. state of learning at Bologna in 1105; building of the two famous towers Asinella and Garisenda in Bologna, which are still standing; the Bolognese demolish the citadel built by the emperor Henry to curb them, but make a peace with that prince; flourishing state of Bologna in 1123; war between the Bolognese and the Modenese; the city of Bologna almost burnt to the ground; the Bolognese invaded by Frederick Barbarossa; and a truce of six years.

- A**FTER Charles the Great became master of Italy, about the year 774, those places that had been subject to the *Longobards*, or *Lombards*, were, by his order, called *Lombardy*; and those that were governed by the exarchs, went under the general name of *Romaniola*, or *Romania*. The government of that country was, at the same time, totally changed. The cities of the exarchate were put under the government of an archbishop, and the magistrates of *Ravenna*. The pope remained master of the ecclesiastical state; and over the imperial possessions, or what was called the kingdom of *Italy*, Charles appointed *comites*, or counts, for ruling the several states and possessions in them; and to those were joined civil judges. The counts who governed the *marche*, or border lands, generally served in the field; and, according to *Sigonius*, an author of great learning and accuracy, they were called counts of the marches, from whence the modern word *marquis* has been derived. At the same time Charles entirely new modelled the tributes paid by the *Italians*, and altered the whole system of their civil policy.
- ABOUT the year 781, we find Charles nominating Peter bishop of *Bononia*, or *Bologna*, to regulate some matters in dispute in the church of *Reggio*; and about the year 801, Charles assumed the title of emperor of the West. *Bologna* was then governed by a civil magistrate named by the emperor, who confirmed all the ecclesiastical privileges that had been conferred upon her by the popes, which is all we know of the history of *Bologna* at that time. In the year 844, the people of *Bologna* shut their gates against *Lodovic*, son to the emperor *Lothair*, as he was marching to *Rome* against pope *Sergius*, which exasperated that prince so much, that he took their city by force, and beat down its walls. We meet with nothing particular concerning *Bologna* till the year 903, when the *Bolognese* clergy obtained from pope *Leo V.* an immunity from all manner of taxes and tributes. After *Rodolph* duke of *Burgundy* had conquered and killed *Berengarius*, who had been crowned emperor and king of *Italy*, he himself was dethroned by the count of *Arles*, who joined his son *Lothair* with him in the government; during whose reigns the church of *Bologna* was greatly enriched by pious donations. The disorders that afterwards prevailed in *Italy*, obliged the *Italian* princes, about the year 961, to call to their relief *Otho* the emperor, who, having vanquished all his enemies, confirmed the privileges of the city and church of *Bologna*. According to the accurate historian already mentioned, *Bologna* was then a free city, and governed by a set of magistrates, who were termed the community of *Bologna*. They were divided into three councils, of which one was called the special council, another the general, and the third the council of credence; and those three councils were composed of the most respectable citizens for property and probity; so that the form of their government was aristocratical. On certain times the collective body of the people were summoned together, either to ratify the decrees of the councils, or to give sanction to their proceedings. This form of government, with some additions of offices, continued till the year 1200, about which time the

State of Bologna under Charles the Great.

Its privileges,

and government.

people were added to the government, which then went by the name of the community and people of *Bologna*. By all that we can gather from the writers of those dark ages, the *Bolognese* had lively ideas of the ancient *Roman* republic. Their chief magistrates were called consuls, whose powers were much the same as those of the *Roman* consuls, but undetermined as to their number: they had under them civil judges; and the companies of merchants and tradesmen had their several consuls or magistrates; but they suffered none of those magistracies to continue in a single person above one year. In the year 966, the emperor *Otho* and pope *John XIII.* restored the clergy of *Bologna* to all the privileges and immunities that had been granted to them in former times. In the beginning of the reign of the emperor *Otho II.* *Albert* bishop of *Bologna* had some disputes with *Hubert* bishop of *Parma*, and made his point good in the synod of *Ravenna*. This victory is said to have given the people of *Bologna* great spirits, and they began now to adorn and fortify their city. About this time *John Gambalonga*, a man of great learning, flourished at *Bologna*, and died, as appears by his tomb stone, which was extant in the days of *Sigonius*, in the year 999. We know little more of the *Bolognese* till about the year 1012, when it was laid waste by a dreadful pestilence, which afflicted all *Italy*. In the year 1014, the emperor *Henry II.* called *the Lame*, granted at *Ravenna*, to the canons of the church of *Bologna*, the privilege, that, without their consent, no bishop of *Bologna* should alienate the estate of that church. The reader may perceive that, at this time, we know little of the history of *Bologna*, or indeed of any other *Italian* state, but as it is connected with that of the clergy, who, having in their power all the means of information, took care to transmit few or no facts but what related to their own honour.

HENRY the Lame was succeeded in the empire by *Conrade the Salic*, who carried on great wars in *Lombardy*; but his history tells us of no concern or connexion the *Bolognese* had with him. *Conrade* was succeeded in the year 1040, by his son *Henry*, surnamed *the Black*, who likewise confirmed the privileges and immunities of the *Bolognese* clergy, and was a great benefactor to them. He was succeeded by another *Henry*, his son; but we know of no particulars relating to the people of *Bologna*, till the year 1066, when the privileges of their clergy received their usual confirmation; and in the year 1070, they introduced, for the benefit of the citizens, the waters of *Apose* into *Bologna*. It was not till about the year 1077, that the *Bolognese*, who were all this while subject to the *German* emperors, had occasion to give proofs of their valour. In the progress of the famous quarrel between pope *Gregory VII.* and the emperor *Henry IV.* the former absolved all the imperial dominions and fiefs in *Italy*; and *Sigonius* is of opinion, that the *Bolognese* were never free or independent before they seized that opportunity to shake off the imperial yoke. It is not a little remarkable, that the worst of all tyrannies should beget freedom; for most of the *Italian* states, at this time, dated the commencement of their liberties from this iniquitous sentence of pope *Gregory*. The emperor *Henry*, on all hands distracted by the defection of his subjects, was obliged to repair to *Germany*, and left the care of *Italy* to his son. The famous *Matilda*, the kinswoman of *Henry*, whom she hated, was then alive in *Italy*. She was heiress to almost all *Tuscany*, and what is now called the patrimony of the church; and she took the part of the pope, from the aversion she had to *Henry*. Being a woman of a vast spirit, she raised armies, and fought herself at the head of them; but about the year 1078 she was defeated by the emperor's son, who, in the pursuit, entered *Bologna* with the fugitives, and held it for some days. *Matilda*, however, soon repaired her loss, raised another army, and recovered *Bologna*, the citizens of which behaved with great fidelity to the pope. In the year 1080, pope *Gregory* renewed his fulminations against the emperor, whom he actually excommunicated, though he had been weak enough to make the most abject submissions to his holiness. Nothing, at that time, could withstand the passion which both the *Italians* and *Germans* had for liberty. Most of the *German* states and cities shook themselves loose of the imperial yoke; and the *Bolognese*, amongst other *Italian* states, declared themselves a republic. *Rodolph* duke of *Suabia* was chosen emperor; but was defeated again and again by *Henry*, who created one *Gilbert* pope, and besieged *Gregory* in the castle of *St. Angelo*, from whence he was delivered by the famous adventurer *Robert Guiscard*, whom historians call duke of *Apulia*. Pope *Gregory* did not long survive his misfortunes, for he died in the year 1085. The two popes who succeeded *Gregory* were equally pragmatical and presuming, and were supported by *Matilda* in all their impudent claims over temporal princes. The *Bolognese* adhered to pope *Urban*; and, at the instigation of *Matilda*, sent an embassy to *Rome* to inform him of their friendship.

In 1088, *Italy* enjoying some repose, by the absence of the emperor *Henry*, the *Bolognese*, by the advice of *Matilda*, began to form themselves into a civil government, and divided their city into four quarters; *Cassiano*, *Esaia*, *Proculo*, and *Vitali*. Each of those quarters had a particular standard allotted to it; and each was obliged to furnish a certain number of men in time of war; an institution, of which some traces may be found to this day in that city. Two years

Affairs of the empire.

The Bolognese shake off the German yoke.

They side with Matilda.

a years after the emperor *Henry* again invaded *Italy*, and was again opposed by the active *Matilda*, who had the better in one campaign; but in the year 1091, she was obliged to shut herself up in *Canossa*, and was afterwards defeated by the emperor. In the year 1092, the emperor *Henry* was defeated by *Matilda*, who may be said to have been the mother of the *Romish* church. She encouraged pope *Urban* to preach up the crusade in *France*; and the *Bolognese* attended him thither with about three hundred men, who served him as a body-guard. In the year 1106, pope *Paschal*, in his journey to *Padua*, paid a visit to *Bologna*, and exempted that city from the jurisdiction of the bishop of *Ravenna*. It does not appear that the *Bolognese*, about this time, made any great figure in *Italy*; but it is extremely probable, that they earnestly applied themselves to their domestic concerns; for we are told, that in
b the year 1109 their two famous towers *Affinella* and *Garisenda* were built. In the year 1110, the emperor *Henry* being victorious in *Italy*, entered *Bologna* as a conqueror, and resented the behaviour of its citizens so much, that he bridled it with a citadel, which he left strongly garrisoned, and returned to *Germany*. The countess *Matilda*, however, animated the *Bolognese* to demolish the citadel, which they did; but in the year 1115, that lady died. Next year the emperor *Henry* came to *Italy*, with an intention to be revenged of all his enemies there, amongst whom he numbered the *Bolognese*. They knew to what fate they were destined, and they sent *Alberto Crasso* and *Hugo Ansaldo* to pacify his wrath, and in a particular manner to apologize for demolishing the citadel he had built. According to *Sigonius*, the speech which those ambassadors made to *Henry*, had nothing in it that was mean or unbecoming a free people; for they answered and justified, on the principles of liberty, their having demolished his citadel. *Henry*, who was a prince of great magnanimity, was pleased with their boldness, and bestowed immunities upon them, that do equal honour to them and himself; for on the ides of *May*, 1116, he gave them a charter, which is still preserved in *Bologna*, and is so remarkable for its strength and simplicity, that we shall here translate it.

but make their peace with the emperor.

“ WE forgive to the citizens of *Bologna*, all offences, and especially the late demolition of our castle in that city. Let the citizens of *Bologna*, and their posterity, together with all their estates, be for ever taken into our patronage and protection. Let them have the free navigation of the *Po* every way; and let them not pay to any one any tribute, particularly to the *Ferrarese*, under the name of wharfage. Let them inviolably preserve their own immunities, privileges, laws, and customs. Let no people, without the consent of the *Bolognese*, erect any works on the banks of the *Reno*, so as to spoil its navigation. Let the *Veronese* pay only a hundred pence, under the denomination of provender and provision money. Let no count trouble the *Bolognese* in any manner for his hospitality-money, as it is called. While the *Bolognese* are in our camp, let them be amenable for no matters but such as happen there.”

Charter in their favour:

INCREDIBLE was the joy of the *Bolognese* when their ambassadors brought them this charter. They even pretended that it was obtained by miracle, and from thenceforth they devoted themselves to the imperial dignity. In the year 1120, the *Bolognese* being in profound tranquility, while all the states about them were at war, built a most magnificent town-house, in which they transacted their public business. In the year 1123, the affairs of the *Bolognese* were so prosperous, that many of the neighbouring people made them considerable presents, that they might be received into their protection. They continued still to be governed by magistrates under the name of consuls, who were chose annually, partly by ballot, and partly by lot. This year, by appointment of the grand council, the consuls promised for themselves, and for their bishop *Victor* in the court of *St. Ambrose*, that they never would, upon any account alienate that building, but that they would preserve it to the honour and advantage of the church and community of *Bologna*; and that they would protect the people thereof with all their interest and strength against all powers, excepting that of the emperor. From this circumstance it appears, that the *Bolognese*, however free they might be in the exercise of their government, still considered themselves as dependent on the imperial authority. In other respects, their condition was very desirable; and we have the following sketch of their government, from original records, extracted by *Sigonius* ^a.

Improve their city.

THEIR bishop was appointed by the pope, and lived in great state and ceremony. Their religious orders were the *Augustines* and *Benedictines*; the particulars of whose powers, manners, and possessions, are described, but are here immaterial. They had an university; but at that time we now treat of, the students were subject to the same jurisdiction as the other citizens. Three companies were instituted at first; that of the merchants, silversmiths, and craftsmen. The two former chose consuls, and the latter masters; and each company seems to have been vested with a power of making bye-laws for its government.

Their religious constitution.

^a SIGONIUS Hist. Bonon. pag. 50.

In process of time other companies were added, particularly three companies of armourers, who were endowed with particular privileges, and instructed the rest of the citizens in the art of war, and the management of arms. Foreigners might be of this company; and if they were resident within the city for ten years, they were capable of bearing all kinds of public posts as other citizens. There was in the country of *Bologna*, a tenure somewhat of the nature of the *English* villainage, the husbandmen being in a condition of slavery to their masters; but it was in the power of the community to buy it off.

Their civil
laws.

THEIR laws were founded on ancient usages, imperial privileges, decrees of councils, or statutes of the city. When a reformation, or an emendation in the state was necessary, certain persons were chosen for that purpose, with power either to abrogate old laws, or to propose new ones, which being confirmed by the council, and promulgated in an assembly of the people, was entered into the body of their civil statutes, and received the force of a perpetual law. As to the city itself, it was mean in its aspect; and, though surrounded with walls, its buildings were generally of wood, so that it was frequently consumed by fire. The citizens, however, were remarkable for their concord, unanimity, and plainness of manners; but very jealous of their rights and privileges, which sometimes rendered them a little turbulent towards their magistrates.

In the year 1124, *Lambert Fagnani*, a native of *Bologna*, succeeded pope *Calixtus*, under the name of *Honorius II.* He was a wise man, and a friend to his country, which, by his means, long enjoyed a state of peace and security. After the death of the emperor *Henry V.* *Lothair* duke of *Saxony* was crowned emperor in the year 1126; but his title was disputed by *Conrade* duke of *Iranconia*, who was crowned king of *Italy* at *Milan*; but the *Bolognese* seem not to have been much concerned in the dispute, though it tore in pieces all the rest of *Italy*. In the year 1131, the abbey of *Nouantola* became a bone of contention between the *Bolognese* and the *Modenese*. The monks of that abbey had many and long disputes with the magistrates of *Modena*; and being always defeated, they sent two of their order to *Bologna*, who, in the name of the abbot *Hildebrand*, and the people of *Nouantola*, claimed the protection of the *Bolognese* against the persecutions of the *Modenese*. A general council being held at *Bologna*, the protection was accordingly granted, though it was foreseen that a war must be the immediate consequence; and the conditions were solemnly ratified in the church of *St. Ambrose*. There the deputies of *Nouantola* swore, that for the future they would be subject and obedient to the *Bolognese*, and that they would bear their proportion of the public taxes in common with the other citizens; that they would assist the *Bolognese* against all powers but that of the emperor; that they would serve the *Bolognese* on horseback and on foot, in all their expeditions; that they would submit all their controversies to the consuls of *Bologna*; and that they would never, without leave from the *Bolognese*, make peace or truce with the *Modenese*: they were likewise to receive an abbot from the bishop of *Bologna*. The consuls of *Bologna*, on the other hand, swore to protect their new subjects, and to make no peace with the *Modenese* without their consent. This transference of allegiance was not attended with a war so soon as was expected. But in the year 1135, upon the emperor *Lothair* leaving *Italy*, the *Modenese* passed the river *Scultenna*, and ravaged the lands of *Bologna*. The *Bolognese*, provoked at this insult, made great preparations to be revenged; and it is about this time that mention is made of a new magistrate, under the name of pretor or podesta, though *Sigonius* is inclined to believe that the office was of an older institution. But when a bloody war was expected, certain mediators stepped in and brought about a peace. The terms were both honourable and advantageous for the *Bolognese*; and *Manfred Petrezani*, the gonfalonier of *Modena*, bound himself for the performance in the penalty of one thousand marks. By this peace, the *Modenese* quitted all claims upon the *Bolognese* and the abbey of *Nouantola*; and a mutual indemnification between the two people was stipulated. This negotiation produced new subjects to *Bologna*; for several people in the neighbourhood of *Nouantola* submitted and swore allegiance to the *Bolognese*, to the great displeasure of the emperor *Lothair*, who thought that the imperial dignity was thereby impaired. In the year 1136, differences continuing between the emperor *Lothair* and pope *Innocent*, the former invaded *Italy*, and ordered the people of *Bologna* and *Modena* to attend him at *Roncale*. The *Bolognese*, understanding that his majesty was exceedingly exasperated against them, applied to his son-in-law *Henry* duke of *Bavaria*, by whose intercession they were pardoned, and obtained a new charter of their privileges. In the year 1141, *Bologna* suffered greatly by fire, most part of it being burnt down. This encouraged the *Modenese* to renew their claims upon *Nouantola*, which they could not bear to see under the jurisdiction of *Bologna*. *Conrade* was then emperor of *Germany*; but so much involved in wars there, that he could not repair to *Italy*, to assert the imperial rights. The *Modenese* raised an army; and after ravaging the lands of *Nouantola*, they threatened to besiege the town if it did not surrender. *Torcello* was then the consul or chief magistrate of *Bologna*, which the news of the *Modenese* invasion no sooner reached, than it was unanimously agreed,

Nouantola
submits to
them.

War with the
Modenese on
that account.

They appease
the emperor.

a in a common council, to raise an army for the relief of *Nouantola*, and *Torello* was appointed general. Troops were accordingly raised; but the *Modenese* general, being sensible that his force was inferior to that of *Torello*, retreated to the vale of *Loiano*, where he gave battle to *Torello*; but, after a sharp dispute for several hours, the *Modenese* general being unhorsed, his army was defeated with considerable loss, and the *Bolognese* returned home in triumph. This conquest encouraged the people of *Sassuolo* and *Sabbiano*, to put themselves under the protection of the *Bolognese*. Those of *Sassuolo* swore, that they would hold their town in dependence upon the *Bolognese*, in the same manner as that of *Nouantola*, and pay the same tribute. The people of *Sabbiano* made a present of their castle to the *Bolognese*, and promised them fidelity, to serve them in all their expeditions, and to make peace and war only by their permission. *Lucius II.* a *Bolognese*, was then pope; and he not only created four of his fellow citizens cardinals, but confirmed *Bologna* in all its privileges and immunities. Those pontifical favours gave *Bologna* great lustre in the eyes of the *Italians*. The *Modenese*, however, still continued to harass the *Bolognese*, on account of *Nouantola*; the abbot of which place, in the year 1146, petitioned pope *Eugenius* for his protection, which he granted in the most ample manner; for he not only issued a bull, prohibiting the inhabitants of *Reggio* and *Parma* from assisting the *Modenese* in harassing *Nouantola*, but deprived the city of *Modena* of its right to be an episcopal see. Next year *Torello*, and some other chief inhabitants of *Bologna*, were sent as deputies to *Germany*, from whence they returned loaded with honours by the emperor *Conrade*, and a confirmation of all the ancient rights and privileges of *Bologna*. This created inexpressible joy in that city, where tilts and tournaments, in the *German* manner, were celebrated for some days. In the year 1148, *Bologna* was almost burnt to the ground, on *Palm-Sunday*, while the people were employed in divine service. It appears that *Bologna*, at this time, was celebrated for the study of the law, of which they had no fewer than four eminent professors; viz. *Bulgaro de Bulgari*, *Martin Goso*, and *James* and *Hugh de Porta Ravenna*. Their eminence in their profession occasioned a vast resort to that city, where they held their lectures. About this time the people of *Imola* threw off the yoke of the *Bolognese*, and put *Vido Malabucca*, the governor of the citadel and his garrison, to the sword. The *Bolognese*, in revenge, demolished the castles of *San Cassiano* and *Medicina*, in the neighbourhood of *Imola*; places of which we know little but the names. This produced a confederacy between the people of *Parma* and *Modena*, to the prejudice of the *Bolognese*.

and defeat the Modenese.

Their privileges confirmed.

In the year 1152, the famous *Frederick Barbarossa*, duke of *Suabia*, was emperor of *Germany*. On his accession to that dignity, he made a present of the duchy of *Spoletto*, and the estates belonging to the late countess *Matilda*, to his uncle *Guelph*, in which *Bologna* was understood to be comprehended. The people of *San Cassiano*, whose castle had been demolished, applied to pope *Eugenius* for redress; and his holiness, by a bull addressed to the magistrates and community of *Bologna*, commanded them to rebuild *San Cassiano*. This drew the resentment of the *Bolognese* upon the inhabitants of *Imola*; and they entered into a league with the *Florentines* for recovering that place. The consequence was, that the *Imolese* were defeated in a pitched battle on the 16th of *July*, 1153. A peace followed this defeat; the terms of which, as extracted from the records of *Bologna*, are pretty extraordinary. They imported, that the *Imolese*, every year, on the feast of *St. Peter*, should bring to the high altar two silken handkerchiefs; that they should carry to *Bologna* the doors of one of their gates; that they should, if so required by the *Bolognese*, demolish the walls of their city, but not the churches and private buildings situated near the walls; that they should demolish the tower of *Bassua* at the command of the *Bolognese* pretor; that they should deliver up the bodies of all who had been killed when the castle of *Imola* was surprised; that they should send troops, both of infantry and cavalry, to any place the *Bolognese* should appoint, except against *Ravenna*; that they should contribute to the public taxes, and be subject to all public duties, in the same manner as if they were one of the companies of *Bologna*.

Their differences with the emperor Barbarossa.

The *Bolognese*, on the other hand, swore, in the person of their pretor, or podesta, *Vido*, that they would observe peace with the *Imolese*, and preserve their city and suburbs; and the *Florentines* promised at the same time to prevent count *Malvicini*, and other *Italian* lords, from harassing the *Imolese*; all which stipulations were punctually performed on both parts. The *Bolognese* remained in peace for some time after this treaty; but in the year 1155, the emperor *Frederick Barbarossa* entered *Italy*, and was crowned at *Milan*, where he exercised his imperial power over the *Milanese*, and all the other states of *Italy*. He then marched into the *Bolognese*, where he pitched his camp, and ordered the inhabitants to repair the city of *Medicina*, which they had demolished; and published an edict, which is still extant in *Bologna*, ascertaining its boundaries, and that of the neighbouring states. From thence he marched to *Rome*, where he received the imperial diadem; and from thence he returned through *Lombardy* into *Germany*.

Their peace with the Imolese.

and Modeneſe.

DURING his abſence, the ſtates of *Italy* fell at variance amongſt themſelves; but the *Modeneſe*, by the advice and authority of *Gerard Rangone*, their chief magiſtrate, compromiſed matters with the *Bologneſe*, and the government of *Nouantola* was relinquished to them. The latter were now ſo powerful, that their protection was courted by the people of *Olivetti* and *Montibelli*, who were ſolemnly received into the alliance of *Bologna*; and promiſed to ſerve the *Bologneſe* againſt all men, excepting the emperor, and the duke or perſon in poſſeſſion of the eſtates of the counteſs *Matilda*. Their example was followed by the people of *Canoffa*, and other ſtates; ſo that *Bologna* now made a capital figure in the affairs of *Italy*.

They join the emperor.

IN the year 1158 the emperor returned to *Italy*, to chaſtiſe the *Milaneſe*, who had rebelled againſt him. The *Bologneſe* joined his army; and were inſtrumental in reſtoring the peace of *Lombardy* by the great learning of their law-profeſſors, already mentioned, to whom the emperor referred his caſe, and that of his crown. The lawyers, however, declined taking intirely upon themſelves ſo weighty a deciſion; and the emperor ordered them to be aſſiſted by eighteen other profeſſors of the towns of *Lombardy*. Upon mature deliberation, their ſentence was, that all the cities of *Italy* were ſubject to the emperor, who, upon that, deprived many of thoſe in *Lombardy* of their ancient privileges; but added to thoſe of *Bologna*. About this time the people of *Olivetti* and *Montibelli* revolted from the *Bologneſe*; but were ſoon reduced to their duty, and the authors of the revolt ſeverely puniſhed. It is obſerved, that *Bologna* at this time, ſerved as a ſanctuary for the people of *Lombardy*, who fled to it from the horrors of war with their families and effects; and even after the wars were finiſhed, they choſe to remain there, and to be received into the privileges and protection of the city. The ſtate of tranquility which this afforded them, while all the reſt of *Italy* was in war, added prodigiouſly to the populouſneſs of *Bologna*; and the emperor was not wanting in affording to the citizens all the encouragement that was due to their loyalty, and attachment to his ſervice.

Their proſperity.

Their ſchools for law

BUT the great ſource of the riches and populouſneſs of *Bologna* proceeded from the fame of its profeſſors, which the emperor and all *Europe* conſidered as ſo many oracles of law and juſtice. To protect the ſtudents, who flocked thither from all countries, his imperial majeſty, in 1158, conferred upon them the following privileges, the original charter of which is ſtill preſerved in the archives of *Bologna*. “Let no one do any injury to the ſtudents; nor, as has been ſometimes iniquitouſly practiſed, let them be harracted on account of a fault committed by, or a debt owing in another province. If any one is guilty of ſuch an offence, or if the governor of the city ſhall reſuſe to redreſs it, when complained of, let him ſuffer fourfold, and undergo the penalty of infamy by law, and be for ever diſabled from holding any public office. If any one has a law-ſuit againſt a ſtudent, let it be in his option to have it tried before his own lord and maſter, or before the biſhop of the city to whom ſuch juriſdiction is committed; but if any one ſhall endeavour to bring it before another court, he ſhall loſe his cauſe, even though it is a juſt one, for ſuch endeavour.”

reſpected by the emperor,

THE year after the promulgation of this edict, the emperor aſſembled the *Bologneſe* lawyers; and, by their advice, to which he paid the higheſt regard, he ſummoned the magiſtrates of *Milan* to appear before him; and, upon their non-compliance, he declared them guilty of rebellion. But ſoon after a difference ariſing between the emperor and pope *Adrian IV.* the *Bologneſe* ſiding with the latter, and with his ſucceſſor pope *Alexander III.* they fell under his diſpleaſure. *Alexander* had himſelf been a profeſſor at *Bologna*, where he was very popular; but the emperor eſpouſed the part of his competitor, *Viſtor IV.* This quarrel divided all *Italy*; and the *Bologneſe* joined with the *Milaneſe* in ſupporting *Alexander*. The emperor was victorious in the conteſt; and, after taking from *Milan* all its privileges, he marched againſt *Bologna*, with intention to raze it to the ground. The citizens, unable to reſiſt him, ſent out a deputation of their law-profeſſors to apologize for their conduct, which they did with ſo good effect, that his majeſty contented himſelf with diſmantling the town of its fortifications; and, after removing its magiſtrates, he appointed one *Bocchi* to be its governor, and then retired to *Pavia*, after reducing the cities in the *Romagna* that had revolted from the *Bologneſe*.

whoſe general they oppoſe.

NOTHING being now able to withſtand the imperial power, *Bocchi*, the new governor of *Bologna*, tyrannized in an unheard of manner over the inhabitants. He extorted vaſt ſums from ſome, he baniſhed others, and put many to death. This exaſperated the people againſt the emperor and his deputy ſo greatly, that the emperor himſelf was obliged, with loſs and diſgrace, to leave *Italy*: upon which the people of *Gypſa* put themſelves under the protection of the *Bologneſe*, and ſwore obedience to their government. Pope *Alexander* took advantage of thoſe diſturbances, which proceeded at laſt to a general revolt of the *Italian* ſtates from the emperor’s authority, which had been abuſed by his lieutenants, and returned from *France* to *Italy*. This brought the emperor again into *Lombardy*, and he marched againſt

Bologna

a *Bologna* in the year 1167. The *Bolognese* were obliged again to submit; and, to save their country from ruin, they sent one hundred of their chief citizens as hostages to *Frederick*, with a large sum of money. The tyranny of the emperor, however, was so great, that the *Milanese*, the *Bolognese*, and the chief states of *Italy*, entered into conspiracies against him; and the *Bolognese*, attacking *Bocchi* in his palace, put him to death, and threw his body from the window into the street, putting to death several of his friends at the same time. *Bocchi* being dead, the *Bolognese* resumed their ancient government, and chose five consuls. The boldness of this assassination drew the eyes of all the states of *Lombardy* upon the *Bolognese*, and *Milan* recovered her liberty. *Frederick* could not be diverted from persecuting pope *Alexander*, and marched directly to *Rome*, where he placed his own pope *Paschal* upon the pontifical throne; and he and his empress *Beatrix* received from his hands the imperial crown. He then endeavoured to dissolve the confederacy which the *Bolognese* had entered into with the *Milanese*, and the other *Italian* states, against him; but he failed in his attempt. The *Bolognese* put themselves at the head of the confederacy; and, on the first of *December*, this year, the allies took a solemn oath to stand by one another against all mankind, who should invade their privileges; and that they would neither make peace nor truce, but with the common consent of all parties.

and enter into a confederacy against him.

b This confederacy was supported with so much vigour, that the emperor, in *March*, 1168, having lost all his footing in *Italy*, fled to *Germany*. Upon this the confederates besieged *Pavia*, which was almost the only town in *Italy* that continued in his interest, and built a city, which, in honour of pope *Alexander*, they called *Alessandria*, to serve them as a barrier against his return. They then held a general congress of all their party at *Lodi*, where they renewed and confirmed their confederacy, by the accession of the *Faventines* and the *Imolese*, who swore to be directed in all matters relating to peace or war by the *Bolognese*. It is remarkable, that the public danger was so great at this time, that the *Bolognese*, contrary to their usual custom, continued the same magistrates in their places for several years.

He is driven out of Italy.

c In the year 1169, a war broke out between the *Bolognese* and the *Faventines*, on the following occasion. The people of *Ravenna*, having some disputes with the *Faventines*, thought themselves inferior in power, and applied for assistance to the *Bolognese*, who, a little before, had been provoked by the *Faventines* having invaded *San Cassiano*, a city under the protection of *Bologna*; upon which the *Bolognese* sided with the *Ravennese*. An army was raised at *Bologna*, and the command of it given to the consuls, who were defeated and taken prisoners, with about forty of the chief citizens, within three miles of the city. Next year, viz. 1170, the *Bolognese*, intent upon revenge, raised a fresh army, and brought their city-standard to the field. This machine has been described in the history of *Florence*; a machine extremely well calculated, in that age of superstition, to inspire those who fought under it with courage. A thousand five hundred soldiers were appointed to its guard, and all of them had particular distinctions of habit and armour. A great number of the *Lombards*, who had taken refuge in *Bologna*, served in this army, which, in its turn, defeated the *Faventines*; and, it is thought, that, if their consuls had not been afraid of an ambuscade, they might have taken *Faenza* itself. They, however, laid siege to that city, and the *Faventines* were obliged to sue for peace; which was granted them, on the conditions of their restoring all the prisoners without ransom, their doing justice to the *Ravennese*, and paying all the expence of the war. Next year, 1173, the *Jews* were, for their usurious practices, expelled out of *Bologna*; and, in the following, all the heads of the confederacy assembled at *Modena*, where they confirmed their league with new oaths and engagements. *Ospinelli* was this year one of the consuls of *Bologna*; and, amongst other things, swore, in behalf of that city, to expel the party of the emperor *Frederick* from all their possession in *Italy*, and to keep no correspondence with him or his family. He likewise swore to contribute to the defence of *Alessandria*, and of any other place belonging to the confederates that should be besieged by the emperor or his lieutenants. At the same time the proportion that every state was to furnish, in money or in men, was settled; the *Bolognese* being obliged to contribute forty archers to every garrison. The same year pope *Alexander* recommended the monks of the abbey of *Nouantola*, who lay under some hardships, to the *Bolognese* magistrates. Next year 1174, the inhabitants of *Badali* and *Baptidici* swore allegiance to the magistrates of *Bologna*, and to keep their castles for their use. This year the emperor *Frederick* again invaded *Italy*, for a fourth time; and ordered his general *Christian*, archbishop of *Mentz*, to march against the *Bolognese*, against whom he had a particular resentment. Upon this occasion, they created an extraordinary number of consuls, being seven in the whole; and received an oath from the people of *Olivetti*, that they would, to the utmost, oppose the imperial arms, and continue true to the state of *Bologna*. The consuls thought the preservation of *Olivetti* of so much consequence, that they passed a decree, to encourage the inhabitants from other parts of their territory to repair thither. They, at the same time, summoned

War with the Faventines.

They stand by their league.

and oppose the
imperialists.

summoned their confederates to renew the league. The *Florentines*, on the other hand, and the states of *Tuscany*, who sided with *Frederick*, prepared to invade the *Bolognese*, who fortified *San Cassiano*, and garrisoned it with three hundred men. By this time *Christian* had advanced into the *Bolognese*; and being joined by the inhabitants of *Imola*, *Cesenna*, and *Rimini*, he laid siege to *San Cassiano*, which was defended by *Prendiparte*, a *Bolognese* consul. The other confederated states were not idle in this time of common danger. The people of *Milan* sent to the assistance of the *Bolognese* three hundred horse; those of *Verona*, *Brescia*, *Piacenza*, *Parma*, *Ferrara*, *Reggio*, and *Padua*, sent their several quotas; so that the number of all their auxiliaries amounted to above two thousand men, all of them, excepting those of *Ferrara* and *Piacenza* (who maintained themselves), in the pay of the *Bolognese*. Besides those troops, the magistrates enlisted a great number of mountaineers, and other subjects of the state, and the whole army set out to the relief of *San Cassiano*. *Prendiparte*, apprized of the approach of this army, made a sally; and *Christian*, afraid of being shut up between the two bodies, was obliged to retire to *Cassellari*; and thus the siege was raised. The *Bolognese*, after this, demolished *San Cassiano*, that they might not be obliged to garrison it, and began their march back to *Bologna*. By the way they fell in with an ambuscade of *Christian*'s army, who killed some of the confederates, and made others prisoners. In revenge of this, *Christian* laid waste the territory of *Bologna* with great fury; but *Frederick* himself was defeated before *Milan*.

the defeat
them.

The confederacy
renewed.

This year the *Bolognese* put up to sale the estates and effects of such of their countrymen as had sided with *Frederick*, and had therefore been adjudged to be rebels. In the beginning of the year 1176, the general confederacy was strengthened by new oaths and engagements; by which the several parties promised to defend *Alessandria*, to make neither truce nor peace with *Frederick*, and to oppose him to the utmost of their power, if he should again invade *Italy*. Two of the *Bolognese* consuls, however, were this year defeated by *Christian*, who continued his ravages in their territories. In the month of *June*, *Frederick* returned to *Italy*, at the head of a vast army; but was opposed by the *Milanese*. His first enterprize was against *Alessandria*, which was guarded by the troops of the confederates; but, while it was carrying on, he was defeated by the allies, and obliged to recal *Christian* from the *Bolognese*, he himself narrowly escaping with his life. By the departure of *Christian* the *Bolognese* recovered *Visani*, and punished its inhabitants as rebels for siding with the emperor, who was at this time greatly distressed. He had laid siege to *Alessandria*; but, while he was carrying it on, he was abandoned by *Henry* duke of *Saxony* and *Bavaria*, surnamed the *Lion*, and the *Alessandrians* beat the imperial troops in a sally. This reverse of fortune disposed *Frederick* to peace, and he sent messengers to treat with pope *Alexander*, to whom the proposal was equally agreeable. After various negotiations, it was concluded, on the last day of *August*, that the pope should grant peace to the emperor, and the emperor a truce of six years to the people of *Lombardy*; that *Frederick* should remove to *Modena*, and *Alexander* to *Bologna*, for the greater conveniency of their conferring together, and settling all other matters. The *Bolognese* wisely made use of this respite for adding works of ornament and use to their city, particularly by introducing into it streams of water for supplying their corn-mills.

A peace.

Privileges of
Bologna.

In the year 1177, the emperor found fault with *Bologna*, as the place of treaty; upon which the conferences were removed to *Ferrara*. He there, by the advice of the bishop of *Bologna*, cardinal *Hildebrand*, and the consent of the magistrates and chief men of *Bologna*, granted to the canons of that city the power of having a perpetual syndic. Soon after, *Venice* was appointed to be the place of conference between the pope and the emperor. There the deputies from the cities of *Lombardy* attended. The pretor *Pinamons* appeared for the *Bolognese*; and the six years truce was not only there ratified, but all matters in dispute between particular cities were compromised. The differences between *Bologna* and *Modena* were adjusted by the ensuing formulary: "We, *Pius* and *Pinamons*, pretors of *Modena* and *Bologna*, swear, that we will, with good faith, perform the terms and truce between the *Modenese* and *Bolognese* to all persons, excepting thieves, robbers, false witnesses, and the enemies of both cities; and that we will issue our edict against any person who shall commit a robbery, without repairing the damage, according to the arbitration of the two cities."

S E C T. II.

League between the Bolognese and the Faventines renewed ; war between Bologna and Milan ; peace between the Bolognese and other states of Italy ; the peace of Constance ; the pope and the emperor repair to Bologna ; fondness of the Bolognese nobility for the croisade. State of learning in Bologna in those days ; right of coinage granted to the Bolognese ; treaties with their neighbours, and tumults amongst themselves ; their city extended, and its privileges confirmed by the emperor Otho ; war with Pistoia ; the Bolognese assist the Modenese ; treaty with the Florentines.

- a **S**OME differences arising between the *Faventines* and the *Imolese*, the *Bolognese* renewed their league with the former, and entered into one with *Lothair*, count of *Arboro*. We are told, that this count, with the consent of his brother's son, made a surrender of his county to the *Bolognese*, and forced the inhabitants to give hostages, and swear fidelity to the pretor *Pinamons*. In the year 1179, the war continued with the *Imolese*, who had again seized the castle of *Imola*, and had been joined by the people of *Montibelli*, whose country the *Bolognese* ravaged, to the great terror of the people of *Cesena*, who swore fidelity to the *Bolognese* and the *Modenese* in the castle of *Modena*, as did the people of *Roccavico*. The war with the *Imolese* and the *Montibellians* continuing all the year 1180, the count of *Arboro* entered into the pay of the *Bolognese* ; and swore, for himself and his people, that he would
- b serve them with a certain number of soldiers, without making peace, while war continued. It appears, however, that this war consisted only of inroads and plunderings ; which the *Bolognese* magistrates were so much ashamed of, that it was resolved to exert their utmost efforts against their enemies. For this purpose a new alliance was concluded between the *Bolognese* and the *Modenese*, and the other neighbouring people, which was to last twenty-one years. In this league, *Parma* and *Nouantola* were excepted. This grand alliance being formed, the *Bolognese*, by the help of the *Faventine* auxiliaries, attacked the *Imolese*, and gave them a total defeat. This brought on a negociation for peace at the castle of *Imola*, where the *Imolese* made an intire submission to the *Bolognese*, the *Faventines*, and their auxiliaries, by solemnly swearing to be true to their interests ; to restore the captives ; to send two
- c handkerchiefs, by way of tribute, to *Bologna*, and as many to *Faenza*, on St. Peter's day ; to furnish them with horse and foot-soldiers, with their quotas in money ; to dismantle their tower of its fortifications ; to send two doors of their gates to *Bologna*, and two to *Faenza* ; to give hostages, in case of a war with the emperor ; and to restore to count *Malvicini* all his lands. This year, according to *Sigonius*, the *Montibellians* were likewise subdued, and their castle reduced to ashes.
- In the year 1183, the time of the truce between the emperor *Frederick* and the states of *Italy* being expired, *Antonio Mandelli* was chosen pretor by the consuls ; an office that seems to be somewhat of the nature of the *Roman* dictatorship, because it was commonly instituted in times of public danger. While he was deliberating with the allies on the state of public
- d affairs, the emperor, who had again come to *Italy*, on account of the marriage between his son *Henry* and *Constance*, sister and heiress to the king of *Sicily*, sent the allies a message from the city of *Constance*, that he was willing to treat with them concerning a definitive peace, if they would send deputies to confer upon the same at *Piacenza*. Deputies were accordingly named ; and *Mandelli*, the pretor of *Bologna*, was chosen their chief, or moderator. After some conferences with the imperial ministers, the terms were agreed on, and sworn to by the deputies, on the 2d of May. *Mandelli* and the other two deputies were then appointed to go to *Constance*, and receive the emperor's ratification, which they accordingly did ; and this peace is called sometimes that of *Constance*, sometimes that of *Piacenza*. As this treaty laid the foundation for the liberty and independency of the *Italian* states, it is proper
- e we should give some extracts of it.

League with the Faventines against the Imolese.

A grand alliance.

The emperor comes to Italy.

Foundation of the freedom of the Italian States.

The terms.

It was agreed, that *Frederick* should forgive all the injuries he had received from the confederates, and take them into his protection and friendship ; that he should permit them to enjoy their privileges and customs, both within and without their cities, for ever ; and the extraordinary privileges are there particularly recited. Magistrates were to receive their authority from the bishops, in those cities where the emperors had given the bishops such a power ; and in others from the emperor himself, or his lieutenant ; and, for five years to come, they were to receive such investitures ; after which they might resign them to the emperor himself, who was to bestow them gratis, the consuls and other magistrates taking an

oath of fidelity to the emperor, when they entered on their respective offices. In all cases of property, when the sum exceeded fifty imperial marks, an appeal was to lie to the emperor, or his lieutenant, who was to be sworn to pronounce sentence within two months, according to the known laws and usages of the city or state. The people of every city were at liberty to fortify the same, and to contract what alliances they should think proper. They were to furnish to the emperor the accustomed accommodations for man and horse, when he entered *Lombardy*; to keep bridges and highways in repair, and to provide him with convoys coming and going. They were to renew their oaths of allegiance every tenth year; and all persons were to be immediately restored to their just possessions. Those stipulations were, however, with an exception to *Imola* and *San Cassiano*. The oath to be taken by every city or state was as follows: "I swear that I will hereafter be faithful to the emperor *Frederick*,
 " and to his son king *Henry*: neither will I be concerned in any design against their lives
 " or dignities; and if I shall discover any one who harbours such designs, I will disclose the
 " same, either to the emperor, the king, or the imperial lieutenant; and do my best en-
 " deavour for their preserving their sovereignty, or for recovering it, if lost; and I will
 " observe the peace made by them, on their part, with the confederated states of *Lombardy*;
 " and I bind to this oath all males living with me, from sixteen to seventy years of age." In consequence of this agreement, *Mandelli* received from the emperor the imperial investiture.

The pope ar-
rives in Bo-
logna.

In the year 1184, pope *Lucius*, being driven out of *Rome*, came to *Bologna*, where he was received with infinite joy, and adorned the chief church with a marble colonnade. From *Bologna* he went to *Modena*, in his way to *Verona*, where he was to preach up the croisade. Here he was met by the emperor, who demanded of him possession of the lands of the countess *Matilda*, as being imperial fiefs; and that he should crown his son *Henry*: but the pope gave him a flat refusal of both requests. *Frederick* then marched to *Milan*, where the archbishop crowned his son *Henry* king of *Italy*. From thence *Frederick* returned to *Bologna* on the first of *April*, and intirely won the hearts of the *Bolognese*; whose pretor, *Prendiparte*, sent some troops to assist him in reducing the refractory *Cremonese*. The *Bolognese*, and the other states of *Italy*, remained in perfect tranquility for some years; during which the popes, the emperor, and all the princes of *Europe*, were intent upon the expedition to the Holy Land.

A croisade, in
which the Bo-
lognese enter.

NOTHING remarkable, therefore, happened at *Bologna*, excepting the erecting new churches and palaces, and composing domestic differences, from the year 1186 to 1188. That year, while the emperor was busied in his warlike preparations, and pope *Clement III.* like his predecessor, in preaching up the croisade with indefatigable pains all over *Italy*, no fewer than two thousand of the *Bolognese*, amongst whom were the chief nobility of the city, received the cross from his hands, and were presented with twenty thousand marks of the public money. Several of the neighbouring states and towns, about the same time, submitted to the government of the *Bolognese*, and promised to be directed by them in all their public measures. The reader, however, is to observe, that those submissions arose generally from conveniency, and to enable a weak state to make head against a stronger.

Institution of
law-lectures.

THE *Lombardic* league, as it was called, subsisted still in full vigour, and had been lately renewed; so that all the confederated states formed one commonwealth, whose political interests were to be under the inspection of the moderators, or deputies appointed by each state or city. The people of *Piacenza* and *Parma*, who were parties in the league, being then at war, the pretor of *Bologna* and one of the moderators were deputed by the others, to command both people, in the name of the league, to desist from hostilities; which they seem accordingly to have done, and then the pretor resigning his office, five consuls were substituted in his room. These consuls, to keep up the fame of their public schools in the profession of law, engaged *Lothair* of *Cremona* to read lectures upon it in *Bologna*. The mutual bargain made between him and the magistrates is extant in the archives of *Bologna*, and runs in the following terms: "We the consuls, by the authority and with the consent
 " of the council, promise to *Lothair* of *Cremona*, that we never shall oblige him, by any
 " solemn oath, to bind himself to the community of *Bologna*; nor shall we force him to
 " take the regency of the school in that city." His obligation is as follows: "I, *Lothair*,
 " swear, that I never will be regent of any law-school but at *Bologna*; nor will I ever do
 " any thing in prejudice or to the diminution of the law-school there; and if I know any
 " one to have such a design, I will take the first opportunity of discovering him to the
 " consuls or pretor for the time being; and will give them my assistance." *Sigonius*, from this form of words, concludes, that *Bologna* was not yet erected into an university; nor had this *Lothair* any academical powers over his scholars, who continued to be subject to the magistrates. The fame of those schools, and the continuance of the public tranquility, brought such vast crowds of scholars to *Bologna*, that daily quarrels happened between them and the townsmen about their lodgings; so that, in the year 1190, the pope was obliged to publish

- a publish a decretal, regulating the hire of lodgings in that city. We are told, that this year the confluence of scholars at *Bologna* was so very great, that the masters were obliged to hold their lectures in the public palace. But this sudden prosperity and populousness of *Bologna* gave the *Modenese* so much uneasiness, that they built a castle upon their frontiers, with a view of checking them. Upon the accession of *Henry VI.* in 1190, he passed into *Italy*, there to assert the imperial claims; to receive the crown of *Italy*, and to make good his succession, in right of his wife, to the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, which was disputed by *Tancred*, a descendant from the famous *Robert Guiscard*, the *Norman*. *Henry*, in his journey to *Rome*, paid a visit to *Bologna*. *Agnelli* of *Mantua* was then pretor, and the emperor was received in the episcopal palace with all imaginary honours, which he returned by increasing the privileges of the *Bolognese*, and by giving them a right to coin money. It is said, by their historian, that they enjoyed that privilege in the time of the *Lombards*; but that they were deprived of it by *Charles the Great*. *Agnelli* received the investiture of this right for the benefit of the city; but it is expressed, in the original charter, that the money coined at *Bologna* should not have either the form or weight of imperial money. The first coin struck there had the emperor's head on the one side, and the word *Bologna* on the other; from whence it was called a *Bolognini*. The same emperor gave the bishop of *Bologna* the title of a prince of the empire, which he holds to this day. From *Bologna*, *Henry* marched to *Rome*, where he received the crown of *Italy* from *Celestine III.* and then proceeded to make war upon *Tancred*; but was soon obliged to return to *Germany* by the way of *Genoa*.
- b In the year 1192, *Gerard*, bishop of *Bologna*, was, on account of the vast opinion which the *Bolognese* entertained of his virtue and abilities, made pretor, being the first ecclesiastic that ever was promoted to that dignity. In his pretorship, *Albert* count of *Prato*, a nobleman of great power and weight in *Tuscany*, was received into the alliance of the *Bolognese*. The bishop continued in the same office during the succeeding year, when the people of *Ferrara* was received into the alliance.

The emperor comes to Italy.

- c HITHERTO the conduct of the bishop had been unexceptionable. But all of a sudden it was altered; and the *Bolognese* nobility, having reason to think that he intended to introduce a popular government, but under his own direction, after many deliberations, assembled in the town-house, and chose for consuls twelve of their own number. This news coming to the ears of the bishop, he ran thither with a numerous attendance, and threatened the nobles with the consequences, if they should invade his power. He was answered by *Giffroni*, a noble patriot, that he had lost all title to their obedience by spiriting the people up against the nobility, that he might acquire an undue influence in a state which had so long maintained its liberties. From words both parties went to blows; and the nobles by main force, drove the bishop and his adherents from the town-house to the episcopal palace. There he summoned all his party together, and furnished them with arms, with a design to attack the consuls. They were not wanting to their own authority; for, being joined by all the men of property in the state, they attacked the bishop in his palace; and, after a most obstinate conflict, in which many fell on both sides, they stormed it, and obliged him to escape in disguise through a common sewer, attended by *James Ursins*, his chief adherent, upon whom the consuls laid all the blame of his conduct. Returning victoriously to their town-house, they adjudged *Ursins* to be a rebel to the state, demolished his house and tower, and confiscated all his effects.
- d

Tyranny and expulsion of the Bolognese bishop and pretor.

- e THE expulsion of the bishop for some time restored tranquility to *Bologna*; but when the new consuls entered upon their office, some doubts arose concerning the *Ferrarese* alliance; but the rate of carriage of goods being settled a-new on both sides, the alliance was renewed. By this time *Tancred* was dead, and his death encouraged the emperor *Henry* to resume his operations in *Italy*. He sent before him *Trusard*, his ambassador, into *Lombardy*, to exhort the cities and states there to compose all their differences, which were so pernicious to his designs. The *Genoese* furnished him with a fleet, to which the *Pisans* added twelve galleys. With this force he presented himself before *Naples*, which immediately surrendered to him. He then made dispositions for reducing *Palermo* and *Catanea* in *Sicily*; but *Tancred's* widow, who had shut herself up in *Salerno*, capitulated, and put him in possession of the two kingdoms, reserving only for her son the principality of *Tarento*; to which stipulation the emperor paid no regard; for he made an eunuch of the young prince, and confined the mother and his sisters to *German* monasteries.
- f

The emperor conquers Sicily.

- g THOUGH the bishop of *Bologna* had been banished, yet his faction remained still very powerful in the city, where they gave great trouble to the magistrates by the daily tumults they raised. In one of them, *Scannabecci Ramponi* was mortally wounded; in another, great numbers were killed in the portico of the church of *St. Ambrose*; and next day *James Occelletti* and *Thomas Tusco* were killed in the town-house by the *Hieremeans*, for so those of the bishop's party were called. As to the bishop himself, he had fled to the castle of *Sarazano*, where his party became very strong; which put the consuls under a necessity of raising an army

Civil broils in Bologna.

army against him, the command of which they gave to *William Malavolta*, who immediately marching with some troops, easily took the castle, and reduced it to ashes; but suffered the bishop to depart. a

THE cause of the bishop, however, was espoused both by the emperor and the pope; and the former published a decree in his favour, in which he calls him his own prince, clears him from the charge of perjury in his office, and gives him leave to exercise the lay-parts of his jurisdiction by a steward, or any other qualified person. All this increased the civil commotions, during which a great deal of the best blood in *Bologna* was spilt. This obliged the magistrates to have recourse to the election of a pretor, who was always chosen from some neighbouring state or city. The choice, on this occasion, fell upon *Vido Cino*, a *Pistoian*, who imitated the late bishop in his government, by committing a great number of illegal b and oppressive acts. Next year he was deprived of his dignity; and, being accused of corruption, he was taken, while he endeavoured to make his escape, by those whom he had injured, and, amongst other punishments, he had all his teeth plucked out of his head. He was succeeded by *Vico Mercati*, a *Milanese*.

Cruelty of
Henry.

IN the mean while, the emperor *Henry*, being every-where victorious, seemed to change his nature, and to have thrown off humanity as well as good faith. Having violated all his engagements with the family and friends of *Tancred*, he was excommunicated by the pope, whom he deprived of *Ravenna*, and gave that duchy, with the marquissate of *Ancona*, to *Marcoald*, his cup-bearer. *Matthew Corregio*, of *Parma*, was then pretor of *Bologna*; and it was in his time that the emperor *Henry*, in 1197, ordered his son *Frederick* to be elected c king of the *Romans*, though but a year old. The birth of this prince is one of the most extraordinary events that is to be met with in history. His mother was the heiress, as we have already observed, of the rich kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*; and becoming pregnant when she was above fifty years of age, the emperor, to remove all suspicion of imposture, ordered a tent to be erected on the plain of *Palermo*, that the child should be taken from her body in the sight of his army and all the people of *Sicily*, where the father this year died. In the year 1198, the *Longobardic* confederacy was renewed; but the *Bolognese* were at that time so embroiled in the quarrel between the new duke of *Ravenna* and pope *Innocent III.* that we do not find their name this year amongst the other confederates. *Marcoald*, besides *Ravenna*, had seized many towns in the *Romagna*, in defiance of the pope's authority, who d raised an army against him, and demanded assistance of the *Bolognese*. The latter, who had no reason to be satisfied with *Marcoald*, and who were apprehensive that their own state might fall the next sacrifice to his ambition, instantly raised a considerable army, and brought their standard to the field, as a signal that they were resolved to exert their utmost efforts in defence of the holy see. The general of their army was their pretor, *Uberto* of *Piacenza*, a man of courage, and abilities in war. After taking the field, he made himself master of six castles or towns in the territory of *Imola*, and laid the inhabitants under severe contributions. Upon this, the people of *Cornetto*, who had before revolted from the *Bolognese*, by the instigation of their governor *Ubal dini*, returned to their allegiance. The *Bolognese* then marched against *Imola* itself, *Forli*, *Forimpopoli*, *Brittonoro*, and *Cesena*, all which e places sided with *Marcoald*; and vigorously attacking them, he obliged them all to return to their allegiance, and marched back to *Bologna*, while *Marcoald* durst not take the field against him.

A. D. 1199.
Success of the
Bolognese.

SOME writers say, that this war was undertaken chiefly in behalf of the people of *Cesena*, the allies of the *Bolognese*, whose city was besieged by *Marcoald*. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the *Bolognese* acquired great reputation by the campaign, and rendered themselves more formidable than they ever had been to their neighbours. Their triumph was celebrated by public jousts and tournaments, that lasted for several days. After this, they began to distrust the friendship of the *Imolese*; for which reason they erected a fort half-way between *Imola* and *Bologna*, for bridling the incursions of the *Imolese*, and it is now called f *Cascl de St. Pietro*.

Divisions in
Germany.

The Bolognese
recover their
towns.

THE divisions of the *Germanick* empire were now so great between *Philip* of *Suabia*, who had been chosen emperor, and his competitor *Otho*, duke of *Brunswick*, that the states concerned in the *Lombardic* league, laid schemes for shaking off their allegiance upon the emperor intirely; and the *Bolognese* annals place all the transactions of those years under the head of the vacancy of the imperial throne. The *Bolognese* were not backward in improving the opportunity to their advantage; and the pope himself set them the example, by recovering *Ancona* and *Ravenna* to the holy see. The *Bolognese*, though overawed by the imperial power, had long repined at its possessing *Medicina* and part of *Argellatta*, and they never recovered both. They then planted the earldom of *Arboro*, with their own subjects; g and granting freedom to all its inhabitants, the pretor *Uberto*, by advice and consent of the general council, made all of them denizens of *Bologna*, as they did all the inhabitants belonging to the castle of *S. Pietro*, and gave them consuls and other magistrates, who were to

a rule them according to the laws and constitutions of *Bologna*. They were equally careful of their university as of their territory; for this year they employed several of the most learned civil lawyers in *Italy*, to teach in their public schools. We perceive, however, that one of them, *Azo*, was driven out of *Bologna*, for differing in opinion upon a disputed point with *Henry Ballia*, one of the most considerable men at that time in *Bologna*.

ROBERTO ROSSI of *Parma* was pretor in the year 1200, when the seizing of *Medicina* and *Argellatta* had involved the *Bolognese* in a war with the imperialists in *Italy*. But the inter-regnum that still continued, had given encouragement to every bold adventurer, who could assemble a gang of banditti, to seize or plunder the imperial possessions. Amongst others one *Alberto Araldi*, a mountaineer, had made himself master of *Saxatella*; upon which the council of *Bologna* sent the pretor, with some troops, against him. *Alberto*, knowing he was too weak to encounter the pretor, retired, with a band, to a cave, in an adjoining mountain. He was pursued by the pretor, who filled up the mouth of the cave with straw, which being set on fire, *Alberto* and his companions were obliged to surrender, and they were punished as robbers; but *Saxatella* was laid in ashes. From thence the pretor marched to other parts of the imperial *Imolese*, which he reduced with little difficulty to the obedience of the *Bolognese*. Their territory was now so much extended, and their power increased, that they erected, in their market-place, a town-house, in which their councils and courts of law were held. This could not be done without purchasing a great deal of private property in the neighbouring houses; but next year, in the pretorship of *Rangone*, this town-house being thought too small, another more capacious and magnificent was erected.

A war with the imperialists.

BOLOGNA, at this time, laboured under the calamity to which free states, especially those of *Italy*, were subject; we mean family dissensions, which often produced bloodshed between the parties at variance. As the magistrates themselves were generally involved in those quarrels, no civil remedy could be applied to them; and, therefore, all the chief citizens had towers of stone, or brick, erected, to over-look their houses, which commonly were of wood. Those towers, several of which are still standing in *Bologna*, were sometimes so slightly built, that they fell down and buried the adjoining buildings in their ruins, with the loss of a great number of lives. Those accidents forced the owners of towers, this year, either to lower or demolish them. A quarrel now broke out between the *Modenese* and the *Reggians*, in which the *Bolognese* were involved. The *Modenese* pretended to the property of the river *Secia*, which was very convenient for water-carriage to the *Reggians*; but the *Modenese* built a fort on the banks of the river, to interrupt their navigation. This produced a war between the two people; and the *Reggians* demanded assistance from the *Bolognese*, who readily embraced that opportunity of serving them, and of humbling the *Modenese*; so that a considerable army was immediately raised, which joined itself with that of the *Reggians* and the *Faventine*s, their other auxiliaries. In the month of *September* the two armies came to an engagement, in which the *Modenese* were defeated with a considerable slaughter, and their general taken prisoner. The *Faventine*s laid hold of this favourable opportunity to invade their neighbours of *Forli*, whom they likewise defeated, and burnt one of their towns.

Dissensions in Bologna.

A war.

The beginning of the year 1202, in which count *Testa* of *Piacenza* was pretor, the disorders amongst the *Bolognese* broke out with more fury than ever. The *Scannabecci* and *Asinelli*, the two principal families in *Bologna*, mortally hated one another, and most of the other citizens took part with the one or the other in the quarrel. At last they came to blows on the Great Street, where many were killed and wounded on both sides. Soon after *John Tettalasia* killed *Vido Pepuli*, in a like private quarrel. Our author observes^b, that those family bickerings continued, without intermission, for above forty years.

Dissensions continue.

AMONGST the other students who repaired to *Bologna* were many *English* youths; and this year an altar being erected to *Thomas Becket*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, by cardinal *Hildebrand*, in the church of the canons of *St. Saviour*, in a place which the *English* students did not think suitable to the dignity of so great a martyr, they demolished it, and erected another in a more conspicuous part of the church, which offended the bishop of *Bologna* so heinously, that he refused to consecrate the *English* altar; but the pope empowered the bishop of *Modena* to do it. In the mean while the *Modenese*, exasperated by their late defeat, made a league with the people of *Ferrara* and *Verona*, who brought their standards to the field; and all the three armies joining, they invaded the *Bolognese* and the *Reggian* dominions, and laid siege to *Herbaria*, a town belonging to the *Reggians*, on the banks of the *Secia*, which they were on the point of taking, though it was bravely defended, when the differences were referred to the pretors of *Parma* and *Cremona*, who compromised them, and allowed to the *Reggians* the liberty of navigating the *Secia* in their boats.

English students at Bologna.

^a SIGONIUS, p. 79.

Confederacy
with the Reg-
gians.

In the year 1203, the *Bolognese*, being at peace with their neighbours, and enjoying a some respite from their domestic quarrels, they grew so rich that they resumed the thoughts of enlarging their territories while the inter-regnum continued. *Pusterla*, a *Milanese*, was then pretor; and an occasion was taken to quarrel with the *Ferrarese*, about boundaries and depredations; but this quarrel was soon removed by the prudence of the *Milanese* magistrates, assisted by *Azzo*, an eminent civilian, and a new league between *Ferrara* and *Bologna* was concluded, by which all their differences were adjusted. The *Bolognese* next attacked the *Modenese*; and *Pusterla*, the pretor, made a formal demand from the *Modenese* of about twelve different towns and villages, situated on the *Scultema*. This demand surprised the *Modenese*, who pleaded their long possession, and accused the *Bolognese* of wantonly abusing their prosperity and riches, by neither suffering themselves nor their neighbours to be at rest. This recrimination, though true, exasperated the *Bolognese* so greatly, that their council unanimously voted an immediate war with *Modena*. While vigorous measures were making for that purpose, ambassadors were dispatched through all the states in their alliance, to solicit assistance; and a castle was built on the borders of the *Modenese*, to facilitate their making inroads upon their territories. The ambassadors named were *Romesni Radnerio*, *James Urzi*, *Vido Tantidomario*, and *Apennelli*. Their first application was to the *Reggians*, whom the *Bolognese* had so lately and so successfully assisted. The ambassadors had their audience in a full council of the *Reggians*, who required but little solicitation, and a league was struck up between them, which is remarkable for its strength and simplicity, and is as follows: "If the *Bolognese* shall make war with the *Modenese*, at the request, or without the request of the *Reggians*, before carnival time, the *Reggians* shall enter into the said war, and carry it on at their own expence, within fifteen days after such war shall be notified by letters or ambassadors; neither shall they make peace or a truce without the consent of the pretor of *Bologna*, or the consuls for the time being. If the war shall be declared after carnival time, at the request of the *Reggians* (A), the latter are free from this obligation; but if the *Modenese* shall begin the war, the *Reggians* shall be still bound; and if it shall be doubtful who are the aggressors, let it be referred to the oath of the pretor of *Bologna*, or the consuls for the time being, or of twelve men chosen from the council of *Bologna* by the *Reggians*: but if the *Bolognese* shall undertake a war with others, on account of the *Modenese*, the obligation of the *Reggians* shall be void. Let this confederacy remain for ten years; but let it be renewed in the fifth."

A negotiation.

THE chief confederates of the *Modenese*, at this time, were the states of *Parma* and *Cremona*; and the ambassadors were charged to attempt either to bring them into a confederacy with the *Bolognese*, or to detach them from that with *Modena*. To give the greater weight to the negotiation, they carried with them deputies from *Reggio*, with the pretor at their head. Arriving at *Parma*, they required, in the name of both states, a council of credence to be summoned, which the pretor (or, as that magistrate now began to be called, Podesta) immediately complied with. The *Bolognese*, and then the *Reggian* deputies, in their turns, harangued the assembly on the subject of their instructions. They were answered by *Matthew Corregio*, their podesta, in the name of the council, that an antient league subsisting between them and the *Modenese*, they were obliged to assist them against all who should attack them. The deputies then repaired to *Cremona*, where the answer they received was less peremptory. *Talamati*, the civil judge, informed them, in the name of the podesta *Otho*, and the community, that they were sorry to see the two neighbouring states at variance, and that they were ready to offer their mediation to accommodate all differences between them, which, if they could not effect, they would pursue such measures as should appear to them the most honourable.

Another.

THE report of this unsuccessful negotiation by the deputies, on their return to *Bologna*, served only to encrease the warlike preparations there. They were soon followed by the podestas of *Parma* and *Cremona*, who were deputed by those two states to act as mediators, and prevent a war. They were joined by two deputies from *Modena*; and all of them arrived at *Bologna* about the middle of June. A council of credence being immediately called, *Otho*, the *Cremonese* podesta, demanded of the *Modenese* deputies, whether they would refer their differences to *Pusterla*. This they refused to do, as well as to submit their differences to the award of certain religious men; upon which the conferences broke up. The *Bolognese* then sent two deputies to *Reggio*, to obtain there a ratification, by oath, of the late league. This year likewise the *Bolognese* settled some territorial and commercial differences with the people of *Bergamo* and the *Florentines*; and their authority was now so great in *Italy*, that their deputies put an end to a war between the inhabitants and the exiles of *Brescia*.

(A) There seems, in this place, to be a small typographical error, as follows: *Sin autem post Carnis privium arma intulerint jussu Regensum*. Inlead of *jussu*, the sense requires *injussu* to be read.

- a The *Modense* all this while were not idle; they built a frontier castle called *Plumatio*, towards the *Bolognese*; and not only made great preparations for war, but found means to debauch the people of *Novantola* from their allegiance to *Bologna*. Their mutual preparations for a war brought on a peace in the beginning of the year 1204. Some say this was effected by the mediation of one *Albert*, a *Mantuan*, a person of great piety and eloquence; and others say, by cardinal *Ottavian*, bishop of *Osia*, the pope's legate in *Lombardy*. *Alberto Visconti* was then podesta of *Elegna*; and *Dodona*, the podesta of *Modena*, acted as umpire; and after taking the oath of both parties, the differences were finally adjusted, and the boundaries of the two states settled, but greatly to the discontent of the *Modense*, who, though they stood by the award, complained that it had deprived them
- b of many valuable estates.
- The calm produced by this compromise did not long continue; for the *Florentines* and they entered into a confederacy against the *Pistoians*; but with an exception to the towns of *Barga*, *Sanabusa*, and *Stagio*. The *Bolognese* made a like confederacy with the *Faventinus*, on the 1st of *December*; but we know of no acts of hostility that happened this year. Early in the year 1205, the *Reggians* and the *Mantuan*s being at war, the *Bolognese* sent a body of horse to the assistance of the former, who thereby came off conquerors. About this time, the cities and towns dependent on *Bologna* began to have their several podestas. Notwithstanding the above preparations for war, and the unjust ambition of the *Bolognese* in general, their state continued in tranquility, through the wisdom of its leading men; and the interval was laudably employed in promoting institutions and regulations for the benefit of their law-school, the great source of their prosperity. Amongst other things, the professors were obliged, by oath, before they could read a lecture, never to teach law in any other city; and they were obliged to give their advice and assistance to the magistrates of *Bologna*. Very strict regulations were likewise appointed to prevent scholars from leaving *Elegna*, where they were intitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens. Those institutions were occasioned by the neighbouring cities and states erecting schools of law, and offering vast salaries to the professors. *Bologna*, however, still maintained its reputation so superior to all others, that in the year 1206, the resort of scholars to it was so great, that the podesta and magistrates found themselves under a necessity of enlarging
- c the boundaries of their city, part of which they surrounded with fortifications of stone. Towards the end of this year, some territorial differences happened between the *Ferrarese* and the *Bolognese*, which were amicably adjusted between *Isaac* of *Cremona*, then podesta of *Bologna*, and *Salinguerra Torelli*, then the prince, or rather leading man, of *Ferrara*; and it was agreed, that for the future all such differences should be submitted to two persons chosen by the two states.
- In the year 1207, *Garisenda*, who had been driven out of *Bologna* by his enemy *Bulgari*, being advanced by the king of *France* to a very lucrative government, remitted vast sums to his wife, for building a strong tower, to protect him and his family against his enemies. The lady pretended to her husband, that she had complied with his order; but instead of
- e building a tower, she laid out the money in gratuities to the lower ranks of the people. On the death of *Bulgari*, *Garisenda* being recalled to *Bologna*, requested his wife to lead him to the tower he had ordered to be built; instead of that, she led him to the casement of his house, where she shewed him thousands of his fellow-citizens crowding his courtyard, congratulating his return, and praying for his prosperity. There, said the matron, pointing to the crowd, is your tower of defence against your domestic enemies; upon whom, had I been a man, I should have been revenged before this time. *Garisenda* made an inhuman use of his wife's precaution. He immediately put himself at the head of the attending throngs; and setting out against the palace of the *Bulgari*, he reduced it, with all within it to ashes, after killing his brother, whom he met in his way. *Vido* of *Milan*
- f was podesta of *Elegna* in the year 1208, and on his entrance into his office, he found the *Reggians* so greatly distressed by the *Mantuan*s, who had besieged *Suzaria*, that he moved the great council to send them supplies, which was accordingly resolved on. The *Mantuan*s, on the other hand, summoned to their assistance the *Veronese*, the *Ferrarese*, the *Cremonese*, the *Modense*, and the marquis of *Este*, a family that now began to make a great figure in *Italy*. The *Bolognese*, on their part, drew their standard into the field, and were joined by their allies of *Imola*, *Piacenza*, and *Parma*, the whole making a great army. A battle ensued, which was fought with great obstinacy on both sides; but the *Bolognese* at last gained the victory, and had the honour of raising the siege of *Suzaria*. This year all matters in dispute between them and the *Pistoians* were accommodated; and the *Bolognese*, with equal wisdom and assiduity, proceeded in their public works of beauty and utility. They created two new officers in the nature of water-bailiffs, who cut a channel, which introduced part of the *Reno* into the city, to the vast benefit of its manufactures, as well as the health and cleanliness of the inhabitants. They likewise cut a canal of communication between the
- g same

An accommodation takes place.

The Bolognese assist the Mantuan.

Regulations in Bologna.

Adventures of Garisenda.

The Reggians assisted.

The Bolognese conquer the Mantuan.

same river and the *Po*, by which they acquired the inestimable benefit of water-carriage to *Ferrara*; and finished several other works of vast utility.

The Longobardick confederacy endangered.

Negotiations of the patriarch of Aquileia.

THE golden days of the *Longobardick* confederacy now drew near to a close. *Otho*, one of the candidates for the empire, in the year 1208, became emperor of *Germany* without a rival, and heard, with great concern and indignation, that the *Lombard* states had rendered themselves independent of the empire. His situation required his proceeding in a very cautious manner for recovering them. He employed *Volcher*, the patriarch of *Aquileia*, to act as his lieutenant in *Italy*, and to inquire into the state of the imperial domains there, and by all the means in his power to persuade them to return to their duty. The patriarch executed his commission with great pomp and magnificence; and, after visiting *Milan*, he arrived at *Bologna*, where *Seffio* of *Reggio* was podesta. Being lodged in the episcopal palace, he ordered the podesta to attend him; and, after administering to him the sacrament, he demanded the rendition of those towns and possessions, which the *Bolognese* had alienated from the empire, since the death of the late emperor *Henry*. The *Bolognese*, who had before deliberated how to act, employed *Vido Lambertini*, a lawyer, to be their spokesman, who, in the name of the community, resigned to the patriarch, by the delivery of a truncheon, the possession of *Medicina*, and part of *Argelletta*, which he said were all the territories the *Bolognese* had acquired since the death of the emperor *Henry*.

The emperor Otho arrives in Italy:

quarrels with the pope,

who is triumphant.

Difficulties of the Bolognese.

A war with Pistoia.

FROM *Bologna* the patriarch proceeded to *Imola*, the castle of which, as belonging to the emperor, he committed to the custody of the *Bolognese* and the *Faventine*s. Soon after *Otho* came to *Milan*, where he received the crown of *Italy* from the hands of the archbishop of that city. From thence he made a progress through the chief cities of *Lombardy*, where he found no opposition; and advancing to the *Bolognese*, he proceeded from thence to *Rome*, where he had made the pope his friend, by the most abject submissions and extravagant promises in favour of the holy see; but above all, by promising to maintain young *Frederick*, son to the late emperor *Henry*, in the possession of his mother's dominions. The reader may remember, that this *Frederick* had been chosen king of the *Romans*, and was therefore legal emperor. *Otho*'s dissimulation succeeded so well, that he received the imperial crown at *Rome* from the pope; but the ceremony was no sooner performed, than he broke every engagement he had entered into; for leaving *Rome*, he put himself at the head of his great army, which he had left without the walls, and not only seized upon the inheritance of the countess *Matilda*, which was in the possession of the holy see, but invaded the kingdom of *Naples*; upon which he was excommunicated by the pope. *Otho* then once more sent the patriarch *Volcher* into *Lombardy*, to manage his interests there; and he found the *Bolognese*, and the states of *Lombardy*, well disposed towards the emperor. *Otho* soon after came in person to *Vercelli*, where a deputation from *Bologna* attended him, and received from him a confirmation of all the privileges which had been granted them by his predecessors *Frederick* and *Henry*, which consisted of a jurisdiction ordinary and extraordinary, in all causes private and public; in the power of making their own magistrates, and retaining their own customs and usages. From *Vercelli* the emperor went to *Ferrara*, where he made peace between *Salinguerra* and *Azo*, the *Bolognese* swearing to see the same observed; and he marched from thence to *Naples* against young *Frederick*. In the mean while, the *German* princes, covering themselves under the sanction of the pope's excommunication, threw off their allegiance to *Otho*, and chose *Frederic* for their emperor. *Otho* had now proceeded far towards subduing all his enemies in *Italy*, and had passed the winter of the year 1209 in *Lombardy*; but upon hearing of this great revolution in *Germany*, he returned thither in 1210. His absence for a short while freed the *Bolognese* from the terror of his power, and gave them leisure to repair the ravages which some late conflagrations had made in their city. In the year 1211, *Azo*, the marquis of *Este*, expelled his rival *Salinguerra* out of *Ferrara*, together with the emperor's lieutenant; and both parties applied to the *Bolognese* for assistance, because they were the guarantees of the compromise between the two rivals. The case was intricate, because *Azo* was the aggressor; but it was urged on the other hand, that *Azo* was warranted in what he did by the emperor's excommunication. While this dispute continued, *Gerard*, the bishop of *Alba*, the pope's legate in *Lombardy*, set out for *Bologna*. The *Bolognese*, hearing of his intention to visit them, sent four of their most respectable citizens to acquaint him, that such a visit at that juncture would be highly unseasonable, and could not fail to produce the most disagreeable consequences within their city; upon this representation the legate desisted from his journey, and that part of the *Bolognese* council, which favoured the emperor, prevailed; and the *Bolognese* sent a body of auxiliaries to *Salinguerra*, who, with the imperial lieutenant, now laid siege to *Ferrara*.

DURING those tumultuous transactions, a new quarrel broke out between the *Bolognese* and the *Pistoians*, on the following account. The people of *San Martino* and *Lopoletani*, having had some differences, which proceeded to depredations upon one another, the podesta

a The *podesta* of *Bologna* referred the decision of them to the *syndic*, who, in his journey to compose them, had some of his retinue taken prisoners, by certain banditti, at the instigation of the *Pistoians*. This was no sooner known at *Bologna*, than the council there resolved upon a war with the *Pistoians*, and sent deputies to dispose their allies in the neighbourhood of their city to join them. These deputies repaired to *Reggio*, where they executed their commission with all imaginable success; for the *Reggians* immediately put themselves in arms to assist them, and ordered deputies of their own to join them in soliciting their cause at *Parma*. The *podesta* there informed them, that as to the banditti who had been guilty of the hostilities they complained of, the *Parmesans* would give them no manner of protection; and that they would give leave to as many of their subjects as pleased, to assist the *Bolognese* in punishing them; but that they must proceed with great deliberation, before they would enter into a war against the *Pistoians*, who had given them no provocation. From *Parma* the deputies repaired to *Radiano*, at that time besieged by the *podesta* of *Modena*; but without receiving from him any satisfaction, under pretence that he had not as yet an opportunity to take the sense of his council. The deputies returned to *Bologna*, where they made their report; but in a day or two were sent back to *Modena*, for leave either to borrow or to buy horses and arms. The acting regency there answered, that they could say nothing to the matter, because the *podesta* and the chief counsellors were absent at *Radiano*. Notwithstanding those repulses, the *Bolognese* went on vigorously with their preparations, and the inhabitants of *Rocca Corneta* declared in their favour.

c THE conduct of the *Bolognese*, at this juncture, was so extremely disagreeable to his holiness, that the abbot of *St. Stephen* refused to pay his proportion of the tax imposed for carrying on the war, upon which he was fined by the *podesta*; but the abbot appealed to the pope, who took the affair under his consideration, and laid the city under an interdict. In the beginning of the year 1212, the people of *Castrimoli* were prevailed upon by the *Bolognese*, to swear that they would reserve the possession of their castle for the emperor *Otho*. This year *Bologna* had two *podestas*, both of them *Florentines*, being apprehensive that they might be obliged to enter into two wars at the same time; and it is wonderful with what constancy they supported themselves under so many difficulties as they were then obliged to encounter, as the greatest part of *Lombardy* and *Tuscany* had declared for the pope, who,

Bologna interdicted.

d by unusual good fortune, was at this time on the side of right and justice, by taking the part of *Frederick*. That young prince had passed the *Alps*, and this year had been crowned emperor at *Mentz*. He was supported by the power of *France*, as *Otho* was by that of *England*, where *John* then reigned, and by whose assistance and credit with the dukes of *Brabant* and *Lorraine*, and the counts of *Holland* and *Flanders*, he got together an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, which *Frederick*, who was obliged to retire towards *Switzerland*, was in no condition to face. *Otho*, therefore, turned his arms against *Philip Augustus* king of *France*. As the *Bolognese* had been remarkably attached to the interests of *Otho*, whom they had entertained with great magnificence before he left *Italy*, the prosperous state of his affairs, at this time, made them disregard all the fulminations of the pope.

Frederick crowned emperor.

e Being joined by the auxiliary *Reggians* and *Faventines*, they raised a great army, with which they besieged *Sambuca*, belonging to *Pistoia*, which, though bravely defended, at last surrendered to the *Bolognese*. Upon this most of the inhabitants of the open country submitted to them; and the *Pistoians*, sensible of their own incapacity to maintain the war, set all the *Bolognese* prisoners at liberty without ransom, and sued for a peace. By this time matters were accommodated between *Salinguerra* and *Azo* marquis of *Este*, who soon after died, and left his estates, which were very large, to his son *Aldobrandini*, who was attacked by *Salinguerra*, contrary to the latter's engagement with *Azo*; upon which he was abandoned by the *Bolognese*, who joined *Aldobrandini*. Other causes contributed to this war. *Salinguerra* had built a fort on the confines of the *Modenese*, who complained of it as an invasion of their rights, and they were assisted by the *Bolognese* in besieging it; but it was so well defended, that the siege was raised. Towards the end of the year, the abbot of *St. Stephen*, and *Gerard* Bishop of *Bologna*, came into the supreme council there, and offered to refer the matter of the fine that had been imposed upon the abbot, to the decision of the *podestas* and the council itself; and this moderation seems to have delivered the city from the interdict it then lay under.

Success of the Bolognese.

In the year 1213, while *Matthew* of *Parma* was *podesta*, the war between the papal and imperial parties raged with more fury than ever. The *Modenese* fortified *Finale* on the river *Panora*, to bridle the fort erected by *Salinguerra*; and the *podesta* sent one of his magistrates to compromise some commercial differences between them and the *Modenese*.

g While this matter was in dependence, the *Modenese*, in returning from fortifying *Finale*, were surprised by *Salinguerra*, who made one hundred and fifty of them prisoners, and most inhumanly cut out their tongues. The *Modenese*, fired by this barbarity, instantly demanded assistance from *Bologna*, *Parma*, *Mantua*, and *Ferrara*, which was readily granted them

them by all those states ; and in *November* following, *Salinguerra's* fort was taken and levelled to the ground. He himself, at the same time, was obliged to restore all the *Modenese* prisoners, and to swear, as *Aldobrandini* and the *Ferrarese* did, never to rebuild the fort. The *Modenese* then marched off in triumph ; and *Salinguerra*, being now quite ruined, threw himself upon the protection of the *Bolognese*, who interceded with *Aldobrandini* for his pardon ; and it was accordingly granted him, he and his grandson swearing, at *Ferrara*, that they would thenceforth be obedient to the *podesta* and commonalty of *Modena*. a

League between Bologna and Faenza.

In the year 1214, the *podestas* of *Faenza* and *Reggio* demanded a renewal of the league between the *Bolognese* and *Faentines*, which was accordingly performed by the council with universal applause ; and the deputies of the two cities, on their parts, swore to procure the same to be ratified by their constituents. By this time the emperor *Otho* had been totally defeated at the battle of *Bovines*, with the loss of thirty thousand men, by *Philip-Augustus* king of *France* ; and *Frederick* was without further opposition received as emperor of *Germany*. Though the pope had strenuously assisted *Frederick*, who had hitherto behaved towards him with great humility ; yet, now that he was emperor without a rival, he became as formidable to his holiness, as *Otho* or any of his predecessors had been. He therefore pressed *Frederick* to fulfil his purpose of taking upon him the cross, by marching directly to the Holy Land with a powerful army. *Frederick* knew that he had still many secret enemies in *Germany*, and therefore he durst not disoblige his holiness ; but promised to set out in a very short time, and even to resign the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily* to his son ; the only thing in the world that was the most agreeable to the pope. c
It was about this time, that *Ubaldo*, the archbishop of *Ravenna*, came to *Bologna*, where he preached up the crusade in a full council. As the *Bolognese* likewise had their reasons for managing his holiness at this time, they promised all that the prelate required, and to defray, out of the public treasury, the expences of sea and land-carriage, till they arrived at *Syria*, of all the *Bolognese* who had taken upon themselves the cross. It was about this time, according to *Sigonius*, who mentions the matter to give his reader some idea of the manners of that age, that one *Hugh*, a surgeon of *Lucca*, presented himself before the council of *Bologna*, and undertook, on the payment of an annual stipend, which probably was very small, though we cannot now ascertain its value, to reside for six months, or more if required, at *Bologna* ; and to cure, during that time, all the subjects of that state of all their wounds and bruises. But from his rich patients in the country, he was to receive one load of hay or wood. Nothing remarkable happened during the remainder of the year 1215, but a mere commercial treaty entered into by *Visconti* the *Milanese* *podesta*, and the *Florentines*, about settling the difference between public and private debts ; by which no private person was to answer for a public debt, nor the public for that of any private man. d

Agreement with Florence.

S E C T. III.

Containing the difference between the clergy and people of Bologna; war with Rimini; peace concluded; arrival of the empress Constance at Bologna, and of Peter emperor of Constantinople; the Bolognese repair to the Holy war; domestic seditions in Bologna; the state of the public schools there; credit of the Bolognese with their neighbours; institution of religious orders in Bologna; differences between the Bolognese, their clergy, and their neighbours; admittance of the Dominicans and Franciscans into Bologna; the Bolognese in favour with the emperor Frederick; success of the Bolognese crusaders; state of learning, and of factions, in Bologna; the city improved and adorned; differences between the Bolognese and the imperialists; a war; arrival of the king of Jerusalem at Bologna; the university of Bologna deprived of its rights by the emperor; the Bolognese enter into a league against Frederick; war with the Modenese; the emperor restores the university to its privileges; the Bolognese declare themselves Guelphs; and the discontents in Bologna.

- a **HENRY à FRACTA** was at this time bishop of *Bologna*, and, though a native of that state, was as refractory as any of his predecessors had been to the civil government. *Visconti* the podesta, having punished a malefactor for a crime committed in the castle of *St. John*, over which the bishop claimed jurisdiction, *Odo* the bishop's vicar complained of that proceeding as an invasion of the episcopal rights; and this complaint encouraging the people of that quarter to disobey the civil power, the podesta seized and imprisoned one of the ring-leaders. Upon this the prelate interdicted the podesta, and solicited the pope to put the city under interdiction likewise. This censure, however, was far from being of any prejudice to *Visconti* with the *Bolognese*, for they chose him a second year their podesta. *Differences with the bishop.*
- b IN the year 1216, a war broke out between the *Bolognese* and the *Riminefe*, on the following occasion. The *Riminefe* had defeated the inhabitants of *Cesena*, and having taken one thousand eight hundred of them prisoners, they shut them up in one of their castles. The *Cesenians*, in their distress, applied to the *Bolognese* for assistance in recovering their townsmen from captivity, and it was readily granted them. The *Riminefe*, being assisted by the people of *Pesaro*, *Fano*, *Urbino*, and other states and cities in the neighbourhood, the *Bolognese* called to their assistance their allies of *Reggio*, *Faenza*, and *Ferrara*, who having joined them, the public standard of *Bologna* was immediately carried into the field, where a strong army waited to attend it. They began their march against the castle of *St. Angelo*, where the captives were confined, about the middle of *August*, and besieged it with great vigour, cutting off the enemy's parties, and laying waste their lands at the same time. *War with Rimini.*
- c At last *Tarentino*, who commanded in the castle, seeing no prospect of relief, proposed a capitulation on the first of *September*, which was agreed to, but not till after the castle was demolished. The terms were, that the *Riminefe* should deliver up to the *Bolognese* podesta, either at the foot of his standard, or in his tent, as he should think proper, the *Cesenian* captives, and such of the *Bolognese* as had been taken; and that the standard of *Bologna* should be admitted into the castle of *St. Angelo*, as a mark of sovereignty. The *Bolognese* and *Cesenians*, at the same time, restored the *Riminefe* captives; and a mutual pardon passed formally on both sides, for themselves and their allies, by the mouths of the podestas of *Bologna* and *Rimini*; but *Tarentino* and his accomplices, who it seems had been guilty of great inhumanities, were put to death. *The Bolognese conquer.*
- d THIS success wonderfully enhanced the reputation and credit of the *Bolognese* all over *Italy*, where the public discourse was, that the *Bolognese* were as absolute in the *Romagna*, as the *Milanese* were in *Lombardy*. This year died pope *Innocent III.* as he was on his journey to mediate between the *Pisans* and the *Genoese*, whose quarrels he thought were of infinite disservice to the success of the crusade; and he was succeeded by *Honorius III.* who pursued his schemes, and laid the *Milanese* under interdict, for favouring the *Gibelins*. This year is famous for the institution of the *Dominicans*, or preaching friars. *Bologna* had a visit from the empress *Constantia*, wife to *Frederick*, in her journey from *Naples* to *Germany*; and she lodged in the palace of the *Lambertini*; as did *Peter*, emperor of *Constantinople*, who *A peace.*
- Power of Bologna.*

who arrived at *Bologna* about the same time. He there made three knights, *Vido Lambertini*, *Ludovico Ramponi*, and *Testa Preto*, who we may suppose were the leading men, at that time, in *Bologna*. It was about this time, that all differences were compromised between the podesta and the bishop, upon the former making his submission, and the latter taking off the interdict.

Civil dissensions in Bologna.

Prudence of the podesta.

Regulation in favour of the scholars of Bologna.

Progress of learning there.

Prosperity of the Bolognese.

CANOSSIO of *Reggio* was podesta in the year 1217; and in *May* that same year, twenty thousand marks were issued out of the treasury of *Bologna*, to defray the expences of such *Bolognese* as had taken upon themselves the cross, and were preparing for *Syria*. Those compliances of the *Bolognese* with the holy see, procured to them a temporary recess from civil commotions; but they were far from being agreeable to all parties. A people fond of freedom, but ignorant of its true principles, disdains subjection; and *Isuard Mancicollo*, a bold turbulent *Bolognese*, taking arms about this time, killed *Manfred* who was his enemy, and threw every thing once more into disorder within the city; so that a civil war must have been the consequence, had not the podesta, with great activity and prudence, prevailed with the citizens to lay down their arms. Upon this *Isuard* fled, but his effects were all confiscated, by ten commissioners appointed for that purpose, who paid the money arising from them into the public treasury. Soon after a fresh quarrel happened between the podesta and the bishop of *Bologna*, the latter pretending that the podesta had no right to command the troops that were quartered on the episcopal estates, and threatening to call in the papal authority to protect him. The people of *Bologna* would have severely resented this renewed instance of pontifical insolence, had not some wise citizens interposed, and persuaded both parties to submit the affair to arbitration; so that it was amicably adjusted by the intervention of learned lawyers, who were chosen for the arbiters.

THE schools of law continued still to be the principal objects of the care of the *Bolognese*; and it is extremely remarkable, that when in that age of general barbarism, nothing was more common than for men of the sword, or other arts, to upbraid scholars with the lazy profession of learning, the *Bolognese* magistracy published the following remarkable decree; viz. "Let no man affix a reproachful epithet to any person, who is either teaching or learning the civil law, or any other art; if they shall be guilty, they shall undergo the penalty of exile; nor shall they be restored, but by the consent of the parties offended. Let this law be in perpetual force."

AZO was then the most eminent professor in *Bologna*; and *Sigonius* has given a most curious detail of the succession of the professors there, from him to the first institution of the school. *Azo* was a great statesman as well as a lawyer, and was called lord *Azo*; a term of distinction given to all great professors; and in his time the number of scholars in *Bologna*, assembled at one time in the great square, was ten thousand. *Odefredus*, who gives us this account, was the scholar of *Baldwin*, *Baldwin* of *Azo* (whose lectures likewise *Odefred* attended) *Azo* of *Bossianus*, *Bossianus* was cotemporary with *Albericus*, who attended the lectures of *Bulgarus*, *Martinus*, and the first professors of law in *Bologna*; and this deduction traces the progress of the *Longobardick* law there, to the days of the emperor *Lothair*, who published the *Pandects*. It was probably owing to this great attention of the *Bolognese* to learning, that during this year the podestas of *Milan*, *Modena*, *Reggio*, and *Vicenza*, were all of them natives of *Bologna*, and acquitted themselves with great credit in their several magistracies.

ACCORDING to *Sigonius*, the emperor *Otho* did not die, as the common report is, obscurely at *Brunswick*, but in the Holy Land, having taken the cross to expiate his crimes, against the pope. But the death of *Otho*, wherever it happened, brought no respite to the distractions of *Italy*, where all but the *Bolognese* was filled with blood and tumults. The truth is, that they had acquired, even in those barbarous times, which appear by the testimony of cotemporary authors, to have been very unpolished and uninformed, a veneration for their learning, which might have rendered them the umpires of all *Italy*, had it not been for their civil dissensions. Having some difference with the inhabitants of *Medicina*, a town hardly known now by name, about certain villages, instead of oppressing them by their arms, they referred the matter to arbiters, who gave sentence in favour of the *Bolognese*. The inhabitants of *Faenza* and *Forli* had come to blows; and the former being worsted, they applied for relief to the often experienced friendship of the *Bolognese*, who persuaded both sides to refer their differences to *Alberghetti*, then podesta of *Bologna*, who commanded both parties to lay down their arms, which they accordingly did. At this time the *Bolognese* added a new professorship, that of grammar, to their university; and *Benno*, a *Florentine*, was the first professor. Some difference happening with the *Lucchese* about certain rates and duties, they were amicably settled by the *Bolognese*, with their usual prudence and moderation.

^a SIGONIUS, p. 90.

^b RICOBALDUS FERRIENSIS apud MURAT. tom. ix. p. 247 and 248.

a In the beginning of *February* 1219, the league between the *Bolognese* and the *Reggians* was renewed; but quarrels breaking out afresh between the *Faventine*s and the *Imolese*, the *Bolognese* found themselves obliged to send troops to the assistance of the former. The emperor *Frederick*, who never seriously had intended to go to the Holy Land, was now preparing to march into *Italy*, to make good all his imperial as well as family rights there. It would be too bold a conjecture to say, that the intention of *Frederick* was to shake off the ecclesiastical power of the pope; but it seems more than probable, that he designed to deprive him of all his temporal jurisdiction, and all the *Italian* states and cities of their liberties, and to have fixed the seat of his empire at *Rome*. With this view, and to take all suspicion from the pope, *Frederick* had yielded to every thing he could desire; but

b when the *Bolognese* and the *Faventine*s had invaded the *Imolese*, a territory which had been always considered as belonging to the empire, the bishop of *Turin*, and the marquis of *Montferrat*, arrived at *Bologna*; the first as ambassador from the emperor. He accordingly summoned the podesta before him, and roughly made two demands; the first was, that the *Bolognese* should restore to the emperor all the possessions of his they had seized since the death of *Otho*; and the second was, that they should desist from harrassing the *Imolese*. The podesta answered with great spirit, that he did not believe the bishop to be *Frederick*'s ambassador, and therefore they would not surrender the *Imolese* territory to him, but to the emperor himself; and that the *Bolognese* were bound, by positive treaties, to assist the *Faventine*s when required. This answer threw the bishop into a great rage, and he hastily

c left *Bologna*; upon his departure the *Bolognese* army, and that of their allies, advanced against *Imola*. An accommodation, however, was proposed; and *Henry*, at that time podesta of *Bologna*, was chosen umpire. The *Faventine*s complained of his sentence, and he sent them a threatening message, which soon reduced them to reason. In the mean while, the bishop of *Turin* had imposed a fine upon the city, and laid it under an interdict. Upon this *Ugolin*, the pope's legate for *Lombardy*, sought to revive the *Longobardick* league against the emperor, and not only offered himself as a mediator for composing the differences of all the parties concerned, but took off the interdict formerly laid upon them by the pope. The *Bolognese* and the *Pistoians* laid hold of that opportunity to submit their differences to his arbitration. His sentence was pronounced in *October*, and by that both parties were to

d be reconciled one to the other. The *Bolognese* were to restore to the *Pistoians*, *Monticelli* and other three towns; as the *Pistoians* were to the *Bolognese*, all the places they had taken from them in the *Bolognese* territory. The *Pistoians* were to pardon the *Sambucani*, and the podestas of both people were to swear to the observance of the sentence. Towards the end of the year, when the two podestas met to ratify this arbitration, the *Bolognese* complained that the *Pistoians* had, without their leave, already intruded into the places in question; and that they had imprisoned certain inhabitants of *Pavana*, a mountainous district, only because they had sworn allegiance to the *Appennine* podesta of *Bologna*. The *Pistoians* acknowledged and justified the intrusion; but pretended, that the *Pavane*se had been imprisoned by the bishop's order. The *Sambucani*, who had left their own homes to put themselves under the protection of the *Bolognese*, were, by the council, sent to *Muscocla*, which was ordered to be fortified for their use, and they were there to enjoy all the privileges of *Bolognese* citizens. The podesta of the *Appennines*, or Highlands, were likewise ordered to present them with colours. This year, though the *Bolognese* were under equal apprehension from the pope and the emperor, they added vast embellishments and conveniences to their city; and the famous *Dominic*, the father of the new order of Preaching Friars, became so eminent in *Bologna* by his sermons, and certain miracles attributed to him, that the church of *St. Nicholas* was assigned to his male followers, and the church of *St. Agnes* was built for the use of his female votaries. This year likewise the famous *St. Francis* of *Assise*, by his enthusiastical turn, became almost absolute there, though their sects

f are directly repugnant to each other; but the *Dominicans* had always the ascendant in *Italy*. It was about this time likewise, that pope *Honorius*, being informed that the prosperous state of the *Bolognese* schools had induced many ignorant professors to take upon them to read lectures there, empowered *Tancred*, a learned lawyer, and archdeacon of *Bologna*, to examine and license all professors before they could read in publick. His holiness, at the same time, ordered the bishop of *Bologna* to encourage the study of divinity in that city, and not to permit his divines to study either the civil law or physic.

who assist the Faventine.

Imperial ambassador's demand rejected.

An arbitration.

Bologna embellished.

In the year 1220, the podesta and council of *Bologna* sent a deputation to *Pistoia*, to require the *Pistoians* and their bishop to reinstate the *Sambucani* in all their possessions and effects, according to *Ugolin*'s decision; which seems accordingly to have been done.

g In *February* this year, the emperor *Frederick*, being to pass in person into *Italy*, sent his chancellor, *Conrade* bishop of *Spire*s and *Mentz*, before him into *Lombardy*; the states and cities of which were ordered to obey the chancellor equally as the emperor. While *Conrade* was busy in executing this new commission, and administering the oaths of allegiance to those

The emperor's lieutenant's negotiations in Italy.

states who were willing to take them, he sent *Anselm* of *Spires*, and *Ugolin*, governor of *Ro-* a
maniola, to *Bologna*, where they were received with great civility and kindness. Next
 day *Anselm* and *Pusterla* the podesta had a formal meeting in the town-house, where *Anselm*
 demanded the rendition of the towns and castle of the *Imolese*, as belonging to the emperor,
 which *Pusterla* readily agreed to, with a salvo to all the privileges and rights the *Bolognese*
 might have there. In a few days after, *Conrade* himself arrived at *Bologna*, where he was
 so well pleased with his reception, and the compliances of the *Bolognese*, that, after tak-
 ing the oaths of allegiance to the emperor, he absolved them from the interdict and fine
 that had been imposed upon them by the bishop of *Turin*, and all other censures, however
 incurred. *Frederick* himself was now arrived in *Italy*; but was denied admittance into
Milan, where he demanded to be crowned king of *Lombardy*. This disappointment, which b
 was very galling to *Frederick*, made him the more sollicitous in courting the friendship of
 the *Bolognese*, to whom he paid a visit in his journey to *Rome*; and while he was there, he
 convened an assembly of all the states who were in his interest, and obliged them to swear
 allegiance to him, and enmity to all the states and cities of *Italy* who should dare to dispute
 his commands. He then proceeded to *Rome*, where he received the imperial crown, and
 took a fresh oath to carry an army over to the Holy Land. During this ceremony he was
 attended by a splendid deputation of the *Bolognese*, to whom he gave a new confirmation of
 all their rights; but did the same to their bishop, in terms not favourable to the jurisdic-
 tion of the *Bolognese* civil magistrates; for all the matters in dispute between them were,
 by this charter, given in the bishop's favour. From *Rome* he went to *Naples*. This year c
 the *Bolognese* croitaders acquired great reputation by the taking of *Damietta* in *Egypt*, with
 some treasure; part of which was remitted by their two captains, *Boniface* and *Barasaldini*,
 by way of acknowledgment, to the treasury of *Bologna*. *Accursius*, one of the greatest
 modern ornaments of the civil law, was then professor of it at *Bologna*; where, this year,
 their bishop *Henry* employed a celebrated architect, one *Ventura*, in adorning the chief
 church with a noble range of fine marble pillars. But the popularity he acquired by this
 munificence was soon abated by his insolence, in demanding from the magistrates of *Bo-*
logna one of his tenants, who had been guilty of a murder in that city; and, because they
 did not readily comply, he laid it under an interdict. The matter, however, was at last
 compromised, though not much to the honour of the city.

The emperor
 confirms the
 privileges of
 Bologna.

Laid under an
 interdict.

The pope and
 emperor quar-
 rel.

Difficulties of
 the Bolognese.

In the year 1221, *Giufred* of *Milan* succeeded to the podestate of *Bologna*; and *Conrade*,
 the emperor's lieutenant in *Italy*, bestowed fresh privileges upon the bishop of *Bologna* in
 matters of civil jurisdiction, while pope *Honorius* did the same. But a storm was now
 about to break out in *Italy*, in which the *Bolognese* had a great share, on the following oc-
 casion. *Frederick*, as has been already hinted, never intended either to go to the Holy
 Land, or to observe a single article of his promise to the pope, with whom he now resolved
 to break, as he had firmly settled himself in the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*. He be-
 gan by asserting the imperial authority in opposition to the papal; and by rendering the
 bishops and their clergy subject, in their persons, effects, and even characters, to the civil
 jurisdiction. He disputed the power of the pope to fill up bishoprics, and displaced some c
 prelates the latter had appointed. In short, he carried those rights, which the *French* call
 the *regale*, farther than they ever had been extended, and despised all the admonitions of
 his holiness, who therefore excommunicated him. The emperor gave himself very little
 trouble about the papal thunders; but declared, that he was resolved to maintain the
 rights of his ancestors over ecclesiastical as well as lay-subjects, and he sent manifestoes to
 the same purpose all over *Italy* and *Germany*. The reason which determined the *Italian* re-
 publicans, and all who courted liberty in that country, to side with the pope, was because
 he was not armed with the same compulsive means as the emperor to deprive them of their
 liberties. The *Bolognese*, by their situation, were more perplexed than any other of the
Italian states how to behave; but came to a resolution to be neutral, if possible, and f
 to act impartially. Their podesta, *Giufred*, with the advice of his council, sent
 deputies to require those who were in possession of the castle of *Imola* to hold it for
 the emperor, and to give it up to none but by permission from the podesta of *Bologna*,
 or an imperial order. The *Imolese*, upon this, ran to arms; and entering the castle, de-
 molished it, carrying all the garrison and inhabitants to *Imola*, without regard to count
Gottifred, *Frederick's* lieutenant in those parts. The *Bolognese*, not being conscious of giv-
 ing any cause of offence to either party, continued this year, as usual, to carry on works
 of beauty, utility, and strength in their city; and gave a magnificent burial to *St. Dominic*,
 who died in *August*, whose disciples became now powerful in *Bologna*. In the year 1222,
 count *Gottifred*, incensed at the *Imolese*, came to *Bologna*, and applied to the podesta to g
 require the assistance of the *Faventines*, and immediately to declare war against the *Imolese*,
 for having demolished their castle, in contempt of his and the imperial authority, and for
 other injuries done the emperor. He farther required, that the *Bolognese* should neither
 make

a make peace, nor grant a truce to the *Imolese*, unless they consented to rebuild the castle of *Imola*, and had expelled all the emperor's enemies from their city and territory. He likewise promised to prevail with the emperor to pardon the *Faventine*s, to remit the censures he had laid them under, and to deliver up the custody of the castle of *Imola*, as soon as it could be recovered to their custody and that of the *Bolognese*, and that they should be assisted by all the force of the *Romagna*.

THOSE demands being made in a full assembly of the people, and in a peremptory tone, greatly startled the *Bolognese*, who would gladly have excused themselves from being concerned in such a war. But *Gottifred* declared, that he would immediately proceed to put the *Imolese* to the imperial ban. The podesta, in the name of the assembly, politely requested, that he would reserve his sentence for another place, because the *Imolese* were their neighbours. But *Gottifred* gave them to understand, that they were the emperor's subjects, and tied down to execute his will. He therefore proceeded to give sentence, which was, that the *Imolese* should incur the penalties of treason, unless, within six days, they should return to their obedience to the emperor and his authority; which time if they suffered to elapse, they were to be accounted as rebels, unless they paid him ten thousand marks in silver (A), and submitted in every respect to the imperial and his pleasure. This sentence being read, he addressed himself to the assembly, and peremptorily demanded, that they should prepare to execute the imperial decree. The *Bolognese* were obliged to comply; and the podesta of *Faenza*, on that occasion, came to *Bologna*, where their antient league was renewed; and it was agreed, that both states should make war with all their forces upon the *Imolese*, and conclude neither peace nor truce with them, but by permission of the emperor and *Gottifred*. The six days being expired, *Gottifred* returned to *Bologna*; and a general assembly being, as usual, summoned by ringing a bell, he demanded of the two podestas, that they should immediately begin the operations of the war against the *Imolese*, who had suffered their days of grace to elapse. The *Bolognese* complied; and this year three expeditions were undertaken against the *Imolese*. The first was in *January*, which lasted but for two days. The second was in *March*, where for twenty days they laid waste the enemy's country, far and near. The third and principal was in *August*, when, together with the *Faventine*s, they brought their standard to the field; and the crops being d upon the ground, they destroyed them for thirty days; and, after taking five castles, they laid siege to *Imola* itself.

War with the Imolese.

IMOLA, the antient *Forum Cornelii*, stands on an island formed by the river *Santerno*; and its castle, in those days, was the most important in all the *Romagna* (B). While the siege was going vigorously on, the podestas of *Pavia*, *Parma*, and *Cremona*, with deputies from *Verona*, *Mantua*, *Reggio*, and *Modena*, came to the *Bolognese* camp; and in an assembly, summoned on their account, *Diotisalvi*, the podesta of *Pavia*, in the name of the archbishop of *Magdeburg*, imposed a large fine upon the podesta and state of *Bologna*; and at the same time commanded them to raise the siege, and to return home before the end of the month. This insolent proceeding astonished the *Bolognese*; and their podesta refused to acknowledge the other as commissioned by the archbishop of *Magdeburg*, but treated him as an impostor. Upon this, the other podestas and deputies interposed, and joined *Diotisalvi* in his demand. *Giufred* accused them all of dissimulation, in not acquainting him that *Diotisalvi* had so insolent a commission to deliver, which if he had known, he would not have summoned the assembly; and he again refused to acknowledge *Diotisalvi* to be the archbishop's legate. Upon this smart reply the podestas and deputies departed without success, and the siege went on with redoubled vigour; so that the *Imolese* at last were obliged to beg for a capitulation.

Demands of the Imperialists.

GIUFRED could give the messengers, who came out of *Imola* for that purpose, no answer till he had consulted with *Gottifred* and the *Faventine* podesta, who both of them f consented to his entering into a treaty, which accordingly was begun, and finished upon the following terms: that the *Imolese* should obey the *Bolognese* and *Faventine*s, who should command what portion of their territory they pleased, and direct their troops in their operations; and that, as soon as the besieging army was withdrawn from their walls, they should fill up the ditches of their city; and that the inhabitants of the castle should repair to it again. It was likewise agreed, that this capitulation should be ratified in the general assemblies of *Bologna* and *Faenza*.

Acapitulation.

THOSE terms, with some others of less importance, being settled, *Giufred*, in the name of the *Bolognese*, required *Coxio*, the podesta of *Imola*, to repair with the council of that

ratified.

(A) A mark of silver contained about eight ounces; so that the sum here demanded of this petty state amounted to about twenty thousand pounds sterling; an immense sum in those days.

(B) It has a wall, moats, and towers, with a strong old castle; and is also the residence of a bishop, under the archbishop of *Ravenna*. In it are fifty churches, convents, and hospitals (1).

(1) *Busching's Geograph.* vol. iii. p. 144.

place, and a hundred of its chief inhabitants, to *Bologna*, and there swear to the observance of the capitulation. *Coxio*, rather than comply, resigned his office; but the rest of the council and inhabitants offered to ratify all that had been done. *Giufred*, with the consent of the *Faventine* podesta, then carried along with him one hundred and forty hostages, all of them grown men; and the *Imolese* not only fulfilled the treaty, but sent the valves of the principal gates to *Bologna* and *Faenza*; and were condemned to pay the fine imposed upon them by *Gottifred*, besides two thousand marks by way of satisfaction to the *Bolognese*.

The emperor
discontented.

THE emperor *Frederick* was terribly enraged against the *Bolognese*, who he probably thought had taken too much upon themselves. When he heard of this treaty being concluded, he disclaimed all that *Gottifred* had done, and ordered their podesta *Giufred* to appear at his court. *Giufred* upon this summoned a council, where it was resolved that he should not go; but that deputies should be sent to the emperor, to account for and defend the conduct of the podesta and their city; and at the same time an appeal was made to the pope. But *Frederick* would neither hear nor see the deputies, and continued to express the most implacable resentment against the city and the podesta.

In *September*, *Giufred* held a general council of the inhabitants, or council of credence; in which it was enacted, that all strangers who should settle in the *Bolognese* territory, should be free for twenty years from all public duties. If they formed themselves into a town, containing no fewer than twenty families, they were to enjoy that freedom for ever, only being subject to all duties on public carriage. They were to have a right to create consuls, and might receive a podesta in the same manner as other towns in the *Bolognese*; to have rank in the army, and to serve in expeditions; by which we suppose is meant, that they were to have a share in the plunder. This year was remarkable for dreadful earthquakes, which did great damage in *Bologna*, by demolishing several palaces and churches.

Military regu-
lations of Bo-
logna.

In the year 1222, *Uberti*, a *Milanese*, was podesta of *Bologna*, where the inhabitants, being apprehensive of a war with the emperor, applied themselves to put their city and country under military regulations. Their territory, like the city, was divided into four parts; and each division had its colours assigned to it, under which the inhabitants of the villages, and houses of that division, were to serve. Two commissaries were appointed in each division for executing this regulation. Another law passed for subjecting the inhabitants of the country, as well as of the city, to a tax for payment of the army; and the magistrates of all places, within the state, were obliged to give in, upon oath, the names of all within their jurisdiction who were capable of bearing arms. *John of Brinne*, the titular king of *Jerusalem*, at this time was at *Rome*; and the emperor *Frederick*, having lost his wife, who was a princess of *Arragon*, had returned from *Germany* to *Italy*. He had of late signalized himself, by publishing certain bloody edicts against the *Albigensis*, who, of all other rebels, were the most dreadful to the see of *Rome*, because they pretended to be directed by the pure principles of Christianity; and this inhuman proceeding had fastened his holiness in his favour; and, indeed, both parties began now to be tired with their mutual differences. The king of *Jerusalem*, who had a beautiful daughter named *Volante*, or *Violante*, undertook to be the mediator; and the pope promised, that, if he could bring the emperor into his terms, he would prevail with him to marry the king's daughter. The negotiation met with no difficulty. The princess had for her dowry the imaginary kingdom of *Jerusalem*, for which reason the kings of *Sicily* have ever since assumed that amongst their other titles. The emperor took a fresh oath to undertake the croisade within two years, was absolved from his ecclesiastical censures, and orders were given for bringing the betrothed princess from *Ptolemais* to *Rome*; and thus *Italy* had a short respite from war, which the *Bolognese* employed by making new improvements in their city, territory, and civil government.

King of Jeru-
salem at Bo-
logna.

BORRIL, a *Milanese*, was podesta of *Bologna* in 1224, when the king of *Jerusalem*, and his other daughter *Bianca*, paid a visit to that city, where they were most magnificently entertained, and the king honoured several citizens with knighthood. The emperor was at this time in *Germany*, where his son *Henry* was crowned king of the *Romans*. From *Germany* he returned to *Rome* in *May* 1225, and, at the request of the pope, he made peace with the *Milanese*. His resentment against the *Bolognese*, however, still continued. *Frederick's* great passion was to aggrandize *Naples*, for which reason he once more transferred the university of *Bologna* to that capital, and ordered all the students to leave *Bologna*, and repair thither. It is observable, however, that no regard was paid to his authority in this respect. This year he married *Volante* at *Rome*, and from thence went to *Naples*. Being disappointed as to the effects of his resentment against *Bologna*, he gave the *Imolese* leave to repair and fortify their city against the *Bolognese*, who would not have suffered them to do it, had not a dreadful pestilence then raged at *Bologna*, where the magistracy, apprehending civil commotions, by a decree of the general council, demolished the tower of *Lasacmetri*, the strongest and loftiest in the city. Towards the end of year, the *Milanese* prepared a new league

a league against the emperor, in which all *Lombardy*, the *Romagna*, and the marquisate of *Trevifo*, were included. To obviate this league, the emperor summoned a general assembly of princes and bishops, in his interest, at *Cremona*. *Gerard Rangone* was podesta of *Bologna* in 1226, when the grand league which had been proposed, took place. The village of *St. Zeno*, in the *Mantuan*, was the place where all the deputies met, from *Milan*, *Bologna*, *Piacenza*, *Verona*, *Brescia*, *Mantua*, *Vercelli*, *Lodi*, *Pergamo*, *Cremona*, *Turin*, *Alessandria*, *Vicenza*, *Parma*, and *Trevifo*. This meeting was held in *March*, and *Vido Tantiencario*, with *Scannabecci Goso*, acted as deputies, or plenipotentiaries, from *Bologna*. In this league, which was to continue for twenty-five years, there was nothing disrespectful towards the emperor; only the contracting parties promised to stand by one another, in asserting the rights and privileges they enjoyed from him and his predecessors. As it had been agreed amongst them, that each contracting party should bear a proportional expence of men and money in the confederacy, the podesta of *Bologna* appointed one hundred citizens for carrying the purpose of the league into execution; but with this restriction, that they should not engage the community in any expence, without consulting the council. The podesta, at the same time, fortified *Bologna* as strongly as the nature of its situation would admit.

A new league
against the
emperor,
A. D. 1226.

In the month of *March* the emperor came into the *Romagna*, and held his *Easter* at *Ravenna*. From thence he went to *Imola*; but understanding how strongly *Bologna* was fortified, he did not approach it. When he entered *Lombardy*, deputies from most of the confederated states attended him, and performed to him their several homages and duties. Arriving at *Cremona*, he found the assembly he had summoned to that city very thinly attended. From *Cremona* he went to *Verona*; and understanding how very assiduous the confederates were in concerting measures for supporting their league, he gave encouragement and countenance to many of the pope's enemies. His holiness, on the other hand, then declared himself to be the patron of the confederated states and cities; fomented factions against *Frederick* in *Naples*, and threatened him with a fresh excommunication, if he did not perform the oath he had taken to go to the *Holy Land*. *Frederick* had now no longer any excuse; and consulting the humour of the age and people, he was obliged once more to make his submissions to the pope, and to swear that, under the pain of excommunication, he would pass the seas to the *Holy Land*, within two years after the ensuing *August*. This new accommodation afforded matter of triumph to *Honorius*, whom the emperor made umpire of all the differences between him and the confederated states. Being attended by the pope's legate he came to *Vienna*, where his resentment against the *Bolognese* influenced him so far, that he published a rescript in favour of the *Modenese*, who were no parties in the confederacy; and annulled the arbitration concerning boundaries that had been proclaimed against the *Modenese*, whom he reinstated in their ancient boundaries, possessions, and privileges, both by land and water; adding, at the same time, great encomiums upon their loyalty and fidelity. The *Milanese* made the cause of the *Bolognese* their own; and both cities being now more refractory than ever to the imperial authority, *Frederick* had an interview with the pope at *Rieti*, a small town in the duchy of *Spoletto*, after pronouncing the *Milanese* and the *Bolognese* to be guilty of rebellion, and obliging the pope's legate to lay both cities under an interdict.

subo comes to
the Romagna.

Greatness of
the pope.

ALL this did not daunt the *Bolognese*, who raised an army, and built a strong castle upon the frontiers of the debateable lands, for defending their liberties; and which, on that account, is to this day called *Castel Franco*. *Honorius* died in the beginning of the year 1227, and was succeeded by *Gregory IX.* a near relation to *Innocent III.* and to the greatest enemies the emperor had in *Naples*. He began his pontificate by issuing a bull, granting to the bishop of *Bologna* new and unusual privileges; and by more furiously pressing the emperor than any of his predecessors had done, to begin his expedition into the *Holy Land*, which, though the time he had sworn to seems not to have been yet expired, *Frederick* was obliged to comply with; so great an ascendancy had the papal authority then obtained in *Italy*. When he came to *Catana*, in *Sicily*, he published a kind of manifesto, at the request, or rather by the command, of the pope, in which he pardoned all the *Longobardic*, and other states and cities that were confederated against him, as he likewise did *Gottifred*, and the marquis of *Montferrat*, who were now his enemies. As to the *Bolognese*, he expressly restored to them the privilege of their university. All those compliances were far from satisfying the inordinate pride and ambition of the pope, whom nothing but the entire departure of *Frederick* out of *Italy* could appease. Under pretext that *Frederick* had not performed the oaths he swore to pope *Honorius*, and was making no preparations for his expedition to the *Holy Land*, he stirred up, as far as he could, not only all *Italy*, but all *Europe* against him; till *Frederick*, apprehending that the affair was no longer to be trifled with, ordered his fleet to be got ready, and to rendezvous at *Brindisi*, the ancient *Brun-*

Castel Franco
built.

The pope
hastens the
crusade.

* SIGONIUS, page 101.

dufum, with an intention, as he pretended, to carry him to *Greece*, from whence he was to march to the *Holy Land*, but without any real design to perform his vow if he could evade it.

Aversion of
the emperor to
the pope ;

THE truth is, that emperor entertained more loose notions of religion than were common in those days ; and yet, though religion was the object of his contempt, it always kept him in awe, and distressed or frustrated his measures. Though he had taken a vow to fight against the infidels, yet he transported a large number of them from *Sicily* to fight for him in *Italy*, where he settled them at *Lucera* ; and at this very time he was secretly negotiating a truce with *Meledin*, the sultan of *Egypt* in *Syria*. His affairs, however, were so circumstanced, that though he pretended sickness, and a variety of excuses, he was obliged to sail from *Brindisi* on the 11th of *August* ; but he had scarcely put to sea, when, under colour of a return of his disorder, and that the winds were contrary, he returned with his family to *Brindisi*, but ordered his army to proceed. The pope would accept of no apology for this dilatory conduct ; and *Frederick* was again not only put under excommunication, but declared incapable of the imperial dignity. This incensed him so much, that he joined with the *Frangipani*, at that time a powerful family in *Rome*, and after driving the pope from that city, he declared open war against his holiness, and all his abettors. The animosities between the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins*, raged now more fiercely than ever. They were not confined to independent states or cities, but almost every state and city in *Italy* was divided within itself, between the same factions ; so that all *Italy* became instantly a scene of civil confusion, confiscations, and carnage. The pope being driven from *Rome*, retired to *Pe-*
rugia ; and it is hard to say, to which party the *Bolognese* inclined. But at this time they were afflicted at once with pestilence and famine to such a degree, that when the bishop distributed, as usual, a certain portion of bread to the poor at a high festival, twenty-four of them were trod to death, so great were the numbers who crowded to receive it.

who is driven
out of Rome.

Commutations in
Bologna.

THOSE calamities did not render the *Bolognese* the less active in providing for their own safety. They fortified their new castle *Franco*, whilst the *Modenese* raised another against it, called *Loiano*. In the year 1228, *Uberti Visconti* was podesta of *Bologna*. By this time count *Gottifred* had declared for the emperor, and had surprized *Mancicoli*, a castle belonging to the *Bolognese*, in the *Romagna*. The podesta of this place escaped to *Bologna*, where he filled the citizens with apprehensions and suspicions against the government, and accused the podesta of *Bologna* and his council of treason, and of having conspired to betray the place to the enemy. The people were at this time far from being upon good terms with their magistrates ; and being headed by one *Joseph* of *Tuscany*, a bold enterprising demagogue, they took arms, and marching to the public palace, they demanded from the podesta the standard of the state, and insisted upon his resigning his office ; both which he refused to do. The insurgents, upon this, waited till it was dark, when, with *Joseph* at their head, they broke into the palace, forced open all its doors and repositories, and making themselves masters of whatever they wanted, *Joseph* ordered the great bell to be rung, as a signal for a general assembly of the citizens.

S E C T. IV.

The form of government in Bologna, changed from aristocratical to popular. Joseph, the Tuscan, chosen prefect of the people. Antiani chosen. War between the Bolognese and the Modenese: the former defeated with great loss. A peace for eight years. Castel Franco fortified. Divisions between the Bolognese and their bishop. The Bolognese interdicted. The dispute terminated. Tumults in Bologna; and a new war with the Modenese, and with the emperor Frederick. They assist the pope in taking Ferrara. The university of Bologna transferred to Padua. New regulations in Bologna. Differences with Florence. Great successes of the Bolognese. They besiege and take Modena. Death of the emperor Frederick. Further successes and regulations of the Bolognese. The office of prefect of the people restored. Faenza delivered to the Bolognese. State of their republic at the end of the year 1257.

- ^a **I**T is certain that the people of *Italy* in general, at the time we now treat of, inclined to democratic government. The emissaries of the pope on the one hand, and of the emperor on the other, claimed the sovereignty over them; and both endeavouring to invalidate the rights of the governing powers, the people began to think them little better than usurpers, and that the true right was in themselves, if it was neither in the pope nor the emperor. In some cases, those notions perhaps were confirmed by the wrong use which the magistrates made of their power; but be that as it will, the state of *Bologna* in 1228, underwent a fundamental revolution. *Joseph*, the *Tuscan*, was made prefect of the people; and as in *Florence* twenty-four of the inhabitants, called *Antiani*, were chosen for the government of the four wards, two councils were here instituted. One, called the little council, consisted of the *Antiani*, the consuls of the merchants, the masters of the companies of silversmiths and armourers, the gonfaloniers of the people, and their counsellors: the other was the great council, and consisted only of a greater number of counsellors, chosen from the people, being added to it; and from that time the *Bolognese* designed themselves by the title of the Community and People of *Bologna*: the power of the *podesta*, however, was re-established after *Joseph's* year of prefecture was expired.

Alteration of the government of Bologna.

- ^b THE emperor *Frederick* remained still in *Italy*, but under a sentence of excommunication, which distressed his affairs, and dispirited his friends so much, that he was at last obliged to embark; and, after touching at *Cyprus*, he landed at *Acon*, where, after a sham negotiation, the truce between him and the sultan was published, by which the kingdom of *Jerusalem* was not only ceded to him, with some small territories round it, but he actually was crowned in that city, which gave him a handle to boast, that he recovered the kingdom of *Jerusalem* without bloodshed. He could not, however, impose upon his holiness, who had foreseen all that had happened, and had even disapproved of *Frederick's* voyage, as knowing that if he had staid in *Italy*, he would have been deserted by all his friends and followers. He sought, however, to make the best advantage he could of his absence, and even employed his father-in-law, the late king of *Jerusalem*, to make war upon his subjects in *Naples*, while the imperial generals as vigorously pressed the *Guelphs*, in the marquisate of *Ancona* and the duchy of *Spoletto*. The heads of the *Longobardic* confederacy, who equally hated both parties, laid hold of this opportunity to attack the imperial party in *Lombardy*. The people of *Guastalla* had not yet acceded to the confederacy, and therefore were considered as its enemies; and those who were chosen guardians of the confederacy, ordered the *Bolognese* immediately to begin hostilities against the *Modenese*. The *Bolognese* accordingly, being relieved by a plentiful harvest, laid siege to *Bazano*, or, as others call it, *Badiano*, a town formerly belonging to the countess *Matilda*, but is now scarcely known by name, though at the time we write of, a place of great importance. According to the chronicle of *Parma*^b, the *Bolognese* were joined by the people of *Imola*, *Faenza*, *Romania*, and *Ferrara*, with one thousand horse from *Lombardy*, and some *Florentine* soldiers. The *Modenese* had for their auxiliaries the people of *Parma*, who took the field with their standard and one thousand horse, and the *Cremonese*, who brought to the field four thousand foot. The

The emperor crowned in Jerusalem.

War between Bologna and Modena.

^b Apud MURAT. vol. ix. p. 765.

Defeat of the
Bolognese.

two armies encamped near each other, but without coming to action. The *Bolognese* surprised *Vignola*, as the *Modenese* did *Plumati*, a place now scarcely known; and both parties returned to their station before *Bazano*, into which the *Modenese* found means to throw large supplies of men and provisions. The *Modenese*, after this, made incursions into the *Bolognese*, where they laid all waste with fire and sword to the very gates of *Bologna*; while the *Bolognese*, intent upon the siege, gave them no interruption. Upon returning to their camp before *Bazano*, the *Modenese* and their auxiliaries fell in with a strong detachment of *Bolognese* horse, at the village of *Santa Maria*, and an action followed, in which the *Cremonese* cavalry at first were defeated; but the *Parmesans* behaved so bravely, that after a long and obstinate dispute, the *Bolognese* were entirely defeated, and all the *Modenese* prisoners retaken (B). After this the *Modenese* took several places of importance from their enemies, which obliged the *Bolognese* hastily to abandon the siege of *Bazano*, with the loss of all their tents, baggage, and warlike engines. This inglorious expedition was followed by a cruel murder; for the people tumultuously put to death, in their great square, the governor of *Plumati*, on suspicion of having sold that place to the *Modenese*.

The emperor
returns to Italy.

In the year 1229, the emperor *Frederick* returned from *Syria* to *Naples*, where he found his father-in-law, *John de Brienne*, at the head of a papal crusade against him, and master of many important places in that kingdom. *Frederick*, however, soon recovered them; and his *Gibelines*, who were distinguished by a cross upon their shoulders, drove the *Guelphs*, who bore two cross keys, out of *Capua*, and forced them to take refuge in the papal dominions. Notwithstanding this success, *Frederick* was afraid of pushing his good fortune, while the confederated states, in a general assembly which they held at *Verona*, came to a resolution of cutting off all communication and traffick with those who were not in their confederacy. The *Bolognese* at this time had two wars upon their hands, the *Inolese* and the *Modenese*. The first was of little or no consequence, and committed to the *Faventinis*; the other was more important. The *Bolognese* laying aside all thoughts of resuming the siege of *Bazano*, made greater preparations than they had done the year before, for besieging *San Casario*, belonging to the *Modenese*, who made equal preparations to defend it. The *Bolognese* general, however, made his dispositions so judiciously, that he took the place in a few days, in the sight of his enemies, who were unable to relieve it. The *Modenese*, and their auxiliaries of *Cremona* and *Parma*, stung with this disgrace, resolved to be revenged, and attacked the entrenchments of the *Bolognese* army with great fury. They were received with equal intrepidity by the *Bolognese*, who pointed their efforts against the *Parmesan* standard, from which, by their engines and missiles, they drove all the *Parmesans*, but one *James Hoveri*, whose name history has preserved for his honour, and who swore he would rather die upon the standard of his country than yield it up, and defended it so bravely, that the *Cremonese* had time to come up and rescue it. They were followed by the rest of their army; and while the *Parmesans* and *Cremonese* were pressing hard upon the *Bolognese*, the *Modenese*, by a resolute attack, became masters of the *Bolognese* standard. This was the greatest disgrace and loss that could happen to any people in those days, and dispirited the *Bolognese* so much, that few of them escaped being either killed or taken prisoners. As to the standard, the *Modenese* were for carrying it in triumph^a to their capital; but the *Parmesans* either envying them that glory, or unwilling farther to provoke the *Bolognese*, absolutely refused them that honour; and thus the standard being stripped of all its finery, after undergoing the greatest indignities, was left at *Plumati*. The *Parmesans* carried the fine train of engines, some of which were of a new construction, which the *Bolognese* had carried in triumph to *Parma*, where they were reposed as trophies in the principal churches of the city. After this the *Modenese*, meeting with no resistance in the field, erected large banks, cut out a new canal, by which they diverted the course of the *Scultemna*, and thereby deprived the *Bolognese* of all benefit from that river.

A truce con-
cluded.

So many misfortunes coming so quick, dispirited the *Bolognese*. Pope *Gregory* aimed at uniting all those states with his own interest, so that they might compose a formidable barrier against the imperial power in *Italy*. He therefore, on the 12th of *October*, addressed a bull from *Ponessa* to the bishop of *Reggio*; by which he charged that prelate to labour to the utmost in composing the differences between *Bologna* and *Modena*, by repairing to both cities, and negotiating a peace, or at least a long truce; and if he found either of them refractory, to lay it immediately under a severe interdict. The bishop executed his commission, and found both cities so tractable, that their *podestas* swore to stand by his arbitration; which he pronounced upon the 19th of *December* following. It imported, that there should be a truce for eight years, to commence on the first of *January* ensuing, between the two states, during which time they were to forbear all hostilities, and to live

^a SIGONIUS, p. 104. Chronicon Parmense, ubi supra, p. 766.

(B) Sigonius, page 103, mentions this battle without owning the defeat of the *Bolognese*.

a in civil intercourse together ; that if any differences should arise, they should be compromised by two arbiters chosen on each side ; that the *Bolognese* should be reconciled to the *Modenese*, the *Parmesans*, and *Cremonese*, and they to the *Bolognese* ; that no new fortifications should be raised on the borders of either state ; and that the river *Scutemna* should be restored to its ancient channel, during the time of the truce.

THIS award, which was published with great formality, and under the penalty of an interdict to the offending party, for some time restored peace to *Bologna* ; and the deputies of the *Longobardic* alliance renewed the same in the beginning of the year 1230. This year was remarkable for prodigious inundations all over *Lombardy* and the *Romagna* ; but the *Bolognese* proceeded to fortify *Castel Franco* with stone-walls. This year the woollen manufacture was introduced into *Bologna*, where the workmen had great encouragement, and many privileges. The renewal of the *Longobardic* league crossed the emperor's views ; and having intelligence that his son, the king of the *Romans*, was practising against him in *Germany*, it rendered a peace necessary for his affairs in *Italy*. He was the more inclined to this by the solicitations and entreaties of *St. Lewis*, king of *France*, and his best friends in *Germany*. He accordingly sent the patriarch of *Aquileia*, and *Leopold*, duke of *Austria*, with a most magnificent train of bishops, and other attendants, to the pope ; but their reception was so cool, that it was next to a repulse, and they returned without effecting any thing. *Frederick* made another tentative, which was much more successful, by the great master of the *Teutonic* order, and the same duke of *Austria*, who brought his holiness to agree to accept of one hundred and twenty thousand golden ducats, by way of indemnification for the damage his cities had received ; in consideration of which the pope was to take off *Frederick's* sentence of excommunication, which he accordingly soon after did at *Anagni*, where they met and parted in seeming friendship. The *Bolognese*, in the mean time, were employed in repairing the ravages of the late war, and the fortifications of their strong places. Next year, 1231, many families in *Lombardy*, where the war still raged, notwithstanding the late reconciliation between the pope and the emperor, retired with their effects to the *Bolognese*, where they paid two thousand marks for certain lands on which they settled ; and the podesta, at the same time, assigned them ground for building houses in the city. *Lavellengo* of *Brescia* was then podesta of *Bologna*.

The Longobardic alliance renewed.

d AMONGST other articles of agreement between the pope and the emperor, the latter had promised to assist his holiness against his rebellious *Roman* barons, which *Frederick* had neglected to do, and thereby gave great cause of complaint to his holiness ; so that in the consequences he was a sufferer by his compromise with the pope, whose cause in *Italy* at this time was that of public liberty, and therefore the most natural for the people to embrace. Few of the *Italian* states or cities sided with the emperor out of principle ; and they who did it out of fear, could persevere no longer than they were supported by his power. Thus, upon the whole, through all the *Romagna*, *Tuscany*, and *Lombardy*, the *Gibelin* cities contained many *Guelphs*, but the *Guelph* cities few *Gibelins*. The pope, and the heads of the *Longobardic* league, were sensible of this, and stood by one another with greater spirit than ever ; so that *Frederick*, with all his abilities, spirit, and power, saw himself again in danger of being shut out of *Italy*. He found means, however, to retain the cities of *Modena*, *Reggio*, *Parma*, *Cremona*, and *Pavia*, in his interest ; and the *Gibelins* there, after long and violent struggles, expelled all the *Guelphs*.

State of parties in Italy.

It is difficult to pronounce whether the *Bolognese*, at this time, were *Guelphs* or *Gibelins*. They had opposed the *Gibelin* states in the field, and all circumstances considered, the pope had obtained for them an honourable truce ; but all of a sudden they were seized with a most violent spirit of contumacy against their bishop, to whom they refused any longer to pay his tithes, though his right to them had been immemorially established. The bishop, upon this, applied to the pope, who commissioned *Palmerio*, an *Augustin* canon, to take cognizance of the affair. In the mean while a felony was committed within the castle of *St. John*, and the bishop sent his officers to enquire into the matter. This coming to the ears of the podesta, he sent his officers to maintain his right of trying felonies in that castle (though, as we have seen, that right had been clearly adjudged by former popes in favour of the bishop) and they made use of threatenings towards the bishop's ministers, which obliged them to retire ; and the podesta obliged above one hundred of the inhabitants of the castle to appear before him, and take an oath of fidelity to him in the city. The pope being informed of those proceedings, ordered *Palmerio* immediately to pronounce sentence ; upon which the podesta, by advice of the council, took possession by force of the castle of *St. John*, and five others belonging to the bishop, and, in short, stripped him of almost all his temporalities in the city and territory of *Bologna* ; and a proclamation was issued, prohibiting any layman for the future to act as bishop's steward, and that no agent should thereafter be employed by the clergy for collecting their tithes. *Palmerio*, upon those violent proceedings, laid *Frederick*, the podesta, *Omniboni*, and *Osbert de Lens*, his judges,

Quarrel between the Bolognese and their bishop.

judges, with all the council and magistrates, ordinary and extraordinary, in the city and territory of *Bologna*, under an interdict; which was promulgated by the bishop, who hating the *Bolognese* as much as they did him, fled to *Reggio* on the first of *September*.

THE commotions in *Italy* soon brought the emperor back to that country, and he indicted a meeting of all the heads of his party at *Ravenna*, where he appeared with the imperial crown on his head on *Christmas-day*. It is probable he was in hopes that the *Bolognese* would declare for him; but though he remained at *Ravenna* till the *Lent* season, the *Bolognese* still persisted in their independency, and without violating their confederacy with the *Lombardic* states, their contumacy increased every day against the pope and their bishop. In *January* 1232, *Rainero*, a *Venetian* nobleman, being podesta of *Bologna*, the pope, who was then at *Rieti*, ordered his legates in *Lombardy* to do all they could to effect an accommodation between the bishop and magistrates of *Bologna*, that he might not be obliged to proceed to still greater extremities against them. This proceeding served only to exasperate the *Bolognese* the more; and they appointed podestas of their own, to take possession of, and exercise jurisdiction in all their episcopal states. Gregory then ordered the bishops of *Spoletto*, *Parma*, and *Mantua*, not only to promulgate the sentence of excommunication against *Rainero* and *Frederick*, with all who obeyed them, and against all the state of *Bologna*; but that the same sentence should be promulgated through all the cities of *Lombardy*, *Tuscany*, the *Romagna*, and *Ancona*. He likewise ordered that the students at *Bologna* should, under the pains of ecclesiastical censures, leave that city, and not return thither before the feast of *St. Peter*.

Disappointment of the emperor.

IN the mean while the emperor, who was but indifferently attended at *Ravenna* by the *Italian* deputies, consulted the few who appeared about the future operations of the war; and it was agreed, that from thenceforth none of the imperial cities or states, should chuse their podestas from cities or states of the opposite faction. He then departed to *Aquileia*, that he might avoid meeting with two legates, whom the pope had dispatched to treat with him concerning peace, being now more exasperated at his holiness than ever. Having finished his business at *Aquileia*, he returned by sea to *Naples*, without being able to make the smallest impression upon the *Lombardic* confederacy. This year the finishing the works of *Castel Franco* was celebrated by the *Bolognese* with great demonstrations of joy, and a pardon was given to all malefactors; but the fruits of the ground suffered greatly by worms and locusts.

A plague and famine.

THIS calamity rendered the year 1233, when *Uberto Visconti* was again chosen podesta, extremely uncomfortable to the *Bolognese*. A scarcity of all provisions, but especially wine, prevailed; so that mutual distress disposed the magistrates and the bishop to listen to terms of accommodation. Their differences were soon compromised. The bishop, for the present, relinquished his claim to the tithes, and was again put in possession of *Cento*, a castle lying on the confines of the *Ferrarese* and the *Bolognese*, together with all his temporal jurisdiction in the same. Upon this the bishop took off, by the pope's command, the ecclesiastical censures that had been imposed upon *Bologna*, and was most joyfully received into that city by the people; all other matters in dispute, being left to a future cognizance.

John Vicenza comes to Florence.

IT is certain, that the calamities which the *Bolognese* suffered, while they were under those censures, made a great impression upon their minds, and gave a fair handle for the pope's agents to construe them into judgments from heaven for their contumacy to the holy see. One *John* of *Vicenza*, an eminent preacher, happening to come at this time to *Bologna*, gained such an ascendancy, not only over the people, but the podesta and all the magistrates, that he became the absolute master of their lives, fortunes, and government. The people followed him every-where with standards and trophies. The differences between the magistracy and the bishop were submitted to his arbitration; both parties entering into recognizances, before archdeacon *Tancred* and *James Baldwin*, the two greatest lawyers in the university, under the penalty of one thousand marks of gold, to stand to his award. The same preacher's power extended even to the giving liberty to all civil debtors, to passing an act of insolvency, and to revising the laws of the state, not only without opposition from any, but with the approbation of all concerned. Innumerable were the bare-footed processions which he headed, and the regulations he introduced, especially in the dress and appearance of the females; and one day, when he was preaching against usury, the people were so moved, that they pulled down the house of an usurer in the neighbourhood. This *John* of *Vicenza*, however, seems to have made a moderate, nay a laudable, use of this vast influence he had acquired over the minds of the people. The whole of his doctrine was calculated for the reformation of their manners, for unanimity amongst themselves, and for exercising such acts of devotion as might best appease the divine wrath. The time now approached for his pronouncing the sentence of arbitration, in the great cause between the state and the bishop, who claimed the exercise of a capital jurisdiction in no fewer than nine castles, besides that of

Gives sentence against the bishop.

a of *Cento*, within the territory of *Bologna*. Accordingly, on the 19th of *June*, all the councils, magistrates, judges, consuls, masters of companies, and others, being formally assembled in the town-house, *John* pronounced sentence in favour of the city. He then set out for *Lombardy*, continuing his pious exercises wherever he went. But, indeed, *Italy* was at this time full of preachers, enthusiasts, and pretenders to miracles, who were greatly favoured by the public distresses; and this year is particularly designed, in the annals of *Bologna* and other states, the year of devotion.

VIDO of *Faenza* was the *Bolognese* podesta, in the year 1234, which happened, like the preceding, to be filled with pestilence and natural calamities; for the cold and inclemency of its seasons were such, as drove even wolves and wild beasts into their cities and towns: neither was *Bologna* free from civil discord. One *Lambertacci* killed another citizen, *Sanctio*, both of them men of consequence; and though the podesta, for the present, kept the city quiet by banishing the murderer, yet the affair was afterwards attended with great consequences. *Icilio Romano*, descended of a *German* family, had acquired a considerable interest in the *Paduan* and the *Cremonese*, and was of the *Gibelin* faction. At his instigation, the emperor, who had for some years remained in *Naples*, prepared to march with a great army into *Lombardy*. This being known to the confederate states, they instantly took the field against the *Gibelins*. The *Bolognese* were the most forward; and though the time of their truce with the *Modenese* was not yet expired, they drew out their standard, and wasted the *Modenese* territory about *Bazano* and *San Cesario* with fire and sword; and, without daring to attack either of those places, they returned home about the beginning of *July*. The *Milanese*, in the mean while, invaded the *Cremonese*, with whom they came to an engagement near *Zenevolta*, without much advantage on either side; but at last both parties agreed upon a short truce. In the month of *November*, the province of *Frignano*, belonging to the *Modenese*, famous for mineral waters, situated at the foot of the *Appennines*, in a country both strong and populous, declared for the *Bolognese*; being thereto prevailed upon either by fear or money, or both. The *Modenese* had been in possession of it by conquest about thirty years; and two of their chief noblemen now came to *Bologna*, where, in the name of all their community, they promised to the *Bolognese* obedience and subjection, and surrendered to them all their towns, fortified and open; promising to serve them in their wars, and to pay the ordinary taxes. The podesta and syndic of *Bologna*, on their parts, promised to take the *Frignanesi* into their protection for ever; and to defend them against all their enemies, the *Modenese* especially; and to insure them against all harm. This agreement was afterwards solemnly ratified in the public councils of *Bologna* and *Frignano*. We are not here to omit, that the famous *Dominic* had been solemnly reburied by *John* of *Vicenza*, his first burying-place being too obscure, at *Bologna*, where his magnificent church is still to be seen; and he was this year canonized by the pope, upon the strength of the miracles he had performed, both alive and dead.

CARNEVARIO, of *Milan*, was podesta of *Bologna* in 1235. This year proved more auspicious than the two or three preceding ones had been to the *Bolognese*, whom we may suppose to have been warranted by the pope in their infraction of the truce with *Modena*, with whom they were still at war. Some differences arising between their old confederates, the *Faventine* and the people of *Ferli*, the former as usual, applied to the *Bolognese* for assistance, which was immediately granted; and they recovered *Solari*, which had been taken by the *Forlese* from the *Faventine*, and this was followed by a peace between the two people. The *Faventine* then joined the *Bolognese*, with great spirit, in their war against the *Modenese*, which, in fact, was no better than a war of robbing and plundering the defenceless country. In this, the *Bolognese*, meeting with no opposition, passed the *Scultenna*, and advanced within two miles of *Modena* itself, where they defeated a party of their enemies. The *Modenese* resolved to take a very extraordinary revenge for those insults. They summoned together their allies from *Parma*, *Cremona*, *Piacenza*, and *Pontremoli*; but, instead of meeting their foes in the field, they set about digging a great canal for turning the bed of the *Scultenna* against *Castel Franco*, so as to overthrow that fortification. They laboured upon this great work with such incredible assiduity, that no man of any rank whatsoever was excused from either digging or carrying burdens. While they were intent upon this project, they laid siege to the castle of *Monzo*, within the district of *Frignano*; and having taken it, they put to death six of the principal persons they found in it for their desertion. The *Bolognese*, to be revenged, increased their warlike preparations; and, in consequence of the late regulations, they obliged their subjects in the country to contribute equally with those in the city to the expences of the war; and they were the more encouraged to this, as they received certain intelligence that *Frederick* had been obliged to return to *Germany*, to prevent a formidable rebellion, under his son the king of the *Romans*, from breaking out against him there; but nothing this year happened decisive on either side.

Famine and pestilence continue.

The Bolognese invade the Modenese.

Frignano submits to them:

they assist the Faventine.

The emperor returns to Germany.

His progress
there.

Returns to
Italy.

He is victori-
ous.

The Bolognese
defeated.

They ravage
their enemy's
country.

They again
assist Faenza.

Conspiracy a-
gainst the em-
peror, who
defeats it.

FREDERICK returned time enough to *Germany* to re-establish matters before they came to extremities. The marquis of *Baden* had subdued such of the rebels as were in arms; and *Henry* summoned a diet of the empire at *Mentz*, where his son threw himself at his feet; and many acts of great popularity were passed in favour of the *Germanick* body, to keep the people there quiet, that the emperor might have leisure to return to *Italy*. The pope hearing of his intention, sent his nuncio, a man of the greatest address of any about his court, to persuade him to remain in *Germany*. His holiness endeavoured to alarm the emperor with the extent of his son's conspiracy against him, and he even offered to reduce the confederated states to a sense of their duty. There is reason for believing, that both the *Bolognese* and the *Milanese* at this time held a secret correspondence with the king of the *Romans*, against whom his father intended no other punishment than to remove him from *Germany* to the vice-royalty of *Sicily*. *Poltroni*, a *Mantuan*, was podesta of *Bologna*, when *Frederick*, in the year 1236, returned to *Italy*, where, having settled the affairs of *Naples*, he summoned all the estates, who still adhered to him, to join him at *Verona*. Perceiving that all arguments, but those of violence, were now useless, he resolved, by the persuasion of *Icilio Romano*, to attack the confederates in their vitals; a resolution from which *Robert Sbesoleri*, a *Bolognese*, and then podesta of *Padua*, endeavoured to divert him. *Frederick*, after plundering the *Mantuan*, made himself master of *Vicenza*; but all his mighty hopes of reducing *Lombardy* were now interrupted, by the intelligence he received that the *Venetians* had entered into the *Longobardic* confederacy, and that his son the king of the *Romans* had now renewed his rebellious practices. He was therefore obliged again to return to *Germany*, after making himself more odious than ever to the *Guelphs*, by the severities he had exercised against their party in *Vicenza* and *Verona*. His arms had not yet reached the *Bolognese*, who were, all this while, employed in raising money, and making warlike preparations: but they received a great blow by *Icilio*, in *February*, 1237, making himself master of *Padua*, where he committed many cruelties. *Frederick* remained in *Germany* but a few weeks, and then he returned to *Lombardy*, where the terror of his arms obliged the *Mantuan*s to submit to him; and, every day adding to his force, he became master of *Monte Chiaro* in the *Brescian*. He then laid siege to *Ponte Vico*, a place of so great importance, that the *Milanese* and the *Bolognese*, having joined their forces, determined, at all events, to relieve it. A battle accordingly followed, in which the allies were totally defeated; but the loss fell heaviest upon the *Bolognese*, who formed a great part of the confederate army, and most of them were either taken or killed. *Frederick*, however, did not think proper to pursue his victory, and went to *Cremona*. This defeat of the *Bolognese* seemed to give them new spirits for continuing the war; and having made great provisions for that purpose, they again entered the *Modenese*, where they laid siege to *Castel Loiano*; and, though it was then the end of *November*, they battered it for eight days with so much fury, that obliged it to surrender at discretion. The materials of the castle, which was demolished, were laid up at *Castel Franco*, and the garrison were sent prisoners to *Bologna*. The *Bolognese* soldiers, however, made an unmanly use of this great advantage they had gained over their enemies; for they again passed the *Scultenna*, and filled all the defenceless country with their ravages.

In the year 1238, *Robert* of *Parma* was podesta of *Bologna*. As the *Bolognese* were the protectors of *Faenza*, they were this year deeply interested in the dissensions of that city between the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins*. The *Guelphs*, at first, had the advantage, and expelled *Guido Rauli*, the head of the *Gibelin* faction, out of their city; but he returned soon after, surprised it, put its garrison to the sword, and expelled *Albergotti*, the head of the *Guelph* faction. His triumph did not last long; for *Albergotti*, in his turn, soon forced his way into the city, made both *Rauli* and *Acariso*, another head of the *Gibelin* faction, prisoners, and regained *Faenza*. *Frederick*, during those transactions, being elated with his late victory, laid siege to *Brescia*, which lies on the river *Garza*, and is defended by a castle on an eminence. This siege continued for three months; during which the *Milanese* defeated the *Pavians*, and obliged the emperor to retreat without taking the city. Though the *Bolognese*, both by troops and money, had contributed greatly to those events, yet they were now intent upon an expedition that more immediately touched their own honour and interest. Their new subjects of *Frignano* had been prevailed upon to return to their duty under the *Modenese*. Upon this, the *Bolognese* invaded that province, which they ravaged, and took the strong castle of *Sestola*, which they reduced to ashes; but being informed that *Frederick* threatened to invade the *Bolognese*, they returned home, and repaired the fortifications of their capital.

THE *Milanese* and the *Bolognese* could not have so long, and with such effect, have resisted the emperor, had not the pope formed such intrigues in *Germany* as were perpetually calling the emperor's attention to that empire. At last, finding out the whole depth of his son's conspiracy, but perhaps without suspecting the part which his holiness had in it, he

- a he offered to compromise matters with *Gregory* upon the terms the latter had formerly offered, provided he would join with him in crushing the conspiracy. The pope did not seem to discourage this proposal; and the emperor soon defeated the duke of *Austria*, who had joined with his son, took *Vienna* itself, and, making his son prisoner, he sent him in confinement to a castle in *Naples*, where he finished his days in captivity. But all *Frederick's* successes, which answered the high and just reputation he had acquired, gave him no advantage over the firmness of the *Longobardic* league. He procured his second son, *Conrade*, to be elected king of the *Romans*, in the room of his elder brother; and perceiving that the dissimulation of the pope was not inferior to his own, after he had, with great glory, settled all his concerns in *Germany*, he collected all his forces, and returned to *Lombardy*, with an intention to finish the *Longobardic* war in one campaign. By this time, through variety of jarring interests, the quarrel between the pope and the emperor became personal; but the pope, who excelled in all the arts of his predecessors, found means to employ *Frederick's* arms in so many places at one time, by the rebellions he fomented against him, that *Henry* never had it in his power, though victorious every where else, to reduce either *Rome*, *Milan*, or *Bolegna*, which he considered as the three nests of rebellion against him. He had of late conquered the island of *Sardinia*, and given it in sovereignty to *Entio*, or *Enzo*, his natural son; and the pope considered this as a fresh violation of the rights of the holy see, to which, as he pretended, *Sardinia* was subject. In short, *Gregory*, this year, twice excommunicated the emperor, absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and all foreign princes from their engagements with him. Not contented with this, he likewise published a circular letter, dated *July* the 1st, in which he accused *Frederick* of not believing in the divinity of *Jesus Christ*. "We have proofs, said he in that letter, that he has publicly declared how the world has been imposed upon by three impostors, *Moses*, *Jesus Christ*, and *Mahomet*. But he places *Christ* far beneath the other two; for he says that they lived in the midst of splendor and glory; whereas *Christ* was only a man of the dregs of the people, who preached only to such as himself. The emperor, continues he, maintains, that the one only God, creator of the universe, could not be born of a woman, and especially of a virgin." The emperor was not behind his holiness in his recriminations; for he charged him with simony, heresy, usurpation, impiety, and every vice that could enter into the composition of a wicked pontiff.

A. D. 1239.

He is excommunicated.

- Thus stood affairs this year between the pope and the emperor; so that it was difficult to determine whether the arts and authority of the one, or the power and arms of the other, were the most prevalent. His holiness, having had the address to engage the *Venetians* in his quarrel, prevailed with them to join with him in an invasion of *Naples*; and he sent his prothonotary, *Montelongo*, through all the confederated states of *Lombardy*, to confirm them in their union. Having excommunicated the *Modenese* and their allies, the *Bolognese* renewed their war against them; but, above all things, they resented the defection of their new subjects the *Frignanese*, who, as it now appeared, had subjected themselves only out of pecuniary motives; and, having received a large sum from the *Bolognese*, had returned to their allegiance to *Modena*. A public decree was therefore made this year, when *Uberto Visconti* was podesta, that every future podesta should attempt to recover the money that had been advanced by the community of *Bologna* to the people of *Frignano* and their associates; and that they should levy the same from their estates, or those of their successors; and that it should not be in the power of the present or any future magistrates of *Bologna* to re-admit them into their society. It was likewise enacted, in order to raise the more money for the purposes of the war, that from thenceforth no countryman should be free from paying his taxes, or from any public duty, under pretext of his maintaining a horse or horses, unless he should have the commands of the community for so doing.

Bologna prepares for war.

- This decree being passed, *Jacopino Prendiparte* took the command of the *Bolognese* army, and led it as far as to the gates of *Modena*. He went so far as even to set the gate of *St. Peter* on fire, and to put to the sword numbers of the inhabitants of the suburbs; but he was recalled from his great design of besieging the city, on the following occasion. The *Gibelin* faction at *Faenza* had prevailed with the counts of *Mutiliano* and *Balnecaballi* to raise troops for delivering *Guido Rauli*, and the other heads of the *Gibelin* party, from prison at *Faenza*; and had, for that purpose, actually besieged that city with a considerable force, during the expedition of the *Bolognese* army. The *Faventine Guelphs*, sensible of their danger, applied for relief to the *Bolognese*, who immediately recalled their troops, and sent them in three divisions, with their standard, to the relief of *Faenza*. The besiegers were defeated: count *Mutiliano* himself was taken prisoner, with two hundred of his men, who were all carried in triumph to *Bologna*. The success of this action gave the *Bolognese* such spirits and reputation, that they entered into an alliance with *Paul* of *Treviso*, the head of the *Guelph* party in *Ravenna*, for renewing the war against *Modena*. Accordingly the *Bolognese* and their allies again entered the province of *Frignano*, where they took several places,

The Bolognese march to Modena.

War in Lombardy.

places, and marched against *Vignola*, an ancient town on the river *Panaro*, to which they laid siege. This undertaking proved a matter of great difficulty; but at last, the place being furiously battered with all the engines then in use, it surrendered about the end of September. Mean while, *Frederick* had removed from *Pavia* to *Vicenza* and *Verona*; and marched, though without much success, against *Alberic*, a *Guelph* general, who had surprised some places in *Lombardy*. From thence he returned to *Cremona*, and made an irruption into the *Bolognese*, where he ravaged the open country, and without much difficulty made himself master of *Plumati*, which was surrounded only by a wooden wall. He then marched to *Crepacori*, which he took and demolished; and about the middle of September he returned to the *Milanese*, which he ravaged for twenty-four days, there being no army in the field to oppose him. After this, he marched towards the *Po*, where he was in great danger of being drowned as he was passing that river; but he escaped to *Cremona*.

The Bolognese defeated.

THE siege of *Vignola* still continued; and the *Modenese*, calling to their assistance their allies of *Parma* and *Ferrara*, undertook to relieve it. Their army was greatly superior to that of the *Bolognese*, whom they attacked about the middle of October. It does not appear that the *Bolognese* made any notable resistance. They lost all their battering artillery, and half of their army, part being put to the sword, and part of them drowned by the swelling of the rivers as they attempted to fly. In short, they were completely defeated. This overthrow of the *Bolognese* gave *Frederick* leisure to march to *Naples*, then harassed by the *Venetians*. As he drew near *Rome*, the pope ordered the heads of saints to be exposed, and public processions to be made, to avert the impending danger. The distress of the sovereign pontiff, and the rigour exercised by *Frederick* against all the *Guelphs*, touched the princes of *Europe* with compassion; and the pope, by the advice of his general *Montelongo*, formed a fresh confederacy against the emperor, in which the *Bolognese* and the *Longobardic* states were included. Not contented with that, he preached up a crusade against him, upon the same terms and principles as those that had been undertaken against the infidels; and he at last made a tender of the imperial crown to *Robert d'Artois*, brother to *St. Lewis* of *France*; but the offer was rejected. Upon the whole, however, the spirit and firmness with which the pope acted on this occasion saved himself and the holy see. For though *Frederick* had expelled out of his dominions the papal militia, consisting of the *Dominicans*, *Franciscans*, and other religious orders; and though he had forbidden his subjects of *Naples* and *Sicily*, under pain of death, to receive any bulls from his holiness; yet he found the spirit that had been raised against him too strong to be mastered; and instead of marching to *Rome*, which was his real intention, he turned off towards *Benevento*, which he ravaged.

AFTER this, *Azo*, the marquis of *Este*, one of the most powerful princes then in *Italy*, the senate of *Venice*, *Alberic*, brother to *Isilino*, who was in possession of *Trevise*, *Paul* of *Ravenna*, and all the states of the *Longobardic* confederacy, with the *Bolognese* at their head, joined their forces together; and, by the advice of *Montelongo*, they prepared to besiege *Ferrara*, which was then in possession of *Salinguerra*. Previous to this, the council of *Bologna*, by the advice of their podesta *Uberti*, and the directors of the *Longobardic* league, on the 1st of *January*, 1240, passed two solemn laws. The first was, "that neither the directors of the league, nor any of the confederates, should admit into their assemblies or councils a *Cremonese* or *Pavian*, nor any of the emperor's party." The second was, "that no native of the confederated states should, from thenceforth, be suffered to be podesta of a state or city in the opposite faction;" and both those laws were enacted under the penalty of exile, and forfeiture of estate.

Ferrara besieged, and taken.

IN the beginning of *February*, this year, the siege of *Ferrara* was undertaken by the confederates; but defended by *Salinguerra* with a strong garrison of *Modenese*, *Reggians*, and *Parmesans*. The siege lasted four months; but at last the place was taken, and *Salinguerra* was sent prisoner to *Venice*, where he died soon after. As to the city itself, the pope knew that he could not keep possession of it, and therefore granted the investiture of it, as a fief of the holy see, to *Azo de Este*, who thereby became his intimate friend. This important conquest had been chiefly owing to the powerful assistance brought by the *Bolognese* to the confederacy, and therefore they insisted upon the city of *Ferrara* entering into the same, which *Badoari*, a *Venetian*, the podesta, accordingly did, in the name of the *Ferrarese*. The terms were, that the latter should hold all the enemies of the church, but especially the *Modenese* and *Parmesans*, to be their enemies, and make war upon them accordingly. About this time the *Genoese* joined the same party, and the kings of *France* and *England* liberally supplied the pope with money for his defence.

Successes of the emperor.

FREDERICK now saw all his towering designs on the point of being crushed. He therefore committed the care of the war in *Naples* to his generals, and marched in person into the marquisate of *Ancona*, where the *Guelphs* were very powerful: there he took *Ascoli*, the ancient *Asculum Picenum*, a city between the rivers *Trento* and *Castellano*. He next marched

a marched into the *Romagna*; and, hearing of the death of *Paul*, he surprised *Ravenna*, to the great terror of the confederates; and, in the month of *August*, he laid close siege to *Faenza*. *Frederick* was at this time at the head of a great army; but he was so much distressed for money, that he was obliged to stamp, with the imperial signature, pieces of leather, which he forced his soldiers and the inhabitants of the country to take for money; but with a promise to indemnify them, by exchanging them for real money at the conclusion of the war.

The pope and the confederates, but above all the *Bolognese*, bore the progress of the emperor with wonderful constancy and resolution. His holiness, to apply some remedy to their misfortunes, summoned a council to meet at *Rome*, and sent the cardinals of *Picetrina* and *St. Nicholas* across the *Alps*, to solicit the assistance of *France*, *England*, and other *European* powers. Towards the end of this year, *Henry* bishop of *Bologna*, after creating great troubles to that state, resigned his bishopric into the hands of his holiness, to the great joy of the *Bolognese*, and was succeeded by *Ottaviano Ubaldini*, a *Florentine*. The confederates, however, about the middle of *April*, 1241, received a severe check, by the emperor becoming master of *Faenza*, after a siege of about eight months. He then prepared to strike at the chief root of the *Italian* confederacy against him, by attacking *Bologna*. The *Bolognese* had foreseen this attempt, and made such dispositions for his reception, that, despairing to take the city, he wreaked his fury upon their open country, by destroying their houses, corn, vines, and trees, with various other acts of barbarity. He likewise issued a decree, depriving the *Bolognese* of their right to their university; and transferred the same to *Padua*, as a reward for the attachment of the *Paduans* to his interest. Receiving intelligence, that the pope's legates beyond the *Alps* had prevailed with the courts of *England* and *France*, and other potentates, to send bishops to the council at *Rome*, he ordered his natural son *Entius*, to whom he had given part of *Sardinia* in sovereignty, to intercept them by sea; which he accordingly did, by the assistance of some ships sent him by the *Pisans*; and all of them, amongst whom were several cardinals, were sent prisoners to *Naples*.

AFTER this, *Frederick* appointed *Entius* to be his lieutenant, or imperial vicar in *Lombardy*; and was so stung by the obstinacy of the pope, and the constancy of the *Lombardic* confederacy, that he redoubled his fury against all their abettors. His chancellor and favourite, *Peter de Vignes*, is accused of having been an atheist, and of having inspired his master with the same principles. This charge, however, seems to have been intirely owing to the hatred of the *Guelphs* and *Papalins* against *Frederick*, who was a prince of great virtues, but strong passions, and an encourager of learning, though the unintermitting practices of his enemies made him sometimes guilty of barbarity. In a short time, he reduced all the *Romagna* to his obedience; and, after falling upon the marquisate of *Ancona*, he plundered *Pesaro* and *Fano*, two considerable sea-ports in the duchy of *Urbino*. He then made himself master of *Todi* and *Narni*; and was preparing to fall upon the Church's patrimony, without giving quarter to any he found in arms, when *Gregory IX.* died of heart-break, as was supposed. He had filled the papal chair, with the true spirit of an aspiring pontiff, for fourteen years, against one of the greatest and most warlike princes of his age, merely by the skill with which he employed the thunders of the vatican. Before his death, he had summoned the emperor to appear before the council he had indicted, and there to resign the imperial dignity. This proposal, ridiculous as it was, did no harm, in that age of ignorance and superstition, to the papal cause. They who, by their learning, particularly the *Bolognese*, were the most capable to refute those insolent claims, were on the side of his holiness; and the numerous enemies of the emperor found their interest in, at least, seeming to believe them.

GREGORY IX. was succeeded by *Celestine IV.* who filled the papal chair no more than eighteen days, and then a long vacancy of the pontificate ensued. *Frederick* would willingly have abolished even the dignity of pope, or have reduced it to that of a plain priest or bishop. But he was unable to surmount the prepossessions of his contemporaries, and even of his own subjects; and he therefore pressed the cardinals, who were assembled at *Anagni*, to fill the chair. They pleaded, that the election could not be free, while he continued with his army in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, and in possession of the church's patrimony. They likewise insisted upon his setting free such of their brethren as were his prisoners. According to *Sigonius*^a, *Frederick* yielded to all they desired, by withdrawing his troops from the church's patrimony, and setting the cardinals at liberty; and then they shut themselves up in a conclave at *Anagni*, for the election of a pope.

THOUGH the flames of war raged all round *Bologna*, yet this year the *Bolognese* new-paved their city, and adorned it with other works of utility and ornament. The emperor all this time was pushing the war with great vigour in *Lombardy*, where he retook *Roncbaglia* upon

^a SIGONIUS, page 112.

the *Po*, and a great number of other places, from the *Milanese*. The *Bolognese* this year ^a built and fortified the castle of *Occilini*, on their borders towards the *Ierrarese*; but they lost the castle of *Montesi*, in the province of *Frignano*.

which falls
upon Innocent
IV.

In the year 1243, the cardinals at *Anagni* chose for their pope cardinal *Fiesque*, a *Genoese*, who took the name of *Innocent IV*. This pontiff, while he was cardinal, had remarkably distinguished himself in the imperial interest; and the *Italians* were now in hopes of seeing an end to the dreadful quarrel between the imperial and papal authority, that had so long desolated their country. *Frederick*, however, no sooner heard of his election, than he said, that *Fiesque* was his friend, but the pope would be his enemy; a prediction which was remarkably fulfilled. Both parties pretended to be zealous for restoring tranquility to *Italy*, though neither of them meant it but upon his own terms. The principles ^b of *Innocent* were the same as those of *Gregory* had been; and he was resolved, if possible, to wrest from the emperor all that he had seized in the *Romagna*, and the church's patrimony, while *Frederick* as obstinately resolved to make them good, and both parties once more took the field. This year, we perceive from the chronicle of *Parma* ^c, that a treaty was entered into between the *Bolognese* and the *Parmesans*, for the mutual exchange of prisoners; and the *Bolognese* are accused of not having punctually performed their agreement, and of having, through their obstinacy, suffered such of their countrymen, as had been taken prisoners at *Vignola*, to lie in a most miserable condition in captivity at *Parma*.

Neutrality of
the Bolognese.

BUT though the war between the pope and the emperor was on the point of breaking out, by the former preparing to besiege *Viterbo*, the *Bolognese* had the address to preserve ^c themselves, for some time in a state of neutrality, when they were once more disturbed by domestic dissensions. In the middle of *August* this year, one *Anco*, or *Amadeo*, a man of consequence there, killed in the public market-place, one *Crisoni*, who was his enemy. Those villainous assassinations, to the reproach of that age and country, were seldom punished; the criminal generally finding means either to escape or to defend himself against the pursuits of justice. This *Amadeo*, however, was taken and put to death, to the great offence of his party. In the *October* following, *Azo Bonacursi* of *Frignano*, and his brother, put to death *Giberti* and *Barnfaldini*, of the family of *Castel Nuovo*, and then took refuge in a neighbouring castle, which they held out by force. The podesta of *Bologna*, who was that year *Peroano* of *Milan*, resolved not to suffer so daring an insult to escape with impunity; and, by the advice of the council, raised some companies, with which he besieged the castle, and took it with all who defended it. The common people were immediately hanged, but *Azo* was quartered; and the podesta left a garrison in the castle.

Mischief of
the feudal
laws.

THE reader is to observe, that the feudal law, which then prevailed in *Italy*, and almost all over *Europe*, was an enemy to the internal tranquility of a state, because it kept up the hereditary animosities amongst families. The magistrates in the ordinary course of justice seldom had it in their power to punish the offenders; and all they could do, was to proscribe them, or declare them rebels. Hence it was, that those exiles were found all over the country in great numbers, where they commonly fortified themselves in their family castles. Two of them, *Henry Zachi* and *Bonifacio Panici*, had long suffered a state of pro- ^escription; and resolving to do something to merit the pardon of their country, they secretly repaired to *Verona*, with an intention to assassinate *Scilino a Romano*, the capital enemy of the pope in *Lombardy*; but being detected in their attempt, they were both of them put to death by him.

Preparations
of the Bolog-
nese.

It was now evident, that *Bologna* could not long preserve its neutrality, and the *Bolognese* prepared to face the approaching storm. They therefore, in a great council, this year, imposed a general tax upon their city, territory, and castles; and their militia was ordered to be drawn out, with an exception, however, to the doctors and scholars of their university, which, notwithstanding the imperial edicts, continued still to flourish. An act, both of the general and the special councils, passed, exempting all such from military duties, ^f both in the field and garrisons; but they were to continue subject to all the ordinary taxes equally as other citizens. Scholars, however, who were citizens, and held private lectures, and those citizens who attended the public colleges, were obliged to contribute to military expences; but were at liberty to serve in the army by their substitutes. In the year 1244, the war between the pope and the emperor, notwithstanding the mediation of other Christian powers, appeared inevitable. *Ardoin* of *Piacenza* was then podesta of *Florence*. *Baldwin* emperor of *Constantinople*, together with the count of *Toulouse*, came this year to *Italy*, to assist in the mediation; and at *Frederick's* desire they repaired to *Rome*, where they prevailed with his holiness to promise to meet the emperor at *Citta di Castello*, to accommodate all matters in difference between them; and the pope, in the month of ^g *June*, actually left *Rome*; but while he was on his journey he discovered, or pretended to

^b Apud MURAT. tom. ix. page 763.

- a discover, that the emperor had formed a design upon his life or liberty. He therefore turned off towards *Sutri*, and from thence to *Civita Vecchia*, where he took shipping, which carried him to *Genoa*, in the end of *June*, with an intention to take refuge in *France*, and to summon a general council at *Lyons* for deposing the emperor. In the mean while *Frederick*, hearing of the pope's flight, seized upon the church's patrimony, and reduced all *Tuscany* to his obedience. The departure of his holiness threw the affairs of *Bologna* into such disorder, that a civil war must have broken out, had it not been for the arrival of the good father *Vicentio*, whose authority and mildness, seconded by the bishop, the podesta, and the chief citizens, reconciled the differences that had long subsisted amongst the most eminent families, whose names were the *Delfini* and *Malatasci*, *Torelli* and *Andali*, *Grifoni*, *Antenisi*, and *Castrobritti*, *Galuci* and *Carbonefi*, *Lambertini* and *Scannabecci*, and the *Pepuli* and *Tettalafina*. The two last-mentioned families had been at difference together forty years; but they were now reconciled by the famous match between *Romeo Pepuli* and a lady of the *Tettalafina*, from which descended *John*, *Taddeo*, *Gerra*, *Andrew*, and *Tarlati Pepuli*, all of them men of eminence.

Council of Lyons summoned.

Regulations in Bologna,

THE tranquility of the city being thus provided for, the magistrates applied themselves to secure that of the university; and upon the application of its heads, it was enacted, that if any person should be exiled, for murdering or maiming a scholar, it should not be in the power, even of the state itself to recal him, without leave from the next relations of the party injured.

and its university.

- c THIS year, according to *Sigonius*^a, mention is made of the *Antiani*, the institution of which we have already taken notice, under the year 1228, and which, after disuse, seems to have been revived on account of a dispute which happened between *Ardoin* the podesta, and the bishop of *Bologna*, and which was compromised under the authority of the *Antiani*, the consuls of the merchants, and the silversmiths, the masters of the wards, and the gonfaloniers of the colleges. The council of *Lyons* was now assembled, and is called the thirteenth general council. *Frederick* was summoned to attend it, and he sent thither commissioners to plead his cause, a proof of the vast sway the papal power then had in *Europe*. Amongst the numerous prelates summoned to attend it, was *Octavian* bishop of *Bologna*, who resigning his see at this time, was succeeded by *James Buoncambi*, a native of that city, *Ugo* of *Brescia* being then podesta. In the mean while, the emperor, after wasting all the *Guelph* lands wherever he came, retired to *Pisa*; from thence he moved to *Parma* and *Verona*; and, at this last city, in order to counterbalance the council of *Lyons*, he summoned a meeting of all his friends, amongst whom was his son *Conrade* king of the *Romans*, and *Baldwin* emperor of *Constantinople*. He at the same time sent his two natural sons *Entius* and *Frederick*, with an army into the *Piacentine*. Upon the breaking up of the assembly at *Verona*, *Baldwin* repaired to *Lyons*, with offers from the emperor to compromise matters.

Antiani restored.

Proceedings of the council of Lyons.

- ABOUT 144 prelates appeared at *Lyons* with a great number of temporal princes; but his holiness did not find the assembly so well disposed in his favour as he expected. A bishop, whom the emperor had driven out of *Naples*, acted as his accuser, and charged him with atheism, polygamy, corresponding with infidels, adopting the opinions of the *Arabian* physician *Averroes* about *Jesus Christ*, and a heap of such other inconsistent particulars, which either were destitute of proof, or if proved, could infer no penalty on a crowned head. The emperor's commissioners refuted them with as much acrimony and spirit, as they were urged with zeal and ignorance; and the pope, on this occasion, received many severe mortifications, particularly from the *English* ambassadors, who reproached him to his face for his avarice and rapaciousness. His holiness, however, soon gave the assembly to understand, that he was there to judge and not to argue, and actually solemnly pronounced the sentence of deprivation and excommunication against the emperor, by which he was declared convicted of sacrilege and heresy; and the electors of the empire were by him ordered to proceed to the election of a new emperor.

Debates there.

- FREDERICK* was at *Turin*, on his way to *Lyons*, when he heard of this sentence. He immediately called for his imperial crown, which the *German* emperors in those days always carried along with them, and placing it on his head, "Many a life, said he, shall be lost, before the pope deprive me of this." He then ordered his minister *de Vignes*, to write a kind of circular letter to the other princes of *Europe*, upbraiding them for their tamely suffering themselves and him to be mal-treated by such a worthless set of men as the clergy of those days were, who were guilty of every thing that was criminal and abandoned, and who, he said, ought to be stripped of all their riches, to bring them to a sense of their duty. Soon after, *Frederick* encamped near *Pavia*, where he began a fresh war against the *Milanese*, and the remains of the pope's party in *Italy*. In this war, *Entius* was taken prisoner by the *Milanese*; but was soon exchanged for *Simon* the *Milanese* general. Excepting this check every thing went prosperously for the emperor this year; and all the *Guelphs*

The emperor excommunicated.

^a SIGONIUS, page 114.

were expelled from *Modena*, *Reggio*, and *Parma*; and even the pope's friends and relations scarcely escaped with their lives.

*Economy of
the Bolognese.*

THE *Bolognese* were so happy that they were not yet involved in those calamities; but their magistrates proceeded to lay up provisions for the worst that could happen. *Philip*, who was then *podesta*, about the middle of *March* had summoned both a general and a special council, to deliberate upon the manner of proceeding with regard to the episcopal tenants, who pretended that they were not amenable to the taxes imposed by the civil government, nor to the duties of the other subjects. Several other cities and places pretended to the like immunities. Upon this, a committee of six judges was appointed to enquire into the grounds of those claims, and an advocate was assigned to the claimants for their defence. After mature deliberations, the people of *Montibelli*, *Roccavico*, and a few other inconsiderable places, were adjudged to be entitled to their claims; but all the rest were rejected. About the middle of *June*, the people of *Cento* endeavoured to put themselves under the jurisdiction of the bishop of *Bologna*; upon which the *podesta* applied to him not to suffer the state to be injured by such a transference of allegiance, and the bishop promised that he would protect none who were liable to pay taxes, or to perform public services to the community, or who lay under sentence of exile. The same *podesta* contributed greatly to the public ornament and utility of the state, by appointing certain overseers to take care of the roads; and he laid the foundations of a most magnificent palace, that was to serve for the residence of the *Antiani*. About this time the *Bolognese*, who seem to have had always a particular regard to the populousness of their state, sheltered the *Gibelins*, though of a contrary faction, who were driven from the *Bresciano*, and assigned them part of the public revenue for their subsistence.

*A new emperor
chosen.*

In the year 1246, *Otho Visconti* was *podesta* of *Bologna*, which gained a breathing time, by the troubles which the pope on all hands excited against the emperor. His holiness, after *Frederick's* excommunication, issued his bulls, directed to the *German* princes, for electing a new emperor; and though they neither were unanimous among themselves, nor did they proceed regularly, yet they chose *Henry* landgrave of *Thuringia*, who was called *King of the Priests*, and who defeated *Conrade* the king of the *Romans*, *Frederick's* son; but was himself soon after killed at the siege of *Ulm*. *Entius*, at this time, commanded for *Frederick* in *Lombardy*, while he himself was employed in quelling the commotions raised against him by the papal party in the kingdom of *Naples*. The *Bolognese*, this year, built the castle of *Scaricalesti*, at the foot of the *Appennines*, for a bulwark against the *Florentines*; and at last completed the exchange of prisoners with the *Parmesans* and the *Modenese*. They likewise lent assistance to the *Brescians* against *Entius*. Their open country being greatly exposed, by the inhabitants taking refuge in the city, a law was passed, obliging all who had left it within the five years preceding, to return to their habitations, under pain of being deprived of all the privileges of a *Bolognese* citizen; nor were they even suffered to remain in *Bologna*, or to enjoy any post of honour or profit there. A revolution, which at this time happened at *Parma*, now gave a great turn to the affairs of *Italy*.

*Siege of Parma
by the emperor.*

MANY of the *Parmesans* had been *Guelphs*, and were expelled from their country by the imperial faction. The emperor, according to the *Parmesan* chronicle^a, had seized the episcopal palace and tower, with all the bishop's revenues, and none durst present a bull or writing from the pope, under the penalty of losing a hand and foot. *Entius* was at this time employed in besieging a castle in the *Bresciano*; and *Frederick*, having finished his affairs in *Naples*, had returned to *Turin*, where he assembled a council of all his friends, and was busy in drawing up propositions for a peace with the pope. The *Parmesan* exiles who were at *Piacenza* thought that to be a favourable opportunity to attempt a return to their country. They were headed by *Gerard de Corrigio*; but *Montelongo*, the pope's general, planned the conspiracy, and furnished the exiles with arms and money. Assembling on a certain day at *Piacenza*, they set out in a body for *Parma*, but were opposed by *Henry de Testa*, the imperial *podesta* there, at the head of the *Gibelins*. The *Guelphs*, however, prevailed; and after killing *de Testa*, with a number of his friends and followers, they entered *Parma*, from whence they expelled all the *Gibelin* faction, and chose *Corrigio* their *podesta*. As soon as this revolution came to the ears of the emperor and his son *Entius*, both of them hastened to *Parma*, and encamped on different sides of the city. *Montelongo* was equally alert; and after performing a very troublesome march over the mountains, arrived at *Parma* with one thousand choice soldiers. He was followed by count *St. Boniface*, who in his march destroyed the *Cremonese*; and at last the marquis of *Este* himself, with a body of *Ferrarese*, arrived on the same account. In short, all the military force of *Lombardy* repaired thither, either to defend or besiege the city. Part of

^a Chronica Parmense apud MURAT. tom. ix. pag. 769.

a the *Guelphs*, however, were encamped without the walls; but strongly entrenched, and posted so as to interrupt the operations of the emperor against the city. The emperor was joined by *Boateri*, who was a strong *Gibelin*, and by *Icilino a Romano*, with all the *Gibelins* of *Cremona*, *Reggio*, the *Bergamasco*, and *Tuscany*, with a great body of *Neapolitans* and *Sicilians*, so that the whole of his army amounted to sixty thousand men.

WHILE those mighty preparations were making on the side of *Parma*, the *Bolognese* took that opportunity of renewing the war against the *Modenese*, the strength of whose state was in the imperial army before *Parma*. *Guido* the *podesta*, and *James Lambertacci*, were the generals of the *Bolognese*, who brought their standard of state to the field, and vigorously besieged *Bazano*, which had so often proved fatal to their arms. On receiving this news, the *Modenese* who were in *Frederick's* camp chose *Icilino* for their general, and marched to the relief of *Bazano*; but found the *Bolognese* so numerous, and so strongly posted, that they durst not attack them, but encamped in the neighbourhood, in daily expectation of being reinforced by *Entius*. In the mean while, the siege went on with such success, that the garrison, losing all hopes of relief, proposed to capitulate, and for that purpose they had a conference with the *podesta Guido*, and the chief of the *Bolognese*. The terms were soon settled. It was agreed, that the besieged should remain in possession of all their effects, and have the liberty to settle either in the *Bolognese* or the *Modenese*; and that, if the capitulation was not approved of, the *Bolognese* should protect the garrison. This capitulation being signed, it was ratified by the *Modenese* generals; and the *Bolognese* entering the castle of *Bazano*, they burnt it down, in sight of *Icilino* and his army. Next day, the *Bolognese* suddenly attacked their enemies; and after defeating them, they reduced several places in the *Modenese*, and returned home with a large booty, and in great triumph. The general and special councils being assembled, a full account of the campaign was laid before them; and the capitulation being ratified, it was entered into the archives, and an act made, that the *podesta* and the people of *Bologna* should, on every festival of *St. Isidore*, the day on which *Bazano* was surrendered, present forty wax tapers to his church. Bazano taken.

IN the mean while, *Frederick* was furiously bent upon the reduction of *Parma*; and the chronicle of that city is filled with the cruelties he inflicted upon such of the inhabitants as fell into his hands. Not only men but women were put to death, with exquisite tortures, till at last the *Pavians* interceded for the lives of those who survived; and their intercession procured some abatement of his cruelty. We are, however, to make great allowances in reading the representations of the *Guelph* authors, with regard to this great prince; and perhaps the cruelty of their faction gave rise to that of the *Gibelins*; for we learn, that the smallest intercourse between any of the besieged and the imperialists was punished with death; and all who found means to introduce themselves into the city, were immediately put to the sword; and so great was the enthusiasm of the besieged, that they gloried in the deaths of their party, as if the emperor had made so many martyrs. The *Bolognese* did not fail to improve their late advantages; for though the season was now far advanced, they again took the field, being joined by the *Ferrarese* and the *Mantuan*s; and after forcing an imperial post upon the *Po*, at *Brixello*, they marched to *Colorno*, from whence they threw a reinforcement of men, and great supplies of provision, into *Parma*, which now began to be greatly distressed by famine. Soon after, *Montelongo* forced his way through the imperialists into the same city, and gave the citizens and inhabitants fresh spirits, by assuring them of a speedy relief. Winter coming on, the imperialists made a furious assault upon the city, but were repulsed by *Boniface*; as was *Entius*, in an attempt he made upon *Colorno*, which was garrisoned by the *Bolognese*. A few days after, the besieged found means to turn the course of their river against the camp of the imperialists, who were obliged first to remove, and at last to abandon the siege for that year. In *December* the *Bolognese* assigned *Sabiniano* to be inhabited by the *Guelphs* of the *Modena*, who had been expelled from that city. Siege of Parma continues;

IN the year 1241, *Boniface de Cario* of *Piacenza* was *podesta* of *Bologna*. *Frederick* had not yet given over thoughts of taking *Parma*, and had his head-quarters at *Viçtoria*; a city which he himself built, from whence he used sometimes to make excursions. *Montelongo* then commanded in *Parma*; and one day while *Frederick*, for the recovery of his health, was taking the diversion of hawking, *Montelongo* surprised *Viçtoria*, put the garrison which had been left in it to the sword, and took a vast booty, in which was the imperial crown, the military chest, and all *Frederick's* plate and rich furniture, together with the *Cremonese* standard of state; and afterwards, partly through wantonness, partly through resentment, the victors set fire to the place. *Frederick*, by this time, returning from his diversion, had assembled some troops, and attempted to recover the town; but he was repulsed with the loss of almost all his men, and obliged to fly to *Cremona*. but is raised,

THIS success, by which the *Guelphs* make three thousand of their enemies prisoners, and delivered all their own party from the chains of the *Gibelins*, inspired the pope, who had been

Bishop of Bologna created a cardinal.

Success of the Bolognese,

who take Cervi.

been extremely active in supporting his party, with fresh courage. He had made *Ottaviano Ubaldini*, then bishop of *Bologna*, a cardinal; and he sent him to *Bologna*, to excite the inhabitants there to the continuance of the war, and to concert the military operations of the ensuing year. After mature deliberation, it was agreed, that the *Bolognese* should first attempt to reduce all the towns and castles in the *Modenese* territory, and then march to recover those which *Frederick* had taken from his holiness in the *Romagna*. This heroic resolution was dictated chiefly by the hopes of renown which they were to acquire, by being the deliverers and protectors of the church. They were, perhaps, likewise influenced by the bad state of the emperor's affairs in *Lombardy*. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the affairs of the *Bolognese* were, at this time, in a very prosperous condition; and their podesta, in the beginning of *May* this year, marched against the *Modenese* with a very fine army. His first acquisition was the rich abbey and territory of *Nouantola*, which submitted to him. He then reduced *Pansani* and *San Cesario*, and demolished them by the advice of cardinal *Ottaviano*. He then passed the *Scultemna*, and triumphantly entered the *Romagna*, where he reduced *Dulci* and *Foligni*, and then marched against *Imola*; the inhabitants of which, being in no condition to resist, proposed an accommodation, which was granted them on the following terms; "That the *Imolese* should be at peace with the *Bolognese*, and surrender to them their city, which the *Bolognese* were to preserve as long as the *Imolese* continued in their obedience to the holy see." The reader is to observe, that during this expedition, and probably in former ones, a committee of councils and magistrates of *Bologna* attended the army, with full powers to act for the whole, because no capitulation or agreement was valid till ratified by them. On this occasion, therefore, a general and special council with the attending magistrates, were summoned in the camp, where the articles that had been sworn to by the podesta were confirmed. From *Imola* the *Bolognese* army marched to *Faenza*, *Bagnacavalli*, *Forim Popoli*, and *Forli*, and obliged the inhabitants of all those cities to take an oath of obedience to the church, and the city of *Bologna*; a proof that, notwithstanding their zeal for the pope, they durst not lose sight of either their own importance or interest. They even obliged all those, and many other places, to accept of *Bolognese* podestas, governors, and garrisons. They then marched towards the sea-coast against *Cervia*, a place famous for its salt-works. The *Cervians* were obliged to submit, as the other cities had done, and consented, not only to furnish the *Bolognese* with salt for ten years, at a certain price, but to dispose of none to any other state or people. In short, during this campaign, the *Bolognese* reduced all the *Romagna*; and though^a the particular capitulations they made with each city are not now extant in their records, yet there can be no doubt as to the fact; because an antient law, still in force in that city, commands the *Imolese* to perform their engagements with their neighbours, in the same manner they used to perform them before the *Bolognese* reduced the *Romagna*, in the podestate of *Boniface*." About the middle of *September*, *Boniface* being about to return with his army to *Bologna*, obliged the *Imolese* magistrates again to swear that they would fight for the *Bolognese* against all their enemies, but especially against the emperor *Frederick*.

In the year 1249, *Philippo Ugo* was podesta of *Bologna*, when a civil discord broke out between the two principal families, the *Briti* and the *Minduli*, which the podesta was afraid might be of service to the imperial interest. He therefore ordered the heads of both families to repair to *Bologna*, where he obliged them to swear, that they would obey his orders till the first of *January* ensuing; to find twenty good and sufficient sureties for the performance, and not to leave the city but by his permission. A public act then passed, that *Medicina*, and two thirds of *Argellata*, should from thenceforth be considered as part of the *Bolognese* territory; that the inhabitants should be subject to public duties, in the same manner as their other towns and castles; and that if they should remove to *Bologna*, they should not enjoy the privileges of the city, but be ranked with the inhabitants of the places they came from.

Frederick goes to Naples.

THE affairs of the emperor in *Lombardy*, continued still to wear a very bad aspect. In the beginning of the year he attempted to rebuild *Victoria*, but was obliged again to abandon it, to the great joy of the *Pormesans*. The pope, after the council of *Lyons*, had offered the empire of *Germany* to several princes; but at last it was accepted of by *William*, count of *Holland*, whom almost half of *Germany* recognized. The emperor's interest, however, continued to be supported by his son the king of the *Romans*. The pope, according to most authors, sought to deprive him of life, as well as empire; and for that purpose had bribed his chancellor, chief counsellor, and favourite *Peter de Vignes*, and his first physician, to poison him. But *Frederick* having the good fortune to detect the conspiracy, put the physician to death, and ordered his chancellor's eyes to be put out; upon which he beat his brains out at *Pisa*, to prevent a more cruel death from the *Pisans*, who were his mortal

^a SIGONIUS, page 118.

a enemies. The truth of this conspiracy, however, is very questionable ; and it is more probable, that *de Vignes* fell a sacrifice to the intrigues of courtiers (A). Whatever may be in this, it is certain that his holiness found means to oblige *Frederick* to leave *Lombardy* to the care of *Entius*, and to go to *Naples*. Cardinal *Ostavian*, who was an active agent for the pope, improved that opportunity for spiriting up the *Bolognese* in favour of the holy see. By his persuasion, *Simon Manfredi*, whom the *Gibelins* had expelled from *Reggio*, surprised the castles of *Novo*, *Arola*, and *San Stefano*, lying within that territory ; and assembling all the *Guelphs*, who had been banished from thence, he put strong garrisons into them all. *Entius*, upon this, laid siege to *Arola*, and having taken it, he hanged all the garrison, by way of terror to the other *Guelphs*. Cardinal *Ostavian* now redoubled his applications, to
b make the *Bolognese* sensible, how favourable the opportunity was, for irretrievably ruining the imperial interest in *Lombardy*. He represented both *Frederick* and *Entius* as weak and dispirited, by repeated losses and disgraces, and gained so much credit, that the *Bolognese* resolved to exert all their force against them. But they proceeded cautiously, by keeping their resolution secret, and sending private orders for assembling all their friends and dependents in the *Romagna*, and the marquisate of *Ancona*. The finest army that *Bologna* had ever seen, was raised ; and the standard of state was carried to the field, accompanied by cardinal *Ostavian*, the whole being commanded by *Philip* the podesta. The *Modenese* applied to *Entius* for relief ; and he immediately assembled all the troops he could raise amongst the *Pavians*, *Cremonese*, and the *Reggians*, with the *Ferrarese*, and *Parmesan Gibelins*, and his
c German soldiers, who composed the flower of his army. The disposition of the *Bolognese* troops sufficiently indicated that they intended to attack *Modena* itself ; and they might have been distressed in their march, had it not been for the backwardness of the *Gibelins* in joining *Entius*. Being arrived at *Modena*, he was in hopes that he might be able to dispute the passage of the *Scultenna* with his enemies, and accordingly marched towards that river ; but when he arrived at it, he found the *Bolognese* had begun their passage at a place called the *Deep Ditch*, where, stung with rage and disappointment, he immediately attacked his enemy on the 23d of *May*. The battle continued, with various success, for about twelve hours ; but, at last, the *Modenese* were entirely defeated, only a few of them escaping to the wood, and back to their capital, which was about three miles distant from
d the place of action. This victory of the *Bolognese* was the more illustrious by the capture of *Entius* himself, and *Boso Douaria*, governor of *Cremona*. *Guido*, governor of *Reggio*, in endeavouring to escape was suffocated in a common sewer. *Gerardo Pio* and *Thomasini Gorfano*, the heads of the *Modenese* nobility, were made prisoners near their capital, together with a great number both of cavalry and infantry ; so that, upon the whole, this victory of the *Bolognese* was the most complete of any that had been obtained during the course of that long and bloody war.

King *Entius* defeated and taken by the *Bolognese*,

THE cardinal and podesta of *Bologna* judged it adviseable, as their soldiers were loaded with booty, and encumbered with prisoners, to return to *Bologna*, which they entered with all the pomp of an ancient triumph, attended by pageants and captives. The noblest object, however, was the person of *Entius* himself, who was not above twenty-five years of age, but exceeding in tallness and gracefulness of figure all his contemporaries ; so that his fate drew tears from the soldiers as he passed along. The captives were thrown into prison, and a law was enacted, that *Entius* should never be set free, but be maintained during his life-time, at the public charge. It was decreed at the same time, that as this signal victory was obtained on *St. Austin's* day, that the *Augustine* nuns, who lived without the gates of *Ravenna*, should receive for ever on that day one hundred measures of corn.

who return home,

THE rejoicings for this victory being finished, the *Bolognese* turned their thoughts towards the conquest of *Modena* itself, which now appeared practicable. For this purpose, cardinal *Ostavian* and the magistrates secretly engaged the *Parmesans* to attack *Reggio*, while they
f besieged *Modena*, that the one city might not be able to afford any assistance to the other. Accordingly, in the beginning of *September*, both cities were besieged. The *Bolognese* were joined by the *Modenese* exiles ; and their army, which was very numerous, was well provided with all necessaries for a siege, particularly a large train of battering engines ; so that they soon obliged the *Modenese* to shut themselves up within their walls, which they prepared to defend to the last extremity. The *Bolognese* not being very expert in the art of besieging towns, tried all means to provoke their enemies to give them battle, by treating them with scoffs and opprobrious language ; burning their suburbs, and, by the help of their engines, throwing the carcases of dead animals into their city, particularly that of

and take *Modena* by capitulation,

(A) The chronicle of *Francis Pipini*, an author of credit, who wrote soon after this time, and was himself a native of *Bologna*, takes no notice of this story about the poisoning, but seems to suppose, that *de Vignes* had been provoked to some infidelity against the emperor, by the latter's stripping him of his money ; of which, as we have seen, *Frederick* stood in great need. Vide *Muratori*, tom. ix. p. 660.

an afs, which fell into one of the principal wells of the city. This indignity exasperated the besieged so much, that they could be no longer contained within their walls, but made a sally, in which they took the engine which discharged the carcass of the afs, and carried it in triumph into the city. The *Bolognese* then had recourse to mining, by which the besieged were so much distressed, that they were obliged to listen to the terms offered to them by the cardinal and the podesta of *Bologna*. Proper deputies being named on both sides, about the middle of *September* the capitulation was settled, in the following manner, at the town-house of *Modena*:

“ THAT there should be a perpetual league and friendship between the communities of *Modena* and *Bologna*; that they should, for ever, have the same friends and enemies; that the *Modenese* should, in peace and war, assist cardinal *Octavian*, the pope’s legate, against all persons; that they should make no alliance with any other people, without consent of the said cardinal, if present, or the podesta of *Bologna* for the time being, and the *Antiani* of the people, and the consuls of merchants and silversmiths for the time being, and the community of *Bologna*. All the places destroyed on the other side the *Scultenna*, were to remain demolished for ever; and even the places undemolished, were to be demolished if the *Bolognese* should think proper. The inhabitants were allowed to rebuild their dwelling-houses, but not upon spots where castles had formerly stood. If *Frederick*, the deposed emperor, or any other for him, within the territory of *Reggio* and *Modena*, should attempt to regain *Modena*, then such a number of *Modenese* as the cardinal, the podesta, and the other magistrates of *Bologna*, shall think proper, shall, at the expence of the community of *Modena*, repair to *Bologna*, or its territory, there to remain eight days after such an attempt shall be made. The community of *Modena* shall restore to such as were citizens of *Bazano*, at the time that place surrendered to the *Bolognese*, all their estates: the *Modenese* shall likewise suffer a canal of water to be carried through their territory to the *Scultenna*, and mills to be built upon the same. The *Modenese Guelphs*, who reside within or without the city, were to chuse such a podesta from amongst the *Bolognese*, as should be recommended to them by the cardinal, the podesta, the *Antiani*, and the consuls of *Bologna*; or those within the city were to chuse one, and those without it another; or the cardinal, and others of the *Bolognese* magistrates were to name one or two consuls, as they thought proper, for the government of *Modena*. Those governors of the city, castles, and posts, who should be sent to the *Modenese* by the cardinal, and other magistrates of *Bologna*, were to be maintained at the expence of the community of *Modena*; and the said castles and posts might be at any time visited by the cardinal and magistrates of *Bologna*, and receive such governors, as should be by them appointed. The *Modenese Guelphs* were to be restored to their country and estates. A reconciliation was to be effected between them and the *Grasulfori*, or the *Gibelins*, upon such terms as the cardinal and the magistrates of *Bologna* should prescribe. On the other hand, the community of *Bologna* were to be at peace with that of *Modena*, and with the *Modenese Gibelins*, for ever, and to defend them against all other persons, but with a salvo to the *Longobardic* league. Both parties were to be maintained in the city; and if the one should expel the other, the latter was to be restored by the *Bolognese*, who were to punish the transgressors. The *Modenese* were to have the rights of gathering the fruits of their lands beyond the *Scultenna*, in the same manner as formerly. The *Modenese* were to have the same superiority over *Nouantola*, as they had before that place came under the jurisdiction of the *Bolognese*; but they were not to molest the inhabitants of *Nouantola* for their revolt. The *Bolognese* were to do their endeavours, that the *Modenese* should not be disturbed in the enjoyment of their tithes, fees, and improvements of ground, of which they were debarred by the pope’s bull, for their adherence to *Frederick*. All the ecclesiastical estates which they had lost by the papal bulls, were to be restored to the *Modenese* clergy. All the *Ferrarese* captives, who had been taken in the late battle, or during the siege, were to be set at liberty without ransom, as were all the *Bolognese* prisoners; and the *Modenese* captives were, in like manner, to be set free. The peace was to be ratified by the community and people of *Parma*, *Milan*, and other *Longobardic* states and cities, and, lastly, by the pope himself.”

which is ratified.

THE peace being thus concluded by the plenipotentiaries on both sides, it was solemnly confirmed by their publicly embracing one another. The dispute concerning the property of *Frignano*, which both states claimed, remained still to be adjusted, which it was by the interposition of the *Parmesans*, who favoured the *Modenese*. They proposed, that *Sestola* should be given up to the *Bolognese*, but that the other places of *Frignano* should remain with the *Modenese*; and that if any dispute should hereafter happen on that account, the same should be referred to an umpire, who was to be chosen by the pope. About the middle of *December*, the agents of *Bologna* and *Modena*, in the presence of cardinal *Octavian* and the bishop of *Bologna*, promised, under a certain penalty, to submit to *San Vitelli*, the deputy of *Parma*, and the syndics of the same city, all the dispute between the *Bolognese* and

a and the *Modenese*, concerning the possession of *Frignano*; and this agreement was, within two days, ratified by the common-council of *Modena*, which soon after was freed from the interdict that had been laid upon it by his holiness.

THE family of *Manfredi*, about this time, surprized *Faenza*, through the negligence of the *Bolognese* within, who were punished accordingly; but the *Bolognese* persisted obstinately in their opposition to the emperor; for when *Frederick* heard of his son's captivity, he wrote a letter, filled with menaces against the *Bolognese*, if they did not instantly set him at liberty. They treated his threatnings with great contempt, and they served to render the unhappy prince's fate still more deplorable, by his being more strictly confined than before. In the year 1250, *Ricardo* was podesta of *Bologna*, and cardinal *Ostavian*, who
 b seems then to have had great sway in the direction of public affairs, was very active in extinguishing the remains of family dissensions amongst the citizens. The people of *Parma* had, for some years, been so much distressed by famine, that their city lost a vast number of its inhabitants, who were forced to settle elsewhere; but it was now generously relieved by the *Bolognese*; for though it was on all sides beset with *Gibelin* enemies, who waited to intercept all their convoys of provisions, yet the *Bolognese* not only purchased for their use a large quantity of corn, but escorted it to their territory with their own army, and delivered it to that of the *Parmesans*, which waited to receive it. In the mean time the *Reggians* burnt the suburbs of *Nuova*, and took *Campagniola*, carrying off with them a number of prisoners, and a great booty in cattle. About the same time *Ugo San Vitelli* surprized *Carpi*, a town
 c belonging to the *Modenese*, on the canal of the *Secchia*, by the favour of the archbishop. Upon this the *Modenese* declared war, and obliged the *Carpians* to expel *Ugo*, and both parties within the place to renew their oath of allegiance.

Revolutions in Italy.

THE emperor *Frederick* remained still in *Naples*, and from threatnings he now descended to intreaties and offers for the delivery of his son. It is even said, that he offered for his ransom a circle of gold that should surround the city of *Bologna*. This story, however, carries its own confutation with it: the offer itself was ridiculous, and the *Bolognese*, who knew that emperor's necessities and want of money, must have treated the proposal with contempt. It is certain that the *Bolognese* obstinately refused to depart from their resolution of never giving their royal prisoner his liberty; and that he died under his confinement twenty-two years after. *Frederick* is said to have been busied in making preparations for rescuing his beloved son by force, when he died on the 13th of *December*, this year, in the fifty-seventh year of his age. In the year 1251, while *Boniface*, of *Brescia*, was podesta of *Bologna*, many excellent laws passed, to preserve the inhabitants of the open country of *Bologna* in a due subordination, by instituting amongst them new courts of justice, and appointing proper judges, who were to hold courts certain days in the year, especially on those of their annual fairs.

Death of the emperor Frederick.

WE have, in the history of *Lorence*, treated of the general revolutions which happened in *Italy* after the death of *Frederick II.* Pope *Innocent*, who had for some years resided at *Lions*, under the protection of the *French* king, who revered his character, while he condemned his ambition, no sooner heard of that great event, than he came to *Genoa*, where he was waited upon by deputations from all the cities of the *Longobardic* league; and, amongst the rest, by those of *Modena*, who not only sent their deputies, but their *Bolognese* podesta *Andali*, to pay him their compliments. It soon appeared that their real business was to complain of the *Bolognese* still keeping possession of part of the province of *Frignano*; and in an audience they had of the pope on the 15th of *June*, they requested of his holiness to do them justice in that matter, by injoining the deputies of *Frignano*, who were then present, to return to their ancient allegiance. The pope returned no answer to their complaints, but proceeded to *Milan*, where he took measures for strengthening the league. From thence he went to *Mantua*, and then to *Ferrara*, where he made a solemn
 f harangue to the people, in which he claimed that city as his own property, and exhorted the citizens to unanimity. From *Ferrara* he went to *Bologna*, where he was met without the gates by a solemn procession of the magistrates and citizens, preceded by their standard of state, and followed by great numbers of the other inhabitants. His holiness took up his lodging in the episcopal palace, and his cardinals resided in the houses of the *Prendiparte* and the *Rangone*. Next day he bestowed the signal honour on the city of *Bologna*, of consecrating two new-built churches, one belonging to the *Dominicans*, or preaching friars, the other to the *Franciscans*, or minor friars. Those orders, though but lately instituted, were of signal service to the holy see, and are justly termed its militia. Though both the founders and the institutions of them differed in their manners and doctrines,
 g yet each vied with the other in their zeal for the service of the popes, who politically winked at their differences, that they might increase their devotion to their see. After this consecration, the two founders were chosen by the *Bolognese* to be their tutelar saints, and their members were not only carested in private families, but had a great sway with
 the

Complaints of the Modenese.

The pope's proceedings in Bologna.

the magistrates themselves, who privately consulted with them upon their public measures.

AFTER eight days stay at *Bologna*, the pope having ordered *Boso Douaria*, of *Cremona*, to be delivered from prison, left *Bologna* in some disgust with the citizens, who, presuming on the merit of their services done to the holy see, had garrisoned *Medicina*; and had given his holiness to understand, that they expected he would confirm them in the possession of it. Being arrived at *Perugia*, he wrote a letter to the council and podesta, desiring that the friars penitents, a sort of out-lying brothers, belonging to the two orders of the saints *Dominic* and *Francis*, and not confined within any abbey or religious house, should be exempted from military labours, and all the duties of the field, which was accordingly enacted, upon their names being properly entered in the public registers. This year the *Bolognese* presented their podesta *Boniface*, as a mark of their approbation of his conduct, with the freedom of their city; and he and his family accordingly fixed their residence at *Bologna*.

The Longobardic confederacy renewed.

IN the year 1252, while *Henry Morra* was podesta, cardinal *Ostavian*, the pope's legate, summoned at *Brescia* a meeting of deputies from all the confederate states in *Lombardy*, the *Romagna*, and all the other places of *Italy*, in the pope's interest, and *Henrigetto Castelli* and *Petrizolo Ocelletti*, attended on the part of the *Bolognese*. The purpose of this meeting was to renew the confederacy, and the deputies accordingly swore to the same in express terms. At the same time they agreed to a proposal made by the legate, for raising six hundred men at arms, the expence to be proportionably defrayed by the states and cities of the confederacy. The number to be raised by the *Bolognese* amounted to sixty men at arms; but every man at arms was a gentleman, and of those sixty, forty-three brought three well-mounted horsemen to the field, and each of the remaining seventeen brought two; so that the whole number of horse which the *Bolognese* were to maintain was two hundred and twenty-two, the expence of which amounted annually to four thousand marks of *Bologna*. Those horse were to be under the direction of the pope's legate; and half of them were to be in continual service on one side of the *Po*, and half on the other.

New regulations in Bologna.

ABOUT this time the *Benedictine* monks in the *Mantuan*, brought an action before his holiness against the community of *Bologna*, for having demolished the town of *San Cesario*, the church of which they had received from *Innocent II.* but as this demolition was ordered by the pope's legate, and was then thought to be necessary for the affairs of the confederacy, the pope ordered the monks to drop the prosecution. About the 21st of *July* that same year, it was enacted by the council of *Bologna*, that a podesta and a governor, to be chosen in the same manner as their ordinary magistrates were, should be every six months sent to *Castel Franco*. The method of that choice was, that three electors were chosen by lot out of the council, and those three electors named the magistrates. The same precaution was taken with regard to *Imola*, and other places in the *Bolognese*, with a view probably that those magistrates should not continue long enough in office to form cabals against the state, and to shake off their dependency upon their constituents, as happened in most other parts of *Italy*. The city of *Milan* at this time was torn by domestic factions; and having deposed all their magistrates, they chose for their podesta *Beno Gozani* of *Bologna*, as the *Siennese* did *Bagnolo*, another *Bolognese*, for their general, and he served them with great success against the *Florentines*.

Examples of public justice.

IN the year 1253, during the podestates of *Petro Grilli*, who lived but three months in office, and *Allemanno Torriano*, a confederacy was formed between the *Bolognese* and the people of *Ravenna*, which gave the *Bolognese* great influence in that city; for they were made the guarantees of all its rights and territories, and admitted into all its immunities. Some of the towns having made interest with *Grilli* to be excused from public services, the council of *Bologna* ordered that all such dispensations should thenceforth be void. This year was likewise remarkable for some eminent examples of public justice. *Raineri*, the gonfalonier, and *Peter Asinelli*, a *Bolognese* of great interest, being convicted of having suffered a *German* nobleman, who had been made prisoner along with *Entius*, to escape, the former was punished by death, and the latter by exile, and the estates of both were confiscated. One *Peter Sagino* about the same time confessed, that he had thrown his grandson into a well, where he was drowned, and suffered death by being shut up within a vessel stuck in the inside with iron nails, which was rolled about in the streets till he expired. In the year 1254, *Uberto Uzeni*, of *Milan*, being podesta, a war broke out between the *Cervians* and the *Bolognese*, upon the former refusing to fulfil the salt-contract they had entered into with the latter, to whom it was very beneficial. The *Bolognese* having raised an army, the *Cervians* fled to the *Venetians* for protection, which was readily granted them, and an armament was ordered to be fitted out for that purpose. The *Bolognese*, however, being first in the field, defeated all the intentions of the *Venetians*, and obliged the *Cervians* once more to submit. The latter were now considered by the *Bolognese* as a conquered country, and

- a part of their own dominion, and they sent a podesta to govern them in the same manner as they did to their other towns. Great part of the year was spent in religious processions ; and a law passed, that the podesta should annually, attended by the council, solemnly present wax tapers in the chief churches in *Bologna*. Great sums were likewise expended in repairing and rebuilding churches, and other religious edifices. The city of *Bologna*, at this time, exercised a right of superiority over that of *Modena*, whose two consuls disagreeing between themselves, this year resigned their office. In the year 1255, while *Ricardo Vile* was podesta, the government of *Bologna* underwent a material alteration, by admitting of a popular podesta, who had the cognizance of all affairs relating to the commons, the power of the other podesta being confined to the council or the nobles. Thus the government of *Bologna* was partly aristocratical and partly democratical. This new officer was termed the captain of the people^a, though chosen by the authority of the council. The first nominated was *Giordano Lucio*. *Sigonius*, however^c, is of opinion, that this office was only a renewal of the ancient popular prefect. The podesta had jurisdiction over all the city, and presided in the common councils ; but the captain of the people had the command of the army, presided in the councils of the people, and administered justice at the head of the *Antiani*, of whom he was, in fact, no other than the president.

Alteration in
the Bolognese
government.

- c THE affair of *Frignano* was still in dependence between the *Modenese* and the *Bolognese*, and, by consent of both, at last it was referred to *Giberto de Gente*, the podesta of *Parma*. The 20th of *May* he sent messengers to *Bologna*, to require the podesta *Ricardo*, the *Antiani*, and the council, either to relinquish *Frignano* to the *Modenese*, or to send procurators to *Parma*, properly authorized, and there to stand the award of the podesta. The *Bolognese* did not chuse to comply with this summons, and sent agents to *Modena*, offering to compromise the matter without the intervention of the sentence of a foreign tribunal. The *Modenese*, however, refused to hear any proposal of that kind ; upon which the *Bolognese* sent a deputation, to request the podesta of *Parma* to delay passing sentence. This request was judged to be nugatory ; and the *Parmesan* podesta sent a fresh summons, requiring *Ricardo* and the *Bolognese* to appear before him by their procurators or proxies by a certain day, and to answer to the charge brought by the *Modenese*. Upon this, when the time was almost elapsed, *Ricardo*, and the council of *Bologna*, being afraid that judgement would go against them, commissioned *Bartolomeo Picciolpassi* to repair to *Modena*, and there to apply to the podestas and the council to revoke the arbitration, and to recal their proxies from *Parma*, that the matters in debate might be amicably terminated. He was likewise instructed, if this request should be denied, to insist upon the *Modenese* demolishing their castles on the other side of the *Scultemma*, as had been agreed by treaty. He then was to go to *Parma*, and again to request the podesta and council there, to defer pronouncing sentence, and to appoint a safe place for the *Bolognese* deputies to appear in ; which they did not conceive they could do at *Parma*, because they were in danger of being intercepted by the *Reggians*. The procurator executed his commission with the greatest punctuality at *Modena*, by applying to the podesta, the council of the *Antiani*, and the other tribunals there ; but all was to no purpose. Next day he set out for *Parma*, where he applied to *Giberto* the podesta, who told him that he must deliberate upon the matter ; and, after various trifling adjournments, the *Modenese* insisted upon his pronouncing sentence immediately. *Giberto* rejected the petition of the *Bolognese* for adjourning the place ; and told them, that there was no reason to be afraid of the *Reggians*. The deputy was confounded at this harsh treatment, and demanded, that the podesta should assemble a general and special council, which request was flatly denied him. At last, about the middle of *August*, a general council only being convoked, the proxies of the two cities, *Bologna* and *Modena*, were summoned ; and the *Modenese* only appearing, the podesta pronounced the following sentence : “ We, *Giberto de Gente*, podesta of *Parma*, arbiter between the community of *Bologna* and that of *Modena*, in the dispute concerning *Frignano*, having duly observed the solemnities of law, pronounce that *Frignano*, its inhabitants, towns, places, jurisdictions, belong to the community of *Modena* ; and that, without the smallest exception, they ought to be given up by the community of *Bologna*. We likewise command the said community of *Bologna* to evacuate the same within the space of one month, otherwise they shall pay the penalty expressed in the compromise.”

An arbitration
concerning
Frignano.

- g ABOUT this time the *Manfredi* again got the upper hand at *Faenza*, and were commanded by the *Bolognese* to fill up the ditches of their city. This they complied with ; but on the first of *January*, 1256, *Manfredi Marengo* of *Alessandria* being podesta of the council of *Bologna*, and *Giordano Lucino* captain of the people, the *Faventines* again broke out into tumults,

A. D. 1256.
Affairs of
Romagna.

^a Capitaneus Populi. SIGONIUS, p. 125.

^c SIGONIUS, *ibid*.

which were headed by the counts *Azo* and *Rogerio*, in the town of *Bagnacavalli*. Upon this, *Giordano* summoned a council of the people, where it was debated, whether an army should not immediately be sent against the *Faventines*. This question was carried in the negative; but the people bound themselves by an oath to drive the *Faventines* from *Faenza*, unless they gave up that city, and *Bagnacavalli* likewise, to them that very month; and orders were given, in the mean while, to raise an army, which should be ready to take the field in the spring, in case the *Faventines* should continue to be refractory. This oath was sworn, in the presence of the people, by *Viviano*, their common cryer. That very day *Manfredi* the podesta, held a general and special council upon the same affair; and the question being put, the members came to a resolution to stand by a decree of the people, which was read in both assemblies. This resolution being divulged, the *Bagnacavallians* were so daunted, that, on the 23th of *January*, they sent a deputy to *Bologna* with a formal surrender of the town to the podesta, and the captain of the people there. Upon this the *Bolognese* received *Bagnacavalli* into their protection and government, assigning it a podesta and a garrison, with free access to the magistracy and council of *Bologna*, as often as they should have occasion to apply, either for their better government, or redress of their grievances. On the 1st of *February*, *Manfredi* again assembled a general and special council, which ratified all that had been done by the people in the affair of *Bagnacavalli*, so far as was consistent with the laws of the state, and the oath of the podesta. In the same month, the captain of the people made his report of the manner of government of the *Bagnacavallians*. It was agreed, that twelve pieces of paper, distinguished by a certain mark, should be put into a balloting-box, with as many other pieces of paper as (including the twelve) there were members of the council, the *Antiani*, consuls, and prefects; that every one of them should draw a piece of paper, and they who drew the twelve marked pieces were to be the electors of the podesta of *Bagnacavalli*; but the whole proceeding was to be under the controul of the general and special council of *Bologna*; but still with a salvo to the laws of the state.

Method of
electing mag-
istrates.

Letter of the
Faventines to
the Bolognese,

In the mean while, the *Faventines*, being distracted with civil animosities, on the 25th of *February*, wrote the following letter to the magistracy of *Bologna*. “To the podesta, the captain of the people, the *Antiani*, the consuls of the city of *Bologna*, the council and community of *Bologna*, *William Goso*, the podesta, and *Rainerio Liadari*, the captain of the people of *Faenza*, their council and community, with public prosperity. Relying upon your power and wisdom, and considering you as our lords, we fly to you, at a time when one part of our city rages for the destruction of the other part, and seems prepared to reduce our state to total destruction; begging of you, as being our fathers and masters, to give us assistance, and to relieve the city of *Faenza*, which is your own. You may be assured, that we are fully intentioned to obey whatever you shall command, and we beg you to receive this city into your protection and subjection; which if you shall delay to do, we are utterly undone.”

This very extraordinary letter created some difficulties in *Bologna*, and a demur was made about answering it; so that no army was directly ordered to march for *Faenza*. This gave an opportunity for the *Manfredi* to expel the *Acarisii* and the podesta *Goso* out of *Faenza*; while *Rogerio* made himself master of *Bagnacavalli*, by which it was secured to the *Bolognese*. About the middle of *March*, *Odorico Abaluffi*, upon whom the podestate of *Bagnacavalli* had fallen, received that town into the protection of the podesta, and the general and special council of *Bologna*, together with a power of exercising jurisdiction there, equally as at *Bologna*, in public and private causes, and in commanding armies and expeditions, in the same manner as the community of *Bologna* did within their own territory.

complied with.

BONACURSIO of *Milan*, succeeding *Giordano* as captain of the people of *Bologna*; and, during his podestate, on the 28th of *March*, an ambassador came from *Azo*, marquis of *Este*, demanding a great council to be called, which was accordingly very formally complied with. The ambassador, being introduced into it, made vast professions of his master's affection towards the *Bolognese*; but insisted upon some immediate resolution being taken concerning *Faenza*, and that an ultimate settlement should be made of that state. This proposition was far from being agreeable to the *Bolognese*, who voted, not to depart from their ordinary forms of public proceeding; but to take the *Faventines* under their protection, if they should voluntarily submit themselves, if it seemed proper to the general council, the *Antiani*, and the consuls. This message from the marquis of *Este* seems to have been designed to weaken the power of the nobility in *Bologna*, by taking from them the privilege of judging in the last resort, by throwing the same into the scale of popular power. When the resolution of the *Bolognese* was known at *Faenza*, and *Bagnacavalli*, the councils

- a cils of both places appointed one *Beltali*, a lawyer, to be their procurator, for submitting to *Bonacursio* all complaints of injuries, breaches of the peace, losses, and damages between *Manfredi* and the community of *Faenza*, on the one part; and *Acarisio* on the other; and for delivering up the possession of the city of *Faenza* to the said captain of the people, who was to be lord thereof. The said captain was likewise to take cognizance of all differences between the marquis of *Este* and *Manfredi*, and their friends, on the one part; and the counts *Rogério* and *Acarisio*, and their party on the other. In the beginning of *April*, a decree passed, that the captain of the people should raise such an army, and appoint such officers as he pleased, for reducing the *Faentine* outlaws; and all those
- b measures were confirmed in the council of *Faenza*, as well as *Bologna*. *Bonacursio* then set out for *Faenza*; but upon his journey he was met by two deputies from the *Faentine* outlaws, who intirely submitted themselves to his government, and that of the people and community of *Bologna*. The like submission was made by count *Rogério*, on the part of the *Bagnacavallians*; and, on the 16th of *March*, *Bonacursio* held a general council at *Faenza*, where it was voted, that he should have the power of that city and state transferred to him; and that he might inflict what penalty he pleased upon the subjects. This was straining matters very far; and nothing but the most abject despair, through civil dissention, could have brought the *Faentines* to submit to it. *Bonacursio* soon entered on the exercise
- c of his power, by enacting what laws, and proscribing what persons, he pleased; and appointed *Conrade* of *Sutri* to be the podesta of *Faenza*. *Conrade*, on the 15th of *May*, repaired to *Bologna*, where he took an oath of fidelity, upon the standard of state, in the following words: "In honour of God and the holy church, and the community of *Bologna*, I, *Conrade* of *Sutri*, podesta of *Faenza*, swear that I will govern the said city to the 1st of *March* ensuing, with good faith, to the honour and advantage of the community and people of *Bologna* and *Faenza*, and according to the pleasure of the podesta and captain of *Bologna*; and that I will obey their orders." *Bonacursio* then proceeded to settle the affairs in difference between the community of *Faenza* and *Goso*, their late podesta; and pronounced, that the community of *Faenza* should pay him, by way of indemnification,
- d sixteen hundred marks of *Ravenna*.

Prosperity of Bologna.

- THE *Bolognese* now began to think themselves the umpires of all their neighbours; and some differences happening between the people of *Forli* and *Forim Popoli*, the podesta and captain of *Bologna* summoned the podestas of both those cities to appear before them, and to make up all their differences, without farther breach of the public peace. Both parties submitted to this demand, and named procurators, who were to abide by the decision of the people and magistracy of *Bologna*, and who were to take an oath for that purpose. The procurators being arrived at *Bologna*, they swore upon the standard of state, in the names of their cities, that they would be obedient to whatever award the *Bolognese* should decree, under the penalty of fifty marks of silver. About the end of *August*, sentence was pronounced by *Manfredi* the podesta of *Bologna*, and *Bonacursio* the captain of the people, in their own names, and that of the other magistrates, that the city of *Forli* should be at peace within itself; and that, if one party should invade the other, the aggressor should make good all damages that should be awarded by the community of *Bologna*; and that the community of *Forli* should make no war but by consent of the community of *Bologna*. It was likewise agreed, that the people of *Bologna* should have free access to and commerce with the citizens of *Forli*; that they were to have the same friends and enemies; but the *Forlivians*, in all respects, were to be obedient to the *Bolognese*, and to receive every year a podesta and a captain from *Bologna*; and that the said law should not be altered in the smallest respect, without the consent of the people of *Bologna*.

New regulations there.

- f THE same agreement was made with the *Forim Popolians*; and a law passed, that the treaties which had been concluded with the *Imolese*, the *Faentines*, the *Forlivians*, the *Forim Popolians*, and the *Cervians*, should every year be faithfully ingrossed, and entered into the public registers. The law which had been made in other *Italian* states, giving peasants the liberty of the city, had so good an effect, that *Bonacursio*, the podesta, was this year encouraged to propose another of the same kind. He accordingly, about the 24th of *June*, summoned together the *Antiani*, the consuls, the masters of arts and arms, with all the members both of the great and lesser council; and made a motion, that all the men and women slaves (they seem to be in a station somewhat resembling that of the ancient *English* villainage) might repair to the community and people of *Bologna*, so that they might be
- g free inhabitants both of the city and the country. This motion being agreed to, another was made, and carried, that every person who had men or women slaves should bring them before the podesta and captain of the people, who were to have the option of purchasing them. It was further enacted, that the price to be paid for each, should be settled by those

The slaves manumitted.

two magistrates; and that every man or woman slave so purchased, should be enrolled in the tribe of the *Fumanti*. This matter being agreed on, another general council was summoned on the 23d of *August*, where the podesta and the captain declared, that the price to be paid for all slaves, at or above the age of fourteen, should be ten marks each, and eight marks for those who were under that age; that the said money should be paid to their masters at three different payments; that the slaves thus freed should be enrolled as above, and subject to public duties, as free citizens. *Sigonius* acquaints us, that in his time the names of all slaves thus enrolled were still to be read in the public registers. Though this must be acknowledged to have been a very public-spirited measure, and must have greatly added to the strength of the state, yet it was a severe blow upon the nobility, and could not fail of laying the land-holders under great difficulties: add to this, that some of the free peasants had reason for complaining, that they had been obliged to purchase with money the same privileges that their slaves had received for nothing.

The Bolognese threatened by the pope.

THE arbitration that had been pronounced by *Giberto*, podesta of *Parma*, against the *Bolognese* in the affair of *Frignano*, had never yet been executed by them; and the *Modenese* at this time plied the pope with daily solicitations that he would confirm the award. His holiness, therefore, issued his bull, directed to the bishop of *Mantua*, acquainting him of the complaint of the podesta and community of *Modena*, together with the contumacy of the *Bolognese*; and requiring him, that, without further appeal, he should compel the *Bolognese* to fulfil the terms of the award, under the penalty expressed in the agreement; but that he should not lay the university of *Bologna* under any ecclesiastical censure, without an express order from him for that purpose. This year the Friars Penitent, which now began to make a considerable figure, were received and entertained in *Bologna*; and the magistrates and people there shewed themselves very generous in relieving the wants of the *Florentines*, the *Lucquese*, and other *Tuscan* states, which were pressed with famine.

The regulations ratified.

IN the year 1267, *Bonacursio* of *Sutri* was podesta, and *Gregorio Freddo* captain of the people. In a special general council held in *March*, the affair between the *Bolognese* and *Bagnacavallians*, concerning their reciprocal indemnification, and the subjection of the latter to the former was resumed, and *Bonacursio* pronounced sentence, that each people should thenceforth consult the good and the interest of the other; that they should have the same friends and enemies; that the *Bagnacavallians* should have in readiness the arms and horses they were to furnish as long as the *Bolognese* should think proper; that they were not to open their ditches without consent of the people of *Bologna*; that they were to have a free trade every-where, but that they should not dispose of their corn to any but to the *Bolognese*. In *June*, this year, a public law passed, which appears to be not a little arbitrary with regard to the peasants who had purchased their freedom, and which obliged them to furnish the public every year with a certain quantity of corn. Podestas were at the same time appointed for receiving this tax; and they were named podestas of the sack. This law, with others enacted at the same time, were solemnly promulgated in a council of the people regularly summoned.

Public works completed.

NOTWITHSTANDING the pope's bull, directed to the bishop of *Mantua*, the *Modenese* had as yet received no satisfaction in the matter of *Frignano*. For this reason they applied to the states of the *Longobardic* league; and they interested themselves so far in their favour, that the *Milanese*, the *Brescians*, the *Mantuan*s, the *Ferrarese*, the *Parmesans*, and the *Reggians*, named their deputies, who attended the podesta and deputies of *Modena* to *Bologna*. They had their audience in a general council; but though the suit of the *Modenese* was there very strongly pressed, they could obtain no satisfactory answer. This year the *Bolognese* completed several noble public works. They built a magnificent bridge over the *Reno*, near the antient *Æmilian* way, and appropriated a large estate for keeping it in repair. The suburbs of the city being now very spacious, the walls and gates of the antient city were taken down, and all was enclosed within one wall. The *Bolognese* were at this time in such high reputation, that the cities of *Genoa*, *Milan*, *Perugia*, and *Modena*, chose their podestas out of *Bologna*. *Alberto Malavolta* was the podesta of *Genoa*; but soon after, entering on his magistracy, he resigned it, because the popular faction at *Genoa* imposed upon him a colleague, a native of their own state. *Reno Gozano* was podesta of *Milan*; but was publicly put to death, for not being able to give a satisfactory account of the public money.

THIS year the *Imolese* fell off from their friendship with the *Bolognese*, and seized upon *Monte Catino* by surprize; but the *Bolognese* soon retook it by force of arms. Some difficulties remained with regard to the late regulations, which *Alberto* the bishop of *Bologna* at first refused to ratify; but at last he was persuaded to do it, with a salvo to his episcopal right, and those of his churches. *Sigonius* is of opinion, that the affairs of the *Bolognese*

a were now in so flourishing a way, that the two famous horse races, which are still continued at *Bologna*, were instituted about this time; the first being celebrated on the festival of *St. Peter*, the other on that of *St. Bartholomew*; the victor in the former was rewarded by a scarlet robe, and in the other by a palfrey and a hawk. At this period the history of *Bologna*, by *Sigonius*, concludes; and it has from henceforth little or nothing that does not fall within the history of the other *Italian* states. and races instituted.

WE shall, however, for the sake of order, endeavour to give the reader a general idea of it. The differences between the *Lambertazzi* and the *Jeremies* raged to such a degree in *Bologna*, that no fewer than fifteen thousand of the former were driven out of the city.

b This diminution of inhabitants, with the civil dissensions that reigned amongst the prevailing party itself, reduced the *Bolognese* so low, that, in the year 1324, they applied to pope *John XXII.* for protection and relief. His holiness sent them a cardinal legate, who bridled them with the citadel of *Galeria*, and exercised the most inhuman cruelties upon them, by murdering or banishing all who were not in his interest; so that in the year 1334 the *Bolognese* drove him out of their city, and resumed their ancient form of government. Being apprehensive, however, of the legate's return, they chose *Taddeo Pepoli* for their governor; and he obtained a confirmation of his power from *Benedict XII.* who was satisfied with that recognition of his sovereignty. *Pepoli* held his power for about twelve

c years, and left it to his two sons, *John* and *James*, who, not possessing their father's abilities, sold their government to *John Visconti*, archbishop of *Milan*, who built a new citadel, in which he placed one *John* of *Oliggio* as its governor. This *Oliggio* proved a cruel tyrant; and about the year 1360 the *Bolognese* returned to the subjection of *Egidio Carillo*, legate to pope *Innocent VI.* This prelate ruled with great moderation; but he was succeeded by another legate, who proved a tyrant, and alienated the *Bolognese* territory, so as to reduce it to less than one half of its original revenue. The *Bolognese*, tired with his government, again revolted, and put themselves under a gonfalonier; sixteen antiani, and twelve tribunes. At the same time they fortified their city, and recovered the rights and possessions they had lost; but in process of time they fell under the power of *Bentivoglio*, who

d is said to have been a descendant of king *Encio*, who died in the prison of *Bologna*. Upon his being murdered, two years after, the citadel was again demolished; and *Galeazzo Visconti* claimed the possession of *Bologna*, in right of the grant which had been made to the archbishop. They soon grew tired of his government, and they again put themselves under the protection of the pope. *Innocent VII.* named the famous *Balthazar Cossa*, who was himself afterwards pope *John XXIII.* legate of *Bologna*, and he immediately rebuilt the citadel of *Galeria*. Six years after, this legate likewise was driven out, the citadel was again demolished, and the people instituted a new form of government, from which the nobles were excluded. In the year 1412 the nobles again prevailed; and pope *John XXIII.* arriving at *Bologna*, persuaded the *Bolognese* to return to his allegiance. Next year the

e exiles, who had been driven out under the late revolutions, displaced the pope's governor, and again demolished the citadel; but about the year 1420 they subjected themselves to *Martin V.* upon condition that the citadel never should be rebuilt, and that the people should have the choice of their own magistrates. *Martin*, who was a pontiff of great spirit, disliked those conditions; and his legate drove six score of the principal inhabitants out of *Bologna*, amongst whom was *Antonio Galeazzo Bentivoglio*. Those exiles, however, at last prevailed against the legate, imprisoned him, and chose a new set of magistrates. Upon reflection, it was found that the papal government was preferable to any other; and in the year 1429 they received a new legate, who did not continue long in office. In the year 1434 pope *Eugene IV.* sent them for their legate his nephew, *Marc Condulmiere*, who

f took so great state upon him, that he treated with *Gattamala Malatesta* to introduce foreign troops, and to make himself sovereign. His design was suspected by the *Bolognese*, and he was expelled the city; so that they once more returned to their former government. *Eugene*, however, in the year 1437, reduced them to their duty; but his legates behaved so ill, that the *Bolognese* put themselves under the protection of the famous *Nicholas Picinino*. He likewise, aspiring to sovereign power, rebuilt the odious citadel, changed the magistracy, and, partly by force, partly through persuasion, he had almost made himself absolute; when the people, resuming their spirit, drew *Annibal Bentivoglio*, whose father had been put to death by one of the legates, out of prison, and put in his place *Francis Picinino*, the son of *Nicholas*, who had been left by his father to govern them. Again the

g citadel was demolished; but *Bentivoglio* was himself murdered in 1445. The reader, in the history of *Florence*, will see the surprising revolution which happened after his death.

In the year 1507, that warlike pontiff, *Julius II.* drove the *Bentivoglios* out of *Bologna*, and established a new form of government under his own and forty hereditary senators,

and the citadel was again rebuilt. The *Bolognese* could not endure the sight of that hated monument of their subjection, and they recalled the *Bentivoglio* family in the year 1511, who put themselves under the protection of *Lewis XII.* of *France*; but his party declining in *Italy*, the *Bentivoglios* were obliged to retire from *Bologna*.

In the year 1515, pope *Leo X.* re-established the council of forty senators, and renewed the government of the legate. Ever since that time the *Bolognese* are to be considered as part of the pope's dominions; but they have the vanity still to boast of some remains of their ancient liberty, particularly the privilege of not being bridled with a citadel.

E N D of the HISTORY of BOLOGNA.

The HISTORY of PARMA and PIACENZA, or PLACENTIA.

S E C T. I.

Containing the general description of Parma and Piacenza ; with the history of the same from the year 1038 to 1309.

THOSE duchies have been always united. Towards the North and West they border upon the *Milanese*; towards the South, on the territories of *Genoa*; and Eastward, on the duchy of *Modena*. The extent of both is but small, being from West to East no more than about fifty-six *English* miles in extent, and about forty-four from North to South. The soil of both duchies is extremely fertile. The pastures and cattle are fine. Salt works and minerals every-where abound; and in some places, particularly towards the *Appennines*, or Highlands, mines of copper and iron have been discovered. The revenues of the two duchies amount to about one hundred thousand pounds sterling a year. *Parma* itself is a large and well peopled city, and divided by a river of the same name. Its citadel is strong, though the city itself is weak. The ducal palace stands on the south side of the river, and has a communication by a bridge with the citadel. The greatest curiosity in *Parma* at present is its noble playhouse, which is built in the form of a *Roman* amphitheatre. Its churches are spacious and arched; and it has an university, together with an academy for the nobility, under the direction of the Jesuits. Its chief manufactures consist of silk, which is fabricated into stockings; and the dukedom of *Parma* is famous for containing *Castello Guelfo*, which lies on the river *Taro*, and is said to have given name to the party of the *Guelfs*.

*Description of
Parma and
Piacenza.*

THE city of *Piacenza*, or *Placentia*, disputes with *Parma* itself the pre-eminence in point of rank. It is most delightfully situated near the *Po*; and the church of the *Augustines* in it, is of the architecture of the famous *Vignola*. Both cities contain within them a great number of other curiosities; and each has several towns dependent on itself.

THE cities of *Parma* and *Placentia*, so far as we can trace history, formed part of the *Roman* empire; and its modern history commences from the year 1038, when it was burnt down by *Conrade*, a *Longobardic* prince. The like calamity befel it about the year 1055. Nothing remarkable is recorded of *Parma* for several years after; but, according to its chronicle, it suffered many vicissitudes of earthquakes and other public calamities; and in the year 1121, the people of *Parma* defeated those of *Cremona*, and made one thousand three hundred of them prisoners. Soon after they had a war with the *Placentines*, whom they defeated; and in the year 1152, they invaded and subdued the *Reggians*; as next year they did the *Cremonese* and *Placentines*, and took their strong fortrefs of *Guastalla*. In 1167, the *Placentines*, *Cremonese*, *Brescians*, and *Mantuan*s, were confederated against *Parma*; but were defeated; and for some years after *Parma* and *Placentia* followed the fate of the other cities of *Italy*, as the popes or the emperors prevailed. In the year 1180, the city of *Parma* suffered a great deal by an inundation; and about the same time we find, that, like the other *Longobardic* states, the *Parmesans* so far recovered their liberties, that they were governed by podestas and magistrates of their own. The first podesta we meet with, was *Niger Grasso* of *Milan*; and he held his office for three years. This magistrate, however, was only occasional; for the constant course of justice and government in the city was administered by consuls. In the year 1182, the *Parmesans* were at war with the *Reggians*, whom they defeated, and brought many of them prisoners to *Parma*. From that year to 1199, we know little or nothing of the history of *Parma*, but the names of the podestas and chief magistrates, which can convey no information to the reader. In the last-mentioned year, we find the *Parmesans* in a confederacy with the *Cremonese*, the *Reggians*, and the *Modenese*, against the *Placentines*, the *Milanese*, the *Brescians*, and many of the neighbouring people,

Their history.

people, who besieged *Borgo di San Domino* ; but were defeated by the *Parmesans* and their associates. For some years after this, nothing remarkable occurs in the history of *Parma*, but what is to be found blended with those of the other *Italian* states. In the year 1216, when *Isaac Dovaria* of *Cremona* was *podesta* of *Parma*, the *Parmesans* defeated the *Placentines* at *Ponte Nura*, and made an inroad as far as *Montale*, where another action happened to the advantage of the *Parmesans*. Two years after they defeated the *Pavians* and the *Placentines* ; and in the year 1221, they built a magnificent town-house. We have, in the history of *Bologna*, given an account of the *Bolognese* being defeated by the *Parmesans* near *Bazano*, in the year 1228 ; in which year they entered into a confederacy with the *Florentines*. Next year they again defeated the *Bolognese*, and took their standard of state. In the years 1230 and 1231, the *Parmesans* had wars with the *Malaspini* of *Pontremoli*, in which they had the advantage. Two years after friar *Cornetti*, of the new order of preaching friars, was admitted with great pomp into *Parma*, and composed all the intestine differences in that city. Next year, while *Rainerio* of *Monte Marlo* was *podesta* of *Parma*, a war broke out between the *Parmesans*, the *Cremonese*, and the *Pavians*, on the one side ; and the *Placentines*, *Milanese*, and *Brescians*, on the other ; and a drawn battle ensued ; but the difference at last ended in a truce. In the year 1236, the people of *Parma* sided with the emperor *Frederick II.* against the *Milanese*, the *Brescians*, the *Bolognese*, and the *Mantuan*s, and obtained many advantages over the *Longobardic* confederacy. This year is remarkable for the punishment of an ecclesiastic, who had been guilty of murder, and who, being divested of his clerical habit and character, was boiled alive in a cauldron in the open street of *Parma*. The subsequent successes of that emperor, which have been mentioned in other parts of this work, were in a great degree owing to the *Parmesans*. In the year 1239, *Parma* seems to have been entirely under the imperial jurisdiction, and was governed by *Simon*, a *Neapolitan* count, as the emperor's *podesta*. This year they defeated the *Bolognese* at *Vignola*, and took *Plumati* and *Crevacori*, with a great number of the *Bolognese*. In the year 1241, a peace was made between the *Parmesans* and the *Bolognese* ; but next year domestic dissensions broke out in *Parma*, and were with difficulty quieted by the emperor's authority, who, to ingratiate himself with the *Parmesans*, ordered the fortifications of *Pontremoli* to be demolished ; upon which occasion a cessation of arms took place between the inhabitants of *Pontremoli* and *Parma*. In 1244, *Guido Maritini* was *podesta* of *Parma* for the emperor ; but in his magistracy the people began to be uneasy under the imperial yoke, and plundered the house of *Henrico Vaghi* ; for which offence *Ugo de Santo Vitale*, the president of the merchants, was deposed and fined in four marks of *Parma* ; and the community was bound to make every thing good to *Vaghi*. This severity, however, was far from quieting the people ; and the imperial interest seems, for some time, to have lost ground at *Parma*. In the year 1245, the *Lupi*, the *Corregii*, and the *Rubei*, and several other *Guelph* families, were driven out of *Parma* to *Piacenza* by the imperial faction, who likewise seized the episcopal palace, and appropriated to themselves all the revenues of the church ; and punished, with the loss of a hand and a foot, all who brought any papal bulls or letters into the city. The reader has already, in the history of *Bologna*, seen the great revolution which happened to the imperial interest by this impolitic cruelty, and in what manner *Frederick* first lost *Parma*, and how he was obliged to abandon the siege of it. In the year 1248, the *Parmesan Guelphs* were defeated by those of the opposite faction, who were then exiles ; and *Bernard Rubei*, one of the leaders of the *Guelphs*, being taken prisoner, was put to death ; on which account the *Guelphs* executed four of the principal *Gibelins*, who were imprisoned in *Parma*. This brought on cruel reprisals on the part of the emperor ; so that no quarter was given for some time on either side. This year all communication was stopt between *Parma* and *Mantua*. Nothing remarkable happened at *Parma*, but what has been already mentioned in the history of *Bologna*, till the year 1250, when the *Guelph Parmesans* were again defeated by the *Gibelin* exiles ; but they afterwards obliged *Alverio*, the imperial general, to raise the siege of *Bazano*. This year was fatal to *Parma*, by a number of fires that happened in the city, which burnt down three hundred and seventy-three houses. Next year the *Cremonese Gibelins* took *Brixello*, and carried the garrison prisoners to *Cremona*. In the year 1252, *Montelongo*, the papal legate and general, at the head of an army of *Parmesans* and *Placentines*, marched to the relief of the castle of *Mendano*, which was besieged by the *Gibelin Cremonese* and *Parmesans*, under *Uberto Palavicini*, and obliged them to raise the siege. After which *Montelongo* took *Castel Bercito* by capitulation, the garrison being suffered to march with their arms to *Borgo di San Domino* ; and in like manner he reduced *Castel Miari*.

THE death of the emperor *Frederick II.* somewhat abated the cruelties exercised by the two parties, the *Guelphs* and the *Gibelins*, upon each other ; and in the year 1253, a nobleman, one *Giberto de Gente*, being made *podesta* of *Parma* for six years, found means at last to

Cruelty of the
emperor Frederick,

also dies.

- a to effect a reconciliation. A mutual amnesty passed on both sides, and all prisoners were released. It is remarkable, however, that few on either side survived the cruelties of the prisons in which they were shut up; for no more than three hundred and eighteen *Ghibelline* *Parmesans* returned alive to that city, out of some thousands who had been made prisoners. This year likewise the salary of the podesta was settled; but the undetermined denominations of money, at that time, renders it difficult to ascertain the sum (A). By the nearest computation we can make, it amounted to above one thousand two hundred pounds sterling a year, which is equal to about two thousand imperial marks. This *Ghiberto*, however, by a long possession of power, degenerated at last into a tyrant, and seized on all the revenues both of the church and state; so that the *Parmesans*, for some years, made very little figure. In the year 1257, *Uberto Palavicini* made himself master of *Piacenza* and *Parva*. Next year all *Italy*, *Parma* especially, was afflicted with famine, which obliged the podesta to be very severe against ingrossers of corn and victuals of all kinds. He is, however, accused of great partiality towards the *Gibelins*, and for suffering none of that faction to be punished for the death of a *Guelph*. In the year 1259, the city of *Brescia* was surprised by *Isilino Romano*, and *Uberto Palavicini*, who afterwards quarrelled and fought. *Palavicini* was conqueror, and carried *Isilino* in chains with him to *Cremona*. *Palavicini* then attempted to become master of *Parma*; but though he was disappointed in his ambition, he had sufficient interest to remove *Ghiberto* from the podestate, after he had enjoyed it six years and six months. The year 1260 was remarkable for the good disposition which the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins* all over *Italy* manifested towards a reconciliation, and which had been long opposed by the late podesta. *Palavicini* affected to be very active in promoting this reconciliation all over *Lombardy*. The people of *Reggio* and *Modena* paid a formal visit to those of *Parma*; and nothing was any where seen but religious processions, on account of this new pacification. Those in *Parma* were headed by the podesta *Franzelsa*, a *Pistoian*, who disciplined himself in public with a whip, his example being followed by the rest of the people. *Palavicini*, however, thought that the spirit of reconciliation ran too favourable for the *Guelphs*; and neither he nor the *Cremonese* encouraged it. In the year 1263, the animosities between the two parties broke out with fresh fury, through the intrigues of *Palavicini*, whose faction was very strong in *Parma*. At last an accommodation being proposed, it was agreed, that the *Parmesans* should always stand by and assist *Palavicini* and his heirs, and pay him every year one thousand imperial marks. He on his part agreed, never to come to *Parma*, without the consent and good liking of the inhabitants. The truth is, fear seems to have been more prevalent than any other motive in bringing about this accommodation; and it is remarked, that *Palavicini*'s friends embezzled his salary, so that he never enjoyed any part of it. This year the city of *Parma* was put under an interdict by pope *Urban*; and next year, when the marquis of *Este*, and count *St. Boniface*, marched to the assistance of the *Modenese Guelphs*, the *Parmesans* apprehending that their city might be surprised, put themselves under arms for a whole week, and kept watch and ward under the command of four of their chief citizens. The *Guelphs* being defeated, *Baldichini* the imperial general attacked the *Guelphs* of *Parma*; but was himself driven out of the city. After this *Manfredi* and *Matteo de Gorzano* were chosen joint podestas of *Parma*, as *Giberto de Gente* and *James Tavernier* were the next year, the former a *Gibelin*, the latter a *Guelph*; so that matters continued quiet there for some time, both parties solemnly swearing, on the high altar of the great church, to maintain the peace. In the year 1266, towards the end of *March*, the public dissensions were again renewed; and both parties taking arms, the imperialists were entirely driven out of *Parma*; and the houses of the chief amongst them being set on fire, the flames spread so as to endanger the whole city. Those disorders continued with vast fury for three days, *Palavicini* again endeavouring, but in vain, to recover his influence in *Parma*. At last both parties, by tacit consent, suspended their hostilities; and a new set of magistrates, composed of the heads of the people, took upon them the government; though it does not appear that the podestate had been formally abrogated. In *August* this year, the *Gibelin* faction surprised *Colorno*, a town in the neighbourhood of *Parma*, and made the garrison prisoners; but in a few days, the people of *Parma* being joined by a party of the *Reggians*, and another of the *Modenese*, who being tired with their long march, were left in garrison at *Parma*, marched out under the command of their podesta *Albizi*; and retaking *Colorno*, they burnt it to the ground, after putting to death such of the citizens and garrison as they thought to be in the imperial interest. After this the *Parmesan* army marched to *Monte Palerio*; but the season was so bitter, that they could not besiege it. Upon their return, however, they came up with a detachment of *Palavicini*'s army, whom

to be surprised by Parma.

Guelphs prevail.

Uberto Romano a Roman conqueror.

An agreement with Palavicini.

Dissensions in Parma.

Conquests of the Parmesans

(A) *Salarium vero primum dicti podestatis fuit librarum quingentarum quinque millium Impericium* (1).

(1) *Chronicon. Parmense ad Ann. 1253.*

they defeated at *Viareni*, and reduced the castles of *Soragno* and *Nuceto*, with several other places of less importance to the power of the church. This weakened *Palavicini* so much, that his rival *Boccio Docaria* drove him out of *Cremona* itself, and obliged him to take refuge in *Borgo di San Domino*. Next year *Alberto de Fontana*, a *Placentine*, being podesta of *Parma*, the *Parmesans* undertook the siege of *Borgo di San Domino*, which appears to have been part of *Palavicini*'s private fortune. While they with their associates of *Modena* and *Reggio* were pressing this siege, they had intelligence that *Boccio* had attempted to expel the pope's legate from *Cremona*, because he was endeavouring to reconcile the two parties. Upon this they abandoned the siege, and marched directly to *Cremona*, from whence they expelled *Boccio*'s party, and demolished their houses. After that they took and demolished the castle of *Monte Palerio*, which they took and razed to the ground, hanging up all the garrison excepting three noblemen, whom they beheaded. The garrison of *Borgi di San Domino* surprised the castle of *Medixano* by a stratagem. The *Parmesans*, on the other hand, took and demolished *Castel de Parola*, belonging to *Palavicini*, and hanged thirty-six of the garrison, but beheaded their officers. They likewise destroyed several other castles belonging to the same leader; and the war in those parts was carried on with the utmost barbarity and rancour.

Borgo San
Domino taken

and demolished.

Divisions in
Parma,

In the year 1268, *Roberto de Roberti*, podesta of *Parma*, besieged *Borgo di San Domino*, with an army which is said to have amounted to thirty thousand men. But if this number is not mistaken, it must have chiefly been composed of *French*, which about this time marched to the assistance of *Charles of Anjou* king of *Naples*, whose party was very powerful in *Parma*. While this siege was carrying on, the wife of *Charles of Anjou* came to *Parma*, where she was received with great honour; and soon after, on the twenty-first of October, *Borgo di San Domino* was surrendered by capitulation to the community of *Bologna*, an accommodation at the same time taking place between the *Parmesan Guelphs* and *Gibelins*. It is observed, that when this pacification was proclaimed and ratified at *Parma*, the croud was so great in the town-house, that many persons were trod to death. In November the podesta and captain of the people went to *Borgo di San Domino*, under pretence of building a fortress, which had been mentioned in the capitulation; but in reality to remove from thence *Uberto Palavicini*, which they did, and appointed *Adegherio de Henzola* to act as their podesta in the place. While the podesta and captain of *Parma* deliberated upon building the fort, and upon seizing into their own hands the town and castle, the podesta, and some of the chief inhabitants of *Borgo di San Domino*, repaired to the church, where the *Parmesan* podesta and deputies were assembled, and there made a formal surrender of the keys of their town and castle to the *Parmesans*, waving all the terms of the capitulation, and submitting without reserve to be subjects of *Parma*. This act was not unusual in those days, because the condition of towns bridled by garrisons was the most deplorable of all others; and the inhabitants of the *Borgo*, as the price of their submission, required only that no fort should be built over them. The *Parmesans*, after mature deliberation, reflecting, as they pretended, that *Borgo* had been always a bone of contention between them and their neighbours, came to a resolution to demolish all the fortifications. This resolution was ratified and carried into execution by the community of *Parma*, who made a law, that the said place never should be refortified, and strengthened it with severe pains and penalties. We have given this event, as it is recorded in the chronicle of *Parma*; but there is great room for suspecting, that the proceedings of the *Parmesans* on this occasion, were not quite void of art, if not treachery. As to *Palavicini*, who seems to have had the greatest reason to complain, he died soon after overwhelmed with trouble.

In the year 1269, the civil commotions of *Parma* were renewed, and continued all that and the next year; but they afford little or nothing for history to record, only that in the year 1270, the house of *Giberto de Gente* was plundered and destroyed. In the year 1271, *Philip* king of *France* came to *Parma*, on the first of April, and generously laid out a sum of money to repair some damages which the town of *Colorno* had suffered from his subjects. This year the *Placentines* supplied *Parma*, which was distressed by famine, with corn by land and water. The *Cremonese* likewise gave the *Parmesans* leave to supply themselves from their territory. Towards the middle of the same year, the *Parmesans* besieged the castle of *Corvaria*, a district of *Reggio*, which was held out by some of the *Gibelin* exiles; and having taken it, they razed it to the ground, by the advice of the bishop of *Parma*. In the year 1273, a difference broke out between *Simon Donati*, the podesta of *Parma*, and *Uberto*, which ended in the death and banishment of many of *Uberto*'s friends. The same year the *Parmesans*, at a great expence, built two ships, for the convenience probably of supplying their city with provisions; but they proved unserviceable. Next year the podesta and army of the city of *Parma*, with some *Reggian*, *Cremonese*, and *Modense* troops, marched to the assistance of the *Guelphs* of *Bologna*, as far as *Reno*, where they endeavoured to accommodate matters; but with so little success, that after they had returned to *Parma*, they

- a they were again summoned to the assistance of their *Bolognese* friends ; and a desperate war ensued between the *Geremei*, for so the *Bolognese Guelphs* were called, and the *Lambertazzi*, which was the denomination of the *Gibelins*: the former, however, prevailed, and delivered their friends out of the prisons, which they filled with their enemies. The rest of the services done on this occasion by the *Parmesans* to the *Bolognese*, are mentioned in the history of the latter. In the year 1275, the *Parmesans* again marched to the assistance of their *Bolognese* friends, who on that occasion were defeated and lost their standard of state. That year the city of *Parma* had the honour of a visit from pope Gregory X. and the community, in a public assembly, swore allegiance to his holiness, and to the emperor *Rodolph*. *which assists the Bolognese.*
- b the assassin was seized in the church of the monastery of *St. John*. He was befriended by the soldiers, who intimidated the podesta from proceeding against him in common course of justice ; but the people took upon them his office, and publicly beheaded the assassin near the place where he had committed the murder. This year was remarkable for an inundation of the river of *Parma*, which arose to such a height, as to threaten the destruction of the whole city. This inundation was followed by a general mortality and famine. In the year 1277, the castle of *Petra*, in the district of *Pavia*, was besieged by the *Gibelins* of *Pavia*, *Milan*, *Montferrat*, and other states. The *Parmesans*, however, immediately raised an army for the relief of the place, and marched to *Piacenza* for that purpose, where they understood that the siege was raised. This year *Guastalla* surprised.
- c *Guastalla*, a fortified town on the river *Croscollo*, and the capital of the duchy of that name, was surprised by the exiles and banditti of *Parma* and *Cremona*, who took it from the *Guelphs*. But they soon after recovered it ; and the aggressors being taken, they were all sent prisoners to *Cremona*, except one of the banditti, who was hanged at *Parma* for the murder of an inhabitant of that city. After this, the community of *Parma* banished *Pino de Gente*, for having betrayed *Guastalla*, and confiscated his estate. In *November*, this year, the podesta of *Parma* marched to the assistance of the *Bolognese*, with an army of *Parmesans*, *Modenese*, and *Reggians*, and kept the field for thirty-three days. This same year *Passoni de la Torre* surprised the city of *Lodi* in the month of *June*. The *Milanese* and the *Pavian Gibelins* endeavoured to recover it ; but the patriarch of *Aquileia*, who was of the
- d family of *Torre*, applied for assistance to the *Parmesans*, who with their allies obliged the *Milanese* to raise the siege. During the absence of the podesta and the army, some of the *Gibelin* prisoners found means to corrupt their keepers, and to make their escape ; for which the offenders were condemned to banishment. Next year the *Milanese* and the marquis of *Montferrat* renewed the siege of *Lodi* ; but were again obliged by the *Parmesans* and their allies to abandon the same. This year *Francesco de Catena* was assassinated by one of the family of *Zeffa* ; upon which the podesta marched at the head of his troops to *Pratocelli*, the residence of that family, and laid the whole town, and all that was in it, in ashes. Next year the heads of the common people of *Parma* were turned, by the great opinion they had of a *Cremonese* porter, who died with such reputation of sanctity, that his picture,
- e being brought to *Parma*, was said to cure all kinds of diseases ; and the magistrates raised a large sum, which was applied to public uses, from the credulity of its votaries. This year the marquis of *Montferrat* and the *Milanese* attempted to take *Lodi*, by diverting the course of the river *Adda* ; but they were interrupted by *James de Rodelia*, then podesta of *Parma*, who obliged them to retire with precipitation, while the *Parmesans* and their allies marched to *Pizzighitone*. This year a lady was burnt alive in the public street of *Parma* for heresy. Soon after an insurrection happened in *Parma*, and the mob broke violently into the house of the preaching friars, whom they plundered, and otherwise abused ; one very old man being killed in the riot. Upon this the friars left *Parma*, to make their complaint to the pope's legate at *Florence* : they were followed by the podesta, the captain
- f of the people, the *Antiani*, and the canons of the church of *Parma*, who used their utmost intreaties to persuade them to return, promising to repair all their damage ; but all was to no purpose. The good friars proceeded to *Florence*, where they complained of the whole community of *Parma*, as being accessory to the insurrection, which was false ; for the community had done every thing in their power to prevent it. They established a court of enquiry, and severely punished all who had been concerned in the insurrection by exile, imprisonment, and even the loss of limbs, and voluntarily made good all the damages the brotherhood sustained in their houses and effects.

War with the marquis of Montferrat.

Injustice of the pope to the Parmesans.

NOTWITHSTANDING this ample reparation, the complaint of the friars was so well received, that the legate ordered the podesta, the captain of the people, the *Antiani*, the council, and twelve of the chief citizens of *Parma*, with an assessor, who was to be a lawyer, to appear before him at *Florence* by a certain day, with full powers to stand by his award. Upon this the *Parmesans* appointed *Bartolini* of *Brescia*, then their captain of the people, six ambassadors, and one syndic, but without being furnished with the powers that were required, to appear before the legate, and to inform him truly of the state of the case.

The

The haughty prelate refused to give them so much as an audience, laid their city under an interdict, and excommunicated their magistrates; and his sentence was published at *Parma* on the 14th of *December*. That community then ordered four deputies to attend the pope, and to make their defence; but all they could obtain was to be allowed an auditor to take legal cognizance of their cause. This censure, however, had no consequences; for the *Parmesans* continued to act for the *Guelphs* at *Bologna*, *Lodi*, and other places; so that his holiness and his successors did not prosecute their censures.

Assassinations
punished at
Parma.

The infamous practice of assassination was now very common at *Parma*, where one *Calzolari*, a man of figure, was murdered by one of the family of *Putali*. This exasperated the public so greatly, that the podesta, the captain of the people, and the other magistrates, at the head of the inhabitants, utterly demolished all the houses belonging to the *Putali*, and made several strict laws against the dangerous powers of the nobility. Another expedition was this year undertaken by the *Parmesans*, to succour the *Geremei* of *Bologna*, in which they were successful.

Peace with
Cremona.

In the year 1280 the castle of *Cassadeo* was built by the *Parmesans*, and considerable privileges allotted to those who were willing to inhabit the same. This year the *Bolognese* lost *Piacenza*, but fresh assistances coming from *Parma*, they soon recovered it. Next year the *Parmesans*, who went to assist the family of *Turre*, were defeated by the *Milanese*, with a considerable loss. This year was attended with another scarcity of grain, and it was enacted, that every citizen who was possessed of three hundred marks, should lend twenty of them to the community, to buy corn for supplying the public. In the month of *August*, a general meeting of deputies from the *Guelph* states and cities of *Lombardy*, was held in the town-house of *Parma*, where it was agreed to send fresh troops to the relief of *Lodi*, now again besieged by the marquis of *Montferrat*. At this time the *Parmesans* and the *Cremonese* exchanged the chariots of state which each had taken from the other; and that of *Parma* was introduced next day into that city by a grand procession of the clergy and magistrates. In the month of *September* the army of *Parma* took the field, and encamped near *Pizzighitone*, while their allies rendezvoused at *Cremona*; and the two armies, after obliging the marquis of *Montferrat* and the *Milanese* to raise the siege of *Lodi*, with considerable loss, returned to their respective habitations. About the middle of *December*, *Boccio Docariva*, at the head of eight hundred men, surprized *Crema*; upon which the podesta of *Parma* marched with all his troops, and those of the *Placentines* and *Brescians*, to secure *Cremona* itself. In the year 1282, some of the *Placentine Gibelins* surprized the town of *Petra Scarmona*, but it was soon retaken by the *Placentines*, with the assistance of the *Parmesans*. Shortly after a general assembly, or parliament, was held at *Cremona*, consisting of deputies from the *Parmesans*, the *Placentines*, the *Reggians*, the *Modenese*, the *Bolognese*, the *Ferrarese*, and the *Brescians*, all of them in the interest of the see of *Rome*; and a resolution was taken, to send ambassadors directly to solicit his holiness to become a party in the league. The great end of this meeting appears to have been to guard the *Cremonese*, which had generally served the imperialists as an inlet into *Italy*. About the same time, *Boccio Docariva*, at the head of some *Cremonese* exiles, surprized the castle of *Toncino*, belonging to *Cremona*, upon which the *Parmesans* summoned together all their allies, and, with their podesta at their head, set out for *Cremona*, to prevent its being surprized likewise. They also demolished *Senaza*, for a murder that had been committed upon one of its citizens by the lord of it, and sent two hundred foot soldiers to *Modena*, to bring to justice one of the *Guidotti*, who had been guilty of another murder, which they did by striking off his head, and those of several others of his associates, in the market-place. This, however, created a dangerous mutiny at *Modena*, which was with difficulty quieted by the *Parmesans*. After this the armies of *Parma* and *Cremona* marched against *Toncino*, which was still in the hands of *Boccio*. About the same time the *Parmesans* sent *Matteo Corregio*, and *Andrea de Morano*, a doctor of laws, to make their peace at the court of *Rome*, and to procure absolution from the interdict, and excommunication that had been laid upon them upon account of the preaching friars; both which they obtained by the friendship of the cardinal of *Parma*, but not till after they had undergone many, and some mortifying formalities. His holiness even required them, to give security for their future obedience to his will, and to stand by the award which he was to pronounce in the case of the friars; but the whole of the allegations were so false and frivolous, that the affair went no farther. The *Parmesans* then sent a solemn deputation to *Bologna*, to request the provincial prior of the preaching friars to send such of the brotherhood as had left *Parma* back to that city, there to celebrate divine offices.

War continues
with the mar-
quis of Mont-
ferrat.

In the beginning of *June*, the marquis of *Montferrat* made a new irruption into the *Cremonese*, with a large army of the *Milanese* and other people. The people of *Cremona*, as usual, had recourse to those of *Parma*, who sent them three hundred cross-bows, a weapon then greatly in request. These were followed by the podesta of *Parma*, with the main army, which

- a which encamped at *Aqualongo*, as the *Cremonese* did at *Padarno*, upon the frontiers of the *Cremonese*. In a few days after they were joined by the *Reggians*, *Modenese*, *Ferrarese*, and the *Placentines*, besides other allies, and their appearance was so formidable, that the marquis durst not attack them, though both armies lay in sight of each other four weeks. On this occasion, the people of *Parma* sent ambassadors to the marquis of *Este*, to the *Florentines*, and other states of *Tuscany*, to rouse them to a sense of their danger, if *Cremona* should fall into the hands of the *Gibelins*; and all of them promised to send their complements of troops to its defence. It afterwards appeared, that the marquis could not prevail with the *Milanese* to act in earnest against *Cremona*, on account of the diffidence they had of the imperial power, and the oath they had taken to be true to the *Longobardic* league; so that the
- b *Parmesans* and their allies marched back to their respective capitals in triumph. A part of the *Parmesan* army, however, was left at *Cremona*, for the safety of that city and territory, till their enemies went into winter quarters. *Garsoni* of *Modena* was, at this time, podesta of *Parma*, and *Guidotti* archdeacon of *Cremona*, was captain of the people.

In *August*, this year, the *Longobardic* league was strengthened; and there was a great resort of nobility at *Parma*, where the two sons of *Jacobino Rubei* were made knights, and married *Parmesan* ladies; so that, for some time, all civil divisions seem to be abolished in that capital, and for a whole month nothing took place there but feasting and diversions. The same year an act passed in the general council of *Parma*, that all their subjects without the city, who were willing to pay a tithe of their goods, should be admitted citizens

c of *Parma*; but not to be members of the council. This law brought into the public treasury eleven thousand imperial marks; and the new citizens admitted by it amounted to three thousand. The reader, from this, may have some idea of the wealth of those inhabitants; though there is reason to believe, that the tax was not rigorously levied, as the whole, at an average, did not amount to four marks a-head. The author of the Chronicle tells us likewise, that the terms were very ill observed by the community.

- THOUGH it was now the beginning of winter, a fresh assembly of the *Longobardic* alliance was held at *Cremona*; and the *Cremonese*, by the assistance of the *Parmesan* confederates, that very year recovered *Toncino* from *Boccio*, and obliged him to retire with disgrace to *Crema*. In the beginning of the year 1283, the state of *Parma* was in a flourishing condition, and
- d their capital adorned with several noble public edifices. On the 5th of *February*, this year, in a general council, held in the town-house of *Parma*, a perpetual truce and peace was sworn between the magistrates of that city and the *Mantuan* deputies; and, what is pretty remarkable, each promised to satisfy the demands of the other, without going to law, and without delay. On the 7th of the same month, the podesta of *Parma*, at the head of a thousand foot-soldiers, appointed to that service by the community, invested the palace of the *Adigheri*, one of whom, *Ubertino*, had been guilty of a murder, and razed the same to the ground. This year the affairs of the popedom were likewise in high splendor, by the submission of almost all the cities of the *Romagna* and *Lombardy* to the authority of his holiness; and the people of *Parma* were amongst the most forward. The bridge of *Galerio*,
- e which the *Parmesans* had been for many years building between the palace and the citadel, was now finished, at the expence of sixteen hundred imperial marks. In proportion as the power of the church increased, so did that of the ecclesiastics; for, in the year 1284, we find a *Florentine* cardinal podesta of *Bologna*; and he seems to have given full scope to his revenge, by demolishing, upon a private pique, the palace of *Gerard de Sanzio Marco*. He likewise, at the head of one thousand soldiers, destroyed and plundered the houses of four other noblemen, whom he thought not to be well affected to his interest. His violences seem to have given some umbrage to the other magistrates of *Bologna*; for we find, in the
- f same year, the *Antiani*, and the other heads of the people, entered into a combination together, by oath, to support one another, and to maintain the rights and privileges of *Parma*. At this time, the civil dissensions in *Modena*, between the *Boschetti* and the *Savignani*, broke out so fiercely, that the *Parmesans* were obliged to send two hundred foot-soldiers to maintain their interest there. The former, however, got the better, expelled their antagonists out of the city, and stripped them of their estates. The exiles seized upon *Saxola*, *Savigni*, and several other places; and pressed the other party so hard, that the *Parmesans* were obliged to call together the deputies of the *Longobardic* league, to reduce the *Modenese* to peace. The *Boschetti* proved so refractory, that the assembly came to a resolution to abandon all communication with them; while the *Reggians* and the *Parmesans* united together more closely than ever. At last, the pope's legate interposed, and prevailed with the *Parmesans*
- g to make another effort for restoring the peace of *Modena*; but it was found impracticable. An open war then broke out between the *Parmesans* and the *Modenese*. The latter intercepted convoys of provisions that were coming to *Parma*, with a large quantity of salt. The *Parmesans*, at first, sent deputies to reclaim their property; but the *Modenese* justified what they had done, and appealed to a general assembly of the *Longobardic* league.

Public buildings in Parma.

A. D. 1284.

Affairs of
Lombardy
continued.

THE distractions of *Lombardy*, about this time, rendered *Parma* the common refuge of the harrassed and unfortunate. In the year 1285, no fewer than twelve deputies were sent from that city; and being joined with those of *Reggio*, *Bologna*, and *Ferrara*, they repaired to *Modena*, where they made a new demand of reparation for injuries; but they met with a fresh repulse, through the obstinacy of the *Boschetti*. The *Parmesans*, after this, endeavoured to raise a mutiny in *Modena*; but that scheme likewise failed them, and they again had recourse to negociation, in which they had better success, because they received half their demand, and a time was fixed for repaying the remainder. A formal treaty of peace between *Modena* and *Parma* ensued. In the year 1286, two ambassadors came from the contending parties in *Modena* to *Parma*, there to negotiate a mediation between the *Boschetti* and their antagonists; but the demands of the *Boschetti* were so extravagant, that the negotiation came to nothing. The *Parmesans* then applied to the *Bolognese* to join with them in preventing the intire ruin of *Modena*, through the civil dissensions of its inhabitants; but the *Bolognese* declined intermeddling in the affair. The *Parmesans* then threatened to declare war against the *Boschetti* of *Modena*, unless they sent deputies, properly instructed, to terminate all differences. Very little regard, however, was paid to that or any other application for composing the dissensions of *Lombardy*, which the people of *Parma* seemed to have had greatly at heart. This year the *Boschetti* attacked their antagonists the *Savignani*, who were supported by the *Parmesans*. The *Modenese*, on the other hand, invaded the *Reggians*, who were the confederates of *Parma*; but the latter were so well supported by the *Parmesans*, that the aggressors were defeated with great loss. This defeat seems to have brought the *Boschetti* of *Modena* to a pacific disposition, especially as the *Parmesans*, at this time, had on foot a considerable army. They were seconded by the deputies of *Cremona*, *Brescia*, and *Placentia*, who, in the names of their masters, threatened to declare war against the *Modenese*, if they did not submit to the *Parmesans*. The *Modenese* accordingly sent deputies, with their captain of the people, to *Parma*, where a peace was concluded. In June, this year, the pope made a demand upon the *Parmesans* for satisfaction, on account of the Preaching Friars; but this demand was so absurd, and so ill supported, that it appears to have fallen to the ground. This year was remarkable for a great mortality in the *Parmesan* territory. In the year 1287, the podesta of *Parma*, whose name was *Barufaldini*, marched at the head of one thousand men to *Flaviano*, which they demolished, and put to death *Carola de Palude*, whose estate was likewise confiscated, on account of his murdering *Henry de Toreto*, and another person. After that, the podesta and his army marched to *Reggio*, where some civil dissensions had broken out; and being there joined by other deputies of the *Longobardic* league, they restored the public tranquillity. On the death of pope *Honorius*, the *Parmesans* sent ambassadors, who, after great difficulty, prevailed upon the provincial prior of the Preaching Friars to return to *Parma*. Their entrance was very magnificent; and so great was the benefit resulting to the community, from the residence of those friars amongst them, that the podesta and the magistracy not only gave them a sumptuous entertainment, but settled on them annually two hundred marks for five years, to enable them to build a church.

Success of the
Parmesans,

who are alarmed for
their liberties.

THIS year a kind of a panic struck the people of *Parma*, as if their liberties had been endangered; so that the podesta, and all the chief citizens, took an oath to stand by one another in defence of their rights and privileges. On the 17th of May, *Pino*, the son of *Giberto de Gente*, was murdered in *Parma*, by his grand-children; but, having been proscribed as a *Gibelin*, the assassins were not prosecuted. In September, the same year, the *Gibelin* exiles of *Modena*, being joined by a great number of the same faction from various parts of *Italy*, made an attempt to get possession of that city; but the *Guelph Modenese* were so seasonably supported by the podesta and people of *Parma*, that the *Gibelins* were defeated, and their ringleaders, who were found in the city, were publicly executed. This service to the papal cause ingratiated the *Parmesans* so greatly with the *Bolognese*, that deputies were appointed on both sides, who met at *Castel Franco*, and swore to a new union. The year 1288 affords little remarkable, excepting that *Manfred*, marquis of *Malestina*, surprised *Pontremoli*, belonging to the *Parmesans*, and expelled their podesta there. After that, he sent a message, with great professions of his friendship towards the community of *Parma*, promising to keep *Pontremoli* for their benefit. The *Parmesans*, however, renewed their league with the *Reggians*, the *Cremonese*, and the *Bolognese*, and recovered the place. In the year 1289, the *Parmesans* took up arms in defence of their allies the *Ferrarese*, who had been insulted by *Roland*, the lord of *Ancisa*; and they lent three regiments to the *Florentines*, while they were at war with the bishop of *Arezzo*. The *Reggians*, at this time, again splitting amongst themselves, the *Guelph* party applied to the *Parmesans* for assistance. Two hundred soldiers immediately marched to their aid, under the command of the podesta. This force not being sufficient, a stronger body was sent; upon which the people of *Reggio*, according to our authority^a, surrendered the keys of their gates and citadel, together with all their

They take Reggio;

^a Chronicon Parmense, apud MURAT. p. 216.

a their power, civil and military, into the hands of the podesta of *Parma*, who took possession of the same, as well as of the standard and common seal of the city. The *Parmesans* seem to have made a most unmerciful advantage of this acquisition. They put to death some of the heads of the *Guelphs* at *Reggio*, and demolished their houses: they carried others in chains to *Parma*, where they kept them close prisoners. This tyranny giving umbrage to the other allies of the *Longobardic* league, the states of *Bologna* and *Cremona* interposed, and obliged the *Parmesans* to restore the *Reggians* to their liberty. Notwithstanding this pacification, the *Parmesans* kept in their hands the castle of *Razoli*, which was besieged by *Guido de Tripoli*, a *Reggian*, who set fire to the place; and so obstinate were the *Parmesans* in defending it, that most of them chose to be burnt alive, rather than surrender it.

b In the year 1290, the *Reggians*, tired of the tyranny of the *Parmesans*, unanimously offered to put themselves under the protection of the marquis of *Este*. He seemed at first to decline their suit, and pretended he would do nothing without the consent of the community of *Parma*. He accordingly sent a solemn embassy to consult the *Parmesans* on that head; and as he was at that time master both of *Ferrara* and *Modena*, the *Parmesans* found it in vain to stand out; so that he directly entered upon the sovereignty of *Reggio*. *Rainerio*, a *Florentine*, was then podesta of *Parma*; but behaving arbitrarily in his office, the syndics of the common council amerced him in a fine of two hundred and fifty marks. This proceeding exasperated the merchants of *Parma*, who were the podesta's friends, so greatly, c that the syndics durst not stand to their sentence; nor did the podesta ever pay the fine.

THE spirit of croissading was at this time very prevalent in *Italy*; and no fewer than six hundred *Parmesans* took upon them the cross, and bound themselves by oath to serve against the infidels in the Holy Land; and to encourage the adventurers, the community of *Parma* made them a present of one thousand marks. Their captain was *Raimond Barretti*. In the year 1291, *Lombardini de Gente*, having insulted a *Parmesan* nobleman, the podesta of *Parma* marched against him, and demolished his house. Soon after, the cardinal of *Sabina*, in his return from *France*, paid a visit to *Parma*, where he was received in a most magnificent manner. He being a *Parmesan* himself, expended vast sums of money for the honour and interest of the community. This year many of the *Parmesans*, who d had taken upon them the cross, returned to their native country, heartily tired of their undertaking; and, being destitute of other employment, they listed themselves in the pope's army. In the year 1292, a quarrel happened between the podesta and bishop of *Parma*; and the former was excommunicated for having imprisoned an ecclesiastic. This quarrel was followed by some public commotions, and the podesta demolished several houses belonging to the friends of the bishop. About this time the marquis of *Este* dying, he was succeeded by his son *Azo*, who sent an embassy to *Parma*, courting the friendship of that state. The *Parmesans* returned the compliment, by sending him a deputation to congratulate him upon his accession to his dominions, and to reconcile some differences that had arisen between him and his brothers, on account of his father's testament; by which the e eldest son was to inherit *Ferrara*; *Aldobrandini*, the second son, *Modena*; and *Franchesini*, the third, *Reggio*. The same year the podesta of *Parma*, at the head of above one thousand men, destroyed the house of *Ægidioli Scorca* at *Torclarea*, on account of an offence against the state. We mention this chiefly to shew how little regard was paid amongst the *Italian* states to civil authority, it being generally found impracticable to bring an offender, who had an estate and a following, to justice; but by the people, with the podesta at their head, taking arms, and destroying him, his family, and habitation. This year the inhabitants of *Pontremoli*, having entirely thrown off their dependence upon *Parma*, put themselves under the protection of the *Lucquese*; and *Azo*, the marquis of *Este*, with whom the *Parmesans* had lately entered into friendship, drove his brother *Aldobrandini* to *Bologna*, and f fortified *Modena*.

NOTHING remarkable occurs in the history of *Parma* after this, till the year 1294, when one *James de Canonica* was privately murdered at *Ulmo*, and buried in his own estate. The murder was discovered twenty-eight days after it was committed; and the magistracy of *Parma*, of which *James de Canonica* was a member, ordered two of the murderers to be apprehended, one of whom was hanged, and the other condemned to perpetual imprisonment. After inquiry, it appeared that many others had been concerned in the same fact, and all of them were banished. In the month of *April*, the same year, the podesta of *Parma*, with one thousand foot-soldiers, went to *Medexano*, where they demolished the house and effects of *Manfredoci*, one who had been guilty of a like murder. After this, g the same podesta destroyed the houses, both in town and country, of the family of *Senaza*, for murdering *Bernardo Malabranca*. The reader, from those occurrences, which form the whole of the history of *Parma* at this period, may easily conceive that the *Parmesans* were then greatly inferior in point of civil policy to many other states of *Italy*. Their enthusiasm

but lose it.

They are zealous for the croissade;

but lose Pontremoli.

Murders in Parma.

thufiasm was equal to their barbarity; for this year two men and two women were burnt a by the community of *Parma*, for what they called herefy; and another heretic was condemned to perpetual imprifonment by the bifhop. *Florino de Pontecarali* was then podelta of *Parma*; but fo low was all public authority now funk under him, that neither he nor any other of the magiftrates durft for fome weeks venture to appear in public, for fear of being ftoned to death. At laft, a new podelta being choſen, the offenders were given up to juftice, and reftitution was made to the injured. This year *Magnano de Cornazano* of *Parma*, who had been banifhed for his crimes, affociating himſelf with other exiles, furprifed the caſtle of *Grondula*, belonging to the *Parmefans*; upon which the latter marched to retake it. The rebel, being fummoned to furrender, refuſed to comply, unleſs he was ordered fo to do by the bifhop of *Parma* and the marquis of *Eſte*, both of whom were b then at variance with that community. The *Parmefans* reſented his infolence fo much, that they offered extraordinary pay to all who were willing to aſſiſt in reducing the place, and above one thouſand preſented themſelves; upon which it was abandoned by the garriſon: ſome of the chief rebels, however, were taken; and being dragged at the tails of mules to *Parma*, they were there hanged. As to *Magnano* and his other affociates, they were executed in effigy, and ſentenced to banifhment.

A new league
in Lombardy.

THE affairs of the *Lombardic* league this year drew together a meeting of its principal members to *Ferrara*, where a reconciliation was effected between the marquis of *Eſte* and his brother *Franchefini*. Four *Parmefan* ſubjects, on this occaſion, were knighted, with great ceremony, by the marquis, after he himſelf had received the ſame honour from the lord of *Treviſo*. In the year 1295, *Umberto* was podelta of *Parma*, and ſeveral revolutions happened in the neighbouring ſtates. Some mercantile differences having ariſen between the *Parmefans* and the *Cremonefe*, they were amicably terminated, both of them being apprehenſive of the power of the marquis of *Eſte*, which was every day encreasing. He had ſtrippt the *Reggians* of their freedom and territory; and, by fomenting diviſions amongſt the neighbouring ſtates, he bade fair to become maſter of all *Lombardy*. Thoſe of *Parma* ſtill continued; for though all parties profeſſed themſelves to be *Guelphs*, yet the city was ſplit into two factions; the one headed by the bifhop, and the other by the family of *Correggio*, which at that time bore the chief ſway in *Parma*. The podelta had put to death one who pretended to be an eccleſiaſtic, for murdering a woman, for which he was excommunicated by the bifhop. *Correggio*, and the magiftrates of *Parma*, taking part with the podelta, the bifhop excommunicated them likewise, together with all the chief inhabitants of the city. This brought party-diſſentions to ſuch a height, that bloodſhed enſued; but at laſt the wiſer part of the community nominated a deputation, to lodge an appeal with the pope againſt the bifhop. The names of the deputies were, *Gerardo de Eſcono*, a civilian, and *Peter de Prandis*, a judge, aſſiſted by a notary; but both of them died ſoon after their arrival at *Anagni*, where the pope then kept his court. It appears as if they had died by poiſon, it being with difficulty that the notary himſelf eſcaped the ſame fate; but the public of *Parma* generously ſettled the ſecretaryſhip of the podelta upon the two ſurviving ſons of the deceaſed for ten years. The bifhop being favoured by the marquis of *Eſte*, the *Parmefans* applied to the *Bologneſe*, who gladly embraced their friendship; and it was ſtipulated between the two ſtates, that deputies from both ſhould, every month, meet at *Caſtel Franco*, or *Loretto*, to conſult meaſures for their common good. This year the podelta of *Parma* attacked and deſtroyed the houſes and effects of *Simon de Angeli*, and fined him in one thouſand marks for his confederating with other traitors againſt the independency of the city.

Diſſentions in
Parma,

Between the
the govern-
ment and the
biſhop:

THE bifhop of *Parma* about the ſame time, being choſen archbiſhop of *Ravenna*, acquired ſuch an acceſſion of power, that the family of *Correggio* were obliged to keep upon the defensive. The people underſtanding that the archbiſhop, who appears to have been a *Gibelin*, had fortified his houſe, took arms, and obliged the podelta, who was ſecretly in the archbiſhop's intereſt, to march at their head to the epifcopal palace; from whence the prelate eſcaped with great difficulty to the monastery of *St. John*, upon *St. Bartholomew's* day, from whence he went to his archbiſhopric of *Ravenna*. After this *Boniſace* of *Parma* was paid the arrears of his ſalary, but diſmiſſed from his office; and the *Parmefans* ſent a deputation to intreat their friends the *Bologneſe* to ſend them any of their citizens they pleaſed to be their podelta; they accordingly ſent them *Pelegrino de Simonpizoli*. Notwithſtanding this, the prelate and his faction diſtreſſed the magiſtracy fo much, that the *Bologneſe* were obliged to ſend two hundred horſe and five hundred foot to their aſſiſtance. This reinforcement gave the ſuperiority to the magiſtrates, who immediately banifhed the *Gibelins* out of the city, ſome to the diſtance of ten, and others to that of fifty miles, for conſpiring to betray the ſtate. Not contented with that, the new podelta, at the head of the people, demolished the houſes and ravaged the eſtates of all whom they ſuſpected to be in an oppoſite intereſt to theirs; and they even deſtroyed a noble palace that

a that had been begun to be built by their late bishop. That prelate, assembling his friends, returned to *Parma*, where the magistracy had the boldness to put him under arrest; and the pope named another bishop, at the request of the cardinal of *Parma*.

THE government of that city still appears to have been unsettled; for this year, in the beginning of *November*, in a general assembly, at which no fewer than eleven hundred and seventeen counsellors are said to have assisted, *Gotio de Foro*, captain of the people of *Parma*, voluntarily resigned his office, and was paid all the arrears of his salary. Upon this, the people elected their podesta, *Pelegrino*, in his room; and he was the first magistrate who held both offices at the same time. The effects of this election produced great harmony in the state, which was followed by a very extraordinary measure; for an act of parliament (so it is called in the Chronicle of *Parma*) passed to repeal the banishment of all malefactors, provided they were not *Gibelins*; and to free such of them as were in prison from their confinement, upon each paying to the community five marks of *Parma*. About this time, the community of *Parma* was so jealous of their liberties, that they passed an act for demolishing all fortifications erected in or near their city. This act was occasioned by the magistrates receiving intelligence, that some of the nobility had begun to fortify not only their own palaces, but the monastery of *St. John*. The podesta, upon this information, ordered a guard to search the monastery, and not only to erase the fortifications, but to carry off all the arms that could be found in it: but the podesta's guard met with so obstinate a resistance from those within, that they were driven from their attempt with considerable loss, and obliged to take refuge in the palace of the podesta. Upon this, that magistrate, though it was then midnight, ordered the great bell to be rung, and summoned the council, who came to a resolution to defer all farther proceedings till the morning, when it was resolved vigorously to attack the monastery, which was held out by the bishop, as well as to search all the palaces of his faction for arms and warlike stores. The podesta was immediately joined by two thousand men under arms, and by all the friends of the *Correggio* family; while the nobility in the bishop's interest fortified their palaces, to prevent the intended search. *Cristoforo de Marano*, brother to the abbot of *St. John*, commanded under the bishop, and attempted to make head against the podesta; but he was driven out of the city, as was *John de Sanzio Vitali*, another nobleman in the same interest, with all his followers; so that the podesta and the magistracy remained conquerors. The monastery of *St. John* was then entered and plundered; but the fugitives, being supported by the marquis of *Este*, made themselves masters of several forts and castles in the country, belonging to the community, particularly of the castles of *Cuvracho* and *del Cruce*. Next day the marquis of *Este* came to *Modena*, where he put himself at the head of the exiles, in hopes of being able to surprise *Parma* itself. But *Correggio* and the magistrates there were now upon their guard, and had assembled, from all quarters, a large body of troops. They could not, however, prevent the exiles, whose numbers every day increased, through the great reputation which the marquis had acquired in war, from destroying the open country to the very gates of the city; so that the *Parmesans* were obliged to call in their allies to their assistance. *Alberto Scotti*, the leading man, or prince, of *Placentia*, sent his nephew, with some troops, to their aid. These were followed by others from the city of *Milan*. The *Bolognese* likewise sent their quota; but the *Cremonese* only sent two ambassadors, with their compliments of condolance upon their danger.

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A new regulation there.

Civil dissensions continued.

Force of Parma.

Their expeditions.

THOUGH it was then the middle of winter, the exiles still kept the field, and fortified the castle *del Cruce*, in the neighbourhood of *Parma*, with an intention to continue their ravages all the winter. The *Bolognese*, understanding this, sent ambassadors to offer their mediation; but that being rejected, their magistracy came to a resolution of sending them further succours, in which they were joined by the *Milanese* and the *Placentines*. In the beginning of the year 1296, *Albizi* of *Florence* was podesta of *Parma*; and the force of the *Parmesans* this year consisted of three hundred and fifty men at arms, and one thousand foot, well armed, besides their auxiliaries. To defray this expence, a tax of eight thousand marks was imposed upon the tenants of the bishopric, and five thousand upon the citizens. Two thousand were likewise borrowed of the clergy, and the same sum from the states of *Tuscany*. Their first expedition was against *Guardaxoni*, which was in possession of the exiles. They soon reduced this place, killed some of the garrison, and sent the rest prisoners to *Parma*. The marquis of *Este* continued still at their head; so that the *Bolognese*, and the other allies of the *Parmesans*, were obliged to hasten their succours; and the magistracy of *Parma* themselves increased their own army with a considerable addition of horse. The Chronicle of *Parma* scarcely mentions the great power which *Matthew Correggio* then had in that city; but other contemporary authors speak of him as being the prince of *Parma*, and the marquis of *Este*'s rival. It is certain the *Parmesans* were so strong at this time, that the marquis, despairing to reduce them, all of a sudden turned his arms against the *Bolognese*, and seized *Bazano*. After that, he attacked *Imola*, then in the possession

possession of *Bologna*, with so much fury, that he took it, with great slaughter of the gar- a
rison.

It was then time for the *Parmesans* to shew their gratitude for the important assistance they had received from the *Bolognese*, which they now repaid by sending them supplies both of men and money. They were favoured by *Matteo de Foligni*, who surprised the castle of *Guerzola*; while the *Parmesans*, taking advantage of a stormy night, surprised *Monte Vecchi*, and sent the *Modenese* governor in chains to *Parma*. Soon after *John de Palude*, one of the *Parmesan* exiles, delivered up *Castel Montezano* to the magistrates of *Parma*; for which service his attainder and banishment were taken off. About the same time *Rangone*, a *Modenese* exile, was in the service of the *Parmesans*; and, being an excellent soldier, he took *Trignano*, and many other places of importance, from the marquis. b

Affairs of
Lombardy.

THOUGH the states of the *Longobardic* league still continued to assert their independency, yet it was at this time little better than a phantom, for each of them was governed by some great man who controuled the magistracy. When he was popular, and acted in concert with the magistrates or community, his friendship was of great importance; and for that reason the heads of the *Longobardic* league this year resolved to give it a new form, by making those great men, or princes, parties in the league, as well as the communities they governed. Those states were the communities of *Bologna* and *Parma*, the community of *Placentia* and *Alberto Scotti*, who was designed the captain of *Placentia*, the community of *Milan*, and *Matteo Visconti*, captain of *Milan*, the community of *Brescia*, and the exiles of *Reggio* and *Modena*. All those states and persons now entered together into a solemn c
confederacy against the marquis of *Este*. He, on the other hand, put himself at the head of the *Reggians*, the *Modenese*, the *Ferrarese*, and other states under his subjection, and attacked *Montecuculi*; but was unable to take it. He then, by way of bravado, sent a message to provoke the *Parmesans* to a battle, telling them that he had waited ten days for them; but they appeared to have paid no regard to his invitation. At this time the *Parmesans*, unless upon extraordinary occasions, changed their podestas twice a year, in *January* and *June*; and *Rolandino Scotti* of *Placentia*, acted the latter part of this year both as podesta and captain of the people. To repay the insults of the marquis of *Este*, he no sooner entered upon his office, than he invaded the territory of *Reggio*, and destroyed it as far as *Rivolta*, carrying off with him no fewer than two thousand head of cattle; and a d
few days after he entered the same territory at another quarter, destroying and plundering wherever he came; but according to the *Parmesan* chronicle, he proceeded with great inhumanity, by putting to death some of his prisoners. He then attacked and took the castle of *Bibienna*, which he burnt, and made the garrison prisoners. Those successes emboldened him to march towards *Reggio* itself; but he was opposed by the inhabitants and the marquis of *Este*'s troops, whom he intirely defeated, and made many prisoners, amongst whom were several of *Este*'s chief officers; all of whom were carried in chains to *Parma*. Upon his return, he was intercepted near *Correggio* by the *Parmesan* exiles, and the marquis of *Este*'s army, who, after a bloody engagement, were defeated with loss; and many persons of great rank were sent prisoners to *Parma*. The marquis himself was de- e
feated, about the same time, by the *Bolognese* at *Ovignano*, which they took and fortified.

Success of the
Parmesans,

BEFORE the *Parmesans* and their allies left the field, it was secretly agreed upon by the heads of both armies, that they should, in the month of *November*, make a joint attack upon the dominions of the marquis of *Este*, by the *Parmesans* again invading the territory of *Reggio*, while the *Bolognese* were to fall upon the *Modenese*. The *Bolognese* had at their head *Malatesta*; and being assisted by a considerable body of troops from *Florence* and the *Romagna*, they besieged and took *Bazano*, and defeated the marquis, who came to its relief. The *Parmesans*, indeed, took the field, at the time appointed, but proceeded no farther than *Colorno*, on account of the rainy season, which discouraged their auxiliaries f
so much, after the fatiguing campaign they had already made, that the whole army returned to *Parma*.

who ravage
Reggio.

IN the year 1297, *Bernardino de Rolento* was podesta of *Parma* for the first six months; during which the *Parmesans* renewed their usual ravages in the territory of *Reggio*, where they made *Simon de Manfredi* prisoner, and burnt his castle of *Scandiano*. They then took possession of *San Paolo*, which they fortified in behalf of the community of *Parma*, as they did that of *Monte Luzuli*. The first of those places belonged to *Azolini di Canusso*, who surrendered it, or rather sold it, to the *Parmesans*, with all his estate in the neighbourhood, for a salary of one thousand florins a year, and for his admission to the rights and privileges of *Parma*, where he and his friends took up their residence. Soon after this, *Manuel de g
Valesneria*, at the head of the *Gibelin* exiles, entered the castle of *Cornelio*, belonging to the episcopal see of *Parma*, and fortified the same. The *Parmesans* immediately marched against it; and after several attempts, in which they were defeated, they obliged the rebels to capitulate,

a pitulate, on condition of their being permitted to depart with the safety of their lives and effects; but the castle itself was razed to the ground.

Those mutual ravages being destructive to all parties, *Matthæw de Correggio*, whose estate had suffered greatly in the war, and the marquis of *Este*, began to treat of peace, in which they found great difficulties. The *Gibelin* exiles, and the bishop's party, exclaimed against the marquis for entering upon any treaty without their consent, and their receiving satisfaction for all they had lost and suffered. Add to this, that *Correggio* himself had many powerful enemies in *Parma*. The *Bolognese* likewise complained of the *Parmesans* entering into a separate treaty, and accused them of ingratitude, after the great things they had done to serve them. Their friends in *Milan* and *Placentia* had likewise complaints of the same kind; and, to appease them, the *Parmesans* sent an ambassador to each of those cities; but the war still continued between the *Bolognese* and the marquis of *Este*. At last the peace was proclaimed, and by it all prisoners on both sides were set at liberty, which seems to have been the only article it contained. It is observed that *Bernardino*, in his podestate, acquitted himself with great honour. He was succeeded by *Guaspar de Garbagnate*, a *Milanese*, who was recommended to the *Parmesans* by *Maffeo Visconti*. During his podestate, a general conspiracy was formed amongst all the *Gibelin* exiles, both of the episcopal and imperial party; and it was headed by *Manfredoti* of *Cornazano*, who was nearly related to the family of *Rubeis*, one of the most powerful in *Parma*. The intention of the conspirators was to surprise *Parma*, at the time when the chiefs of the governing party were employed in a negociation of peace between *Maffei Visconti* and the marquis of *Montferrat*. But the conspirators were too numerous for their design to be kept a secret; and a terrible storm falling, prevented their several bodies from marching time enough to the rendezvous. Thus the magistrates of *Parma*, being upon their guard, easily dissipated the conspiracy; and many of the country people, who were found in the place of rendezvous, were executed upon gibbets: as to *Manfredoti* and the other chief conspirators, being proclaimed traitors, their estates were confiscated, and their houses demolished.

A peace concluded;

and a conspiracy defeated.

The conspirators being thus discovered and defeated, seized upon *Monte Saxo*, which they fortified, and thereby harrassed the open country of *Parma*. Upon this the podesta and the other magistrates assembled their army; and though it was then the month of *November*, they laid siege to *Monte Saxo*; but, through the severity of the season, they lost many men, while the survivors, without waiting for the word of command, abandoned the siege, and retired first to *Borgo di San Domino*, and then to *Parma*, with such precipitation, that the podesta and the officers left their provisions behind them on the road. This check seems to have inclined the people of *Parma* to a peace with the exiles of *Monte Saxo*; and a negociation was set on foot, under the mediation of *Maffeo Visconti* and *Alberto Scotti*. In *Parma*, at this time, as well as through all the other cities and states of *Italy*, no fewer than four or five different factions prevailed, besides the general distinction of *Guelphs* and *Gibelins*. The bishop, whose revenues appear to have been greater than that of the state, had still great interest there, and a powerful party. The emperor pretended to the direct dominion of the city, and so did the pope. *Correggio* and the podesta, with the magistrates, had likewise different interests; and those of the *Longobardic* league were likewise to be supported, not to mention the vast heart-burnings and dissensions of the great families amongst themselves, independent of what related to the public. The difficulty therefore, in making a peace, was to find a proper authority under which it could be concluded.

MAFFEO and *Alberto* were chosen commissioners for the bishop, and the late podesta was made a syndic or plenipotentiary for the community of *Parma*, to take care of their interests against the claims both of the bishop and the emperor; and the place of meeting was the city of *Milan*. After great altercations, the arbiters at last pronounced their sentence, which was, that *Monte Saxo* should be given up to the community of *Parma*, who afterwards demolished it; and that the exiles of all denominations of the episcopal as well as the imperial faction, should be at liberty to settle in the territory or city of *Parma*, as they thought proper.

A new peace and conspiracy.

This year the podesta, at the head of his militia, demolished the houses and estates of the lords of *Barga*, for having committed some violences upon the salt-works, and other public edifices belonging to the community. But this was far from restoring the tranquility of the state. Notwithstanding the late pacification, party rage ran as high as ever. *Rainerio Gato* of *Viterbo* was podesta of *Parma*, during the latter end of this year, when *Rolandini de Marano* was accused of a design to betray the city, and imprisoned, in order to be tried for his life on that charge. *Bernardino della Porta* was banished on the same accusation. *Barifelli* and *Peter de Sancto Vitale*, both of whom had been banished *Gibelins*, were put to the torture, to make them confess a conspiracy against the state; and *Barifelli* died upon the rack; but *Sancto Vitale*, though he survived it, confessed nothing. Notwithstanding this, the spirit of party ran so high, that the magistrates insisted upon his being put to death; but

Public disorders in Parma.

but the podesta, rather than be guilty of such cruelty, abdicated his office, and privately left *Parma* in the night-time with his family. Next morning, his flight being known, a general assembly was convoked; and *Melio Mariano*, who was then captain of the people, was chosen podesta likewise; so that he held both offices. He was not so scrupulous as his predecessor had been; for perceiving that the governing part of *Parma* were intent upon *Sanzio Vitale's* death, he was beheaded in the public market-place, by his order. As to *Rolandini*, he confessed, upon promise of life, all that his judges required of him. Those illegal proceedings renewed all the troubles of the republic; so that in the beginning of the year 1299, all the *Parmesan* was filled with robbers, many of whom were executed. The same year the community of *Parma* sent one hundred horse to the assistance of *Maffeo Visconti* at *Milan*; and they served him for two months. This year is remarkable for great scarcity of provisions at *Parma*, as well as for the lightnings that happened in it, and damaged some of its public buildings.

Revolutions
there,

and in Lom-
bardy.

The first jubi-
lee.

Prosperity of
Parma.

Revolution in
Milan.

GERARDO DE GAMBARA was, the latter part of this year, podesta of *Parma*; but being called to *Florence* a month before his magistracy expired, he was allowed to leave a deputy, who served for the rest of the time: his name was *Mezalino* of *Brescia*; and during his government *Magnano de Cornazano*, the chief of the banished *Gibelins*, was taken and brought prisoner to *Parma*, where his head was cut off in the open street. *Brodario de Saxoferrato* was podesta of *Parma* in the beginning of the year 1300; but being chosen by the *Florentines* likewise to be their chief magistrate, he too had a dispensation granted him for exercising his office by a deputy. About this time the *Parmesan Gibelins* surprised and fortified *Cernioli*. Upon this, the captain of the people for that year, and the deputy podesta, marched with an army to dislodge them, which they effectually did, and returned in triumph to *Parma*. Soon after this a great revolution happened in the affairs of *Lombardy*, by *Galeazzo* the son of *Matteo Visconti* marrying the daughter of the marquis of *Este*. The nuptials were extremely magnificent; and *Galeazzo*, in his way to *Modena*, went through *Parma*, where he was received with vast honours, and knighted by the marquis. In his return, after his marriage, the new-married couple returned to *Parma*, where a continued course of festivities lasted for some weeks. Amongst other compliments paid them, the community of *Parma* made presents to the principal inhabitants of a particular kind of robe, which they wore in honour of the nuptials, as the deputies of *Bologna* likewise did; and when the *Milanese* court left *Parma*, they and the *Bolognese* deputies attended them to *Milan*, in those robes, where they solemnly presented them to the bride and bridegroom. In short, all *Lombardy*, on this occasion, exhibited but one continued scene of feasting, dancing, and other diversions.

POPE *Boniface VIII.* this year instituted the jubilee which continued those rejoicings at *Parma*, by bringing an immense number from the different parts of *Europe* as well as *Italy* to *Rome*; and most of the *Transalpine* guests passed through *Parma*, where, the year being remarkably fruitful, they were furnished for their money with all kinds of delicacies and refreshments, which enabled the *Parmesans* to indemnify themselves for the expences they had been at in entertaining the court of *Milan*. Next year, in the podestate of *Paul Braxati* of *Brescia*, a new officer was appointed by the *Parmesans*, for the preservation of their enclosures and vines, which had suffered by the vast armies of visitants to the jubilee. The same year *Galeazzo* of *Milan*, whom we have already mentioned, surprised *Bergamo*, from whence he drove all the families that were not in his interest, destroying their effects, and demolishing their houses. *Parma* was, at the same time, honoured by a visit from *Charles*, brother to the king of *France*, and his wife, the daughter of the emperor of *Constantinople*, in his way to *Rome*. The history of this prince, and his attempt upon *Florence*, has been touched upon in the *Florentine* history. The *Parmesans*, at this time, appear to have been in a very flourishing condition; and they set up a mint, in which they coined pieces of silver. They depended greatly on the protection of *Maffeo Visconti* of *Milan*, for whose service they seldom entertained fewer than one hundred men at arms, each attended by two horses, who, this year, received an advance of four months pay. To do his family the greater honour, their societies of notaries or lawyers, now chose his son for their provost, or president. But the family of the *Visconti* became then so powerful in *Lombardy*, that a strong confederacy was formed against them, consisting of the *Cremonese*, the *Placentines*, with *Alberto Scotti* at their head, *Philipponi* the lord of *Pavia*, the *Pavians*, the people of *Lodi*, *Crema*, *Novara*, *Vercelli*, the marquis of *Montferrat*, the *Alessandrines*, and the powerful house of *la Turre*, who headed the exiles whom *Galeazzo* had driven out of *Bergamo*. The people of *Parma* proved faithful; and while he went out to fight the confederates, their men at arms remained in *Milan* with *Galeazzo*, to keep the inhabitants there in awe. The confederacy, however, was too strong for both father and son to withstand. The people of *Milan* took arms, and drove *Galeazzo* and his garrison to *Bergamo*; while the father, hearing that *Milan* was irrecoverably lost, and perceiving that all resistance was useless, resigned

- a resigned his baton of command to *Alberto Scotti*, and was by him carried prisoner to *Placentia*, to the great grief and mortification of the people of *Parma*; while his army, which was mostly composed of mercenaries, was shut out from *Milan*, stripped of their arms and baggage, and forced to return to their respective homes. Such is the account given us of this revolution in the chronicle of *Parma*; but *Ferreti* of *Vicenza*^a is more explicit in his relation; and informs us that the whole was owing to the craft and resentment of *Alberto Scotti*, on account of the accommodation that had been made between *Maffeo* and the marquis of *Este*; that *Alberto*, being at the head of twenty thousand men, had a secret interview with *Maffeo*, who designed to give him battle; and under false pretences persuaded him to resign his command; and after making his army retire, to put himself into
- b *Alberto's* power, who promised to make a peace to his advantage.

Soon after this the people of *Parma* took proper measures for fortifying their city, expecting to be attacked; but a general meeting of the confederates was, in the mean while, held at *Placentia*, where it was resolved to restore the exiles of all parties in *Lombardy*; and the *Parmesans* were strongly pressed by ambassadors to enter into the alliance, to suffer the bishop's party to be readmitted into *Parma*, and to receive six hundred of the confederated troops into the city, for the preservation of the public peace. The same ambassadors likewise insisted upon the *Parmesans* joining with them in declaring war against the marquis of *Este*, unless he relinquished *Modena* and *Reggio*. The *Parmesans*, by instructions from their principals, positively rejected those terms, and upon their return to *Parma*, fresh troops and money was there levied, and new fortifications were added both to the city and the frontiers for their defence. It was then proposed by the magistracy to enter into a league with the marquis of *Este*, and his friends in *Lombardy* and *Tuscany*, which, in the month of *August* following, was actually formed. This year a new tax was laid upon the fruits of the earth, to defray the public expences.

- ALL those measures were exceedingly disagreeable to the men of property, and of pacific dispositions in *Parma*; and their discontents were heightened by a prospect of famine, in the beginning of the year 1303. At last both parties prepared to come to blows; but a body of troops was sent from *Placentia*, by *Scotti*, to support his faction. While they were upon their march, the marquis of *Este* advanced to fight them; but both departed
- d without coming to any action. The near approach of the *Placentines* to the city, gave such an alarm to the *Parmesans*, that a vote passed for carrying a stone wall quite round *Parma*, and for adding other fortifications for its security. This was a proceeding so agreeable to both parties, that a vote passed in the common council, for giving a power to the podesta and the captain of the people, to settle terms between the two parties, and for compelling all those who should prove refractory to obey them. Accordingly, in the month of *July*, they proposed a reconciliation between the community, and the exiles of the bishop's party. This negotiation was interrupted by *Gilbert de Correggio*; and the two parties must have come to action, had not three of the chief citizens of *Cremona* arrived at *Parma*, and offered them their mediation. This was most solemnly accepted of, and they
- e were, by the magistrates and common council, invested with full powers for doing and ordering whatever they thought might be for the peace and benefit of the city. Their award was, that all the exiles and prisoners of the bishop's party, should be immediately free from all censure and punishment, and restored to *Parma*, with liberty of entering into full possession of their estates and effects. They ordered, at the same time, that a full act of grace should pass in favour of all malefactors, who were in like manner to be pardoned and restored. This award being published, the episcopal exiles, with garlands on their heads, returned in triumph to *Parma*, where the party of *Correggio*, to whom they owed their restoration, became now by far the most powerful.

An accommodation.

- TOWARDS the end of *July*, the friends of *Correggio*, amongst whom were all the bishop's
- f party, appeared in great numbers before the public palace, with shouts and acclamations for the long life of *Correggio*, upon whom they immediately laid hands, and by force hurried him into the palace, where every thing was in confusion and uproar. A council being summoned, *Correggio* was therein created the lord, the defender and protector of the state, community, and the people of *Parma*, and the conservator of the above-mentioned award. He was then solemnly invested in the same council, with his new powers, by his being put into possession of the standard of the Blessed Virgin, and the chariot that bore it, which was carried into the palace. The next day was appointed for the formal ratification of all that had been agreed upon. A council was accordingly summoned, where the members present swore that they would defend and maintain *Correggio* in his said
- g power; and it was farther ordered, that all the episcopal and other exiles, who had been by the violence of faction driven out of the council, should be restored to the same; and if they were not alive, their sons should fill their seats. Those proceedings gave offence to

Correggio made lord and protector of *Parma*.

^a FERRETI apud MURAT. tom. ix. 1020.

several great families, particularly that of *Rubies*, who retired to their estates in the country; but contributed greatly to restore the public tranquillity. In *October* this year, *Maffeo Visconti* having escaped from his confinement at *Placentia*, his party became again so powerful, that *Alberto Scotti* and he were reconciled, upon condition that *Scotti* should assist him and his son in regaining their power at *Milan*; but that was more than they could perform. The family of *la Turre*, or, as they are often called, the *Turriani*, had got absolute possession of that city; and though *Maffeo* and *Scotti* appeared before it with a considerable army, they were obliged to draw off without making any farther attempt. The *Mantuan*s and the *Veronese*, however, followed the example of *Scotti* by joining *Maffeo*, as did great numbers of the *Parmesans*, both horse and foot, and some troops belonging to the marquis of *Este*. At the same time the magistrates of *Parma*, or rather *Correggio*, in whose person the magistracy was now fixed, ordered a body of their country troops to march into *Placentia*, for the security of that city.

He is chosen
protector of
Placentia.

In the year 1304, the peace of *Parma* was again broken, by one of the family of *Senaza* murdering a kinsman of the protector *Correggio*, in his own palace; upon which the *Senaza* family, with all their friends and dependents, who seemed before to live in a good correspondence with the protector, were driven out of *Parma*, their houses demolished, and their estates confiscated. About this time *Alberto Scotti*, finding he could do nothing against the *Milanese*, marched against their allies the *Pavians*, and sent for assistance to *Parma*, which was readily granted him. While he was upon this expedition, the territory of *Placentia* was invaded by the *Milanese* and their confederates; and this obliged *Scotti* to demand a fresh reinforcement of troops from the *Parmesans*, who sent him two hundred men at arms, under the command of *Matteo de Correggio*, brother to the protector. These were followed by a great number of volunteers, and two thousand of the country troops, all of whom threw themselves into *Placentia*, and thereby prevented its coming to the possession of *Scotti*'s enemies, who were obliged to draw off, and then the *Parmesans* returned to their own country. This seasonable assistance enabled *Scotti*, in the mean time, to make several important conquests upon the *Pavians*. But he being returned to *Placentia*, found that a strong party had been formed against him, which had been kept in awe by the *Parmesans*, and his other confederates, during his absence. They now broke out into open violence, and appeared in arms in the streets, calling out for peace. They were attacked by *Scotti* and his friends, who having suppressed them with some bloodshed, sent to *Parma* for fresh reinforcements, which he received. Soon after the territory of *Placentia* was suddenly invaded by the *Milanese*, under *la Turre* and his confederates, who destroyed the open country. The account of this invasion arriving at *Parma*, *Matteo de Correggio*, at the head of the foot, marched to *Borgo di San Domino*, to the assistance of the *Placentines*, as *Nicholas de Foliano*, with the horse, did to *Florenzola*, and obliged the invaders to return home. A few weeks after a stronger confederacy than ever was formed against *Placentia*, under count *Philipponi* of *Pavia*, who took *Bobbio* and *Rivalgario*, towns within the district of *Placentia*. This encouraged the malecontents within *Placentia* to form new cabals against *Scotti*. The protector of *Parma* came to his assistance with all the country militia of *Parma*, the horse, and hired soldiers, and two thousand of the citizens, to assist *Scotti* and his party. When *Correggio* arrived at that city, he found the confederacy against *Scotti* to be so universal and powerful, both within and without *Placentia*, that he advised *Scotti* and his family to retire to *Parma*, which they were obliged to do. His retreat somewhat pacified the minds of the *Placentines*, and gave *Correggio*, who seems not to have been disinterested in his advice to *Scotti*, so much influence, that he prevailed with the *Placentines* to remove their podesta from his government, and to receive in his room one of his kinsmen. After this *Correggio*, having formed a party in *Placentia*, and being supported by his army, was created, or rather nominated, lord of that city, with all *Scotti*'s powers, for five years. This was done without the consent of the body of the citizens, who publicly declared, that they never meant to drive out one master and receive another, and reproached *Correggio* for his treachery to *Scotti*. *Correggio* now found that he had mistaken his measures; nor did he know how his proceedings would be taken at *Parma*. He therefore left the city of *Placentia*, with all his troops, in great confusion; and thus the *Placentines* recovered their popular government, or, as they called it, their liberty.

Revolutions of
the Parmesans.

Revolutions in
Placentia.

As to *Scotti* himself, he and his son *Francesco*, whom he designed for his successor, and thereby disobliged his other sons, remained for some time at *Parma*; but never was re-admitted into *Placentia*, from whence he, his friends, and family, were either banished or imprisoned. The leagues formed amongst the states and cities of *Lombardy*, were commonly subject to so many interruptions and accidents, that they often required to be renewed. *Parma* was this year the place of congress, where the *Parmesans* and the *Cremonese* first swore to a new alliance, into which they invited or admitted the people of *Milan*, *Bergamo*, *Lodi*, *Cremasco*, *Cumani*, *Vercelli*, *Novara*, and *Pavia*. This year the marquis of *Este* married the daughter of *Charles*, king of *Naples*, and, upon his return home, he was

met

a met at *Sienna* by deputies from *Parma*, who attended him to *Modena*, where they were magnificently entertained, and presented the principal persons of the court there with robes, on the part of the protector and community of *Parma*, where civil dissensions again broke out. One of the family of *Rubeis* had taken up arms at *Segalaria*; and the protector having sent his servant to examine how matters stood, he was murdered on his return by one of the same family, and his body brought to *Parma*. Upon this the people set fire to the houses of the *Rubeis*. Soon after the two factions of the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins* were again in arms in *Parma*; but the former were defeated and driven out of the city, and were, at the same time, declared exiles and rebels. Those advantages rendered the protector and the *Gibelin* faction, absolute masters of the government; and many *Gibelins* b who had been banished, and had refused to accept of the late pacification, now returned. Notwithstanding this the *Guelphs* still continued in arms, but the podesta was sent against them with all the force of *Parma*, and with orders utterly to destroy all their estates and houses in the country, particularly those of the *Rubeis* in the districts of *Colliculo*, *Segalaria*, and *Noviano*. The *Parmesans*, on this occasion, were assisted by a detachment of horse belonging to the marquis of *Este*, under the count *de Sartiana*; and the barbarous orders were executed with the utmost punctuality.

THIS persecution of the *Guelphs* served only to render their party more powerful, as it was now plain that *Correggio* had rendered himself the tyrant of *Parma*. Gerard de *Henzola*, and Paul *Ruffa*, two men of note, and greatly in favour with the protector, entered into a c conspiracy against him, in which they were privately encouraged by the marquis of *Este*, who never had lost sight of his design to become the master of *Parma*. The conspiracy was discovered, and *Henzola* and *Ruffa* were thrown into the common prison. *Correggio*, finding that the marquis of *Este*, who was already too powerful in *Lombardy*, was at the bottom of the conspiracy, sent secret agents, who treated with the *Bolognese*, the *Mantuanans*, the *Veronese*, and the exiles of *Modena* and *Reggio*, for surprising the two latter cities. This negotiation was carried on so secretly, that it never was suspected, till in *October* the protector appeared with a body of troops before *Reggio*, and attempted to scale its walls; but he was repulsed. He found means, however, to take *San Gemminiani*, and some other places belonging to *Reggio*, which he demolished, but fortified the episcopal palace there, d and returned without any farther action to *Parma*. While this passed at *Reggio*, the *Bolognese*, who had undertaken to surprise *Modena* in like manner, and on the same day, made themselves masters of the bridge of *St. Ambrose*, and an adjacent castle, which they intirely demolished, and then went to *Borgo*, for so the suburbs of *Modena* were called, where they did great damage, and then they besieged and took the town of *Nouantola*, upon which they had an old claim; but found its rich abbey so well fortified, that they could not take it, and winter coming on, they were obliged to return to *Bologna*.

Affairs of the Guelphs, who are protected by the marquis of Este.

THE *Mantuanans* and the *Veronese*, who were two other capital parties in the league against the marquis of *Este*, had undertaken to prevent the *Cremonese* from coming to his assistance. Upon this the protector of *Parma*, with two thousand men, renewed his attempt e upon *Reggio*; but, after lying before it fifteen days, the rain and snow that fell, together with the advanced season of the year, obliged him to return to *Parma*. Their visit was repaid by the troops of the marquis of *Este*, who invaded the territory of *Parma* in their turn, and laid great part of it waste with fire and sword. About the same time, viz. in *December*, the *Rubeis* and the other exiled families of the *Guelph* faction, took and fortified the castle of *Serano*. This being known at *Parma*, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, the protector and podesta took the field with all the troops they could raise, and laid siege for twenty-two days to the place, which at last, with great difficulty, was taken, by granting the garrison an honourable capitulation, and safety as to their effects and persons. During this siege the *Rubeis*, and their associates, proffered their services to the marquis of *Este*, f who had been before their enemy; but now received them into his protection, and assigned them their residence in *Reggio*, and a body of men, with which they invaded and destroyed the estates of the protector, and attempted, but in vain, to raise the siege of *Sorano*.

THIS invasion, and the destruction of the protector's estates, served but to exasperate him the more against the marquis of *Este*; and in the beginning of the year 1306, he again took the field, and became master of several places belonging to *Modena* and *Reggio*, particularly *Cassala*, *Carpi*, *Ganazeto*, and *Budrioni*. This was followed by the expulsion out of *Reggio* and *Modena* of all the party and dependents of the *Este* family, many of whom were killed or wounded. This done, *Correggio* marched, at the head of his *Parmesans* and his *Bolognese* auxiliaries, into *Reggio*. The *Reggians* imagined that he had designs upon their liberties, g and some of them took arms; but not being properly supported by their fellow citizens, the insurrection was quelled by *Correggio*, with the deaths of several *Reggians*. This commotion made *Correggio*, from what he had experienced at *Placentia*, cautious of farther provoking the *Reggians*, and he affected to leave their government to their own disposal, the

War between the Reggians quelled.

rather as his *Bolognese* auxiliaries were now returned home. He even restored to them the episcopal tower, together with *Budriano*, and all that he had taken from them while they were the subjects of the marquis of *Este*. By those proceedings he induced the *Reggians* to chuse his brother *Matteo* for their podesta; and he accordingly settled at *Reggio* with his family. All the *Guelph* faction, however, who were at *Reggio*, and who were both rich and powerful, left that city, and retired to their estates in the country, by which the *Mantuan*s and *Veronese* were enabled to take the castle of *Rozoli*.

Marriage of
Correggio's
daughters.

CORREGGIO, who was now at the height of his reputation, gave away two of his daughters, and a grand-daughter, in one day in marriage: the eldest to *Alloin de la Scala*, lord of *Verona*; the second to *Francesco*, son of *Paperini* of *Mantua*; and the grand-daughter to *Baylardino* of *Verona*. Those ladies were attended with a noble cavalcade of *Parmesans* to the place of their nuptials, which was *Verona*; and those matches greatly strengthened the *Gibelin* interest in *Lombardy*. This year the cities and states of *Parma*, *Bologna*, *Modena*, *Reggio*, *Verona*, and *Brescia*, met by their deputies and plenipotentiaries, created for that purpose, at *Bologna*, where they entered into a solemn confederacy to take *Ferrara* from the marquis of *Este*. At this time the chief *Bolognese* had so good an opinion of *Correggio*, that the podesta of *Bologna* was in every respect directed by him. This podesta was a *Parmesan*, and his name was *Simon Ferrapecora*. But the common people were in general for the *Guelphs*; and two of that faction being imprisoned and tried for a charge of high treason (upon which they were acquitted) the common people of *Bologna* discovered the most extravagant expressions of joy, and at last drove the *Gibelins* out of the city, and pillaged their houses. Notwithstanding this, they had so great a regard for the services that had been done to the state by *Correggio*, that they offered to continue his podesta in his office; but the latter was so apprehensive of the consequences of their fury, that he resigned it, and went back to *Parma*. But, in fact, the *Guelphs* of *Bologna* cared as little for the pope as they did for the emperor; for when the legate from his holiness appeared in *Bologna*, and harangued the people to persuade them to submit to the holy see, he was driven out of the city, and most contumeliously used. It was about this time, that the inhabitants of *Val di Taro* expelled the *Gibelin* faction, for which the *Placentines*, their masters, besieged their town, and by the help of the *Parmesans* reduced it to their obedience. About the middle of *July* this year, the confederates took the field against the marquis of *Este*, and, amongst others, were joined by the *Parmesans*, and by two hundred soldiers furnished by *Correggio* from his own private fortune. They marched directly for *Ferrara*, and encamped so near it, that the trumpets of the allied army were distinctly heard within that city, the marquis of *Este* not daring to attack them. The exiles of *Placentia*, in the interest of *Scotti*, laid hold of that opportunity to surprize the castle of *Vigolini*, which the *Placentines* immediately besieged, with the assistance of four hundred horse and foot, sent to them by the *Parmesans*; and having obliged the garrison to capitulate, they demolished the place. The government of *Bologna* being now in the hands of the *Guelphs*, entered into a league with the marquis of *Este*, and had sent a body of troops to his assistance, which obliged the *Parmesans*, and their confederates, to raise the siege of *Ferrara*; but they took the castle of *Braganti*, belonging to the marquis. The *Parmesans*, about the same time, fortified their bridges upon the river of *Parma* and *Entio*, to prevent the incursions of their enemies.

Commotions in
Italy.

Arts of the
protector of
Parma.

In the year 1307, *Tadde* of *Reggio*, served *Parma* both as podesta and captain of the people; but the *Parmesans* being now destitute of military commanders, applied to the *Lucquesè*, who sent them one *Landi* to be their captain of the people. A civil war at the same time broke out in *Modena*, between the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins*, in which the latter were so roughly handled, that *Azo*, the *Parmesan* podesta's son, was sent with a body of troops from *Parma* to the assistance of the *Modenese Gibelins*. All this was done by the direction and authority of the protector and *Correggio*, who becoming now intolerable by the cruel exercise of his government, hired troops from *Verona* and *Mantua*, and even many *German* soldiers of fortune, who were extremely odious to the *Parmesans*, to protect him in his tyranny. His conduct, at last, obliged the other heads of the *Parmesan* government to enter into a secret conspiracy against him. Even some who were thought to have been of his own party, left *Parma*, and joined the *Rubeis*, the *Lupi*, and other exiles, who, at the invitation of the lords of *Canossa*, a famous castle in the *Modenese*, took possession of *Sesso*, a castle in the same neighbourhood, and fortified it as other exiles did *Corvaria*. *Rodolfo Garsoni* of *Modena*, was then podesta of *Parma*, and he, with *Matteo de Correggio*, marched with the *Parmesan* troops, and laid siege to *Corvaria*; but they were defeated with considerable loss by the exiles, which obliged the besiegers, after laying waste the estates of the *Paleoti*, to whom the castle of *Corvaria* belonged, to return to *Parma*.

He is defeated;

but assisted.

AFTER this misfortune, the protector was obliged to apply to his allies of *Verona*, *Mantua*, and *Brescia*, who sent a considerable body of troops to his assistance. This reinforcement

a ment enabled him to favour the *Gibelins* of *Placentia*, who expelled many of the *Guelphs* from that city and district.

THE uninterrupted wars which the *Parmesans* had sustained, in fighting in the quarrels of their tyrant *Correggio*, had occasioned such a scarcity of hands for agriculture, that the ground had for some time lain uncultivated; and provisions were this year so dear, that the magistrates were obliged to order a general search to be made, both in the city and country, for grain; where so inconsiderable a quantity was found, that they were obliged to buy it at an excessive rate, and to sell it at great loss in the open street, to prevent the people from starving. This dreadful calamity was attributed to the ambition of *Correggio*, and added so much to his unpopularity, that in June, this year, a meeting was held of the chief citizens of *Parma*, *Gibelins* as well as *Guelphs*, to concert measures for deposing him from his government. *Correggio*, who is said to have been a man of great abilities and address, found out the purport of this meeting, and immediately summoned all his friends and dependents to attend him at *Parma*. The conspirators, whose head was one *Anselmo de Marano*, perceiving that they were discovered, fled out of the city, and were banished; while some, who had come to *Parma* on the protector's summons, were imprisoned; and no fewer than twenty-seven of the heads of the *Guelphs* were thrown into the common jails. This severity, for that time, quelled the conspiracy; and the *Palcotti* family, who had been banished, and their estates forfeited, had their sentences reversed, and returned to *Parma*; as did several other of the chief conspirators, who, upon promise of pardon, were seemingly reconciled to the protector; but *Anselmo de Marano* died soon after his flight. The family of *Rubeis* still stood out, which obliged the protector and the podesta to assemble all the force of *Parma*, and their auxiliaries of *Reggio*, and once more to besiege the castle of *Sesso*, which was held by the *Rubeis*; but all the besiegers could do was to lay waste the open country, and to return to *Parma*. While this expedition was going forward, the *Placentines* laid siege to *Bardi* on the river *Sevo*; and the protector of *Parma* sent them one hundred foot-soldiers, to remain in garrison at *Placentia* during the absence of their army.

IT appears, that the power of the protector began now to decrease in *Parma*; for the community there, at this time, delivered some of the capital conspirators, who had been imprisoned, out of their confinement; and re-admitted others, who had been banished, into the city. In the month of June, the podesta, at the head of his militia and soldiers, again invaded the estates belonging to the lords of *Canossa*; while the *Reggians* destroyed the lands of *Padarno*, as far as *Felini*, belonging to the same lords, and then returned home. In July, the exiles of *Placentia*, *Milan*, *Lodi*, and *Cremona*, assembled and surprised the monastery of *Columba*; from whence they marched to *Monticelli*, which lies in the neighbourhood of *Ronchaglia*, a place belonging to *Placentia*, and seized and fortified the same. The inhabitants of *Placentia*, upon this, sent to *Parma* for succours, to enable them to dispossess the exiles from their new acquisition, which were immediately sent them; while the protector, with the rest of the army, marched to *Fiorenzola*, and from thence to *Borgo di San Domino*; from whence he moved to the district of *Fontana*, where he expected to have been joined by the *Placentines*, according to agreement, that they might march in conjunction against the exiles. He was at last joined, but by a few of the latter, and the whole army marched to *Ronchaglia*; but the heats of the season were so excessive, that neither water nor forage could be had; so that many of the *Placentines*, their cavalry especially, perished in their march; and the podesta was obliged to bring back his army to *Fiorenzola*, from whence he returned to *Parma*. A part of the *Placentine* army was still lying before *Bardi*; but hearing of the disasters of their countrymen, they raised the siege, and retired with precipitation to *Placentia*.

THIS year the *Placentines*, who were in garrison in the towns of *Fiorenzola*, and others in its neighbourhood, were driven out of the same; and they were taken possession of by *Alberto Scotti*, and the *Florentine* exiles under *Lupi*, upon the invitation of the inhabitants. From thence *Scotti* and the exiles of his party marched against *Placentia* itself, where every thing was in confusion; and, by the assistance of *Lupi*, he got possession of one of the gates, and expelled from thence all the heads of the party against him, many of whom were *Parmesans*, obliging them to take refuge in *Bobbio*. Upon the news of this unexpected revolution arriving at *Parma*, the podesta of that city marched with his army to the succour of the *Placentines*; but did not venture to proceed farther than *Borgo di San Domino*, on account of the discontents that broke out in *Parma*. It was now known, that *Lupi* and *Rubeis* had conducted the enterprize against *Placentia*; and they were justly supposed to be irreconcilable enemies to the podesta and his friends in *Parma*.

g WHILE this consternation lasted, a murder was committed, in the presence of the protector, in the church of *St. Peter*. This rendered it necessary to re-consecrate the church; which ceremony was performed by the bishop of *Reggio*, because the bishop of *Parma* refused to do it, and continued upon his guard against the protector at *Colorno*; all his estate

within the city being seized by the protector, who was now more unpopular than ever. ^a Understanding that the exiles had been sheltered and assisted in the *Cremonese*, he confederated with the *Mantuans* to lay waste that district, and, if possible, to make themselves masters of *Cremona* itself. Towards the end of *August*, having made extraordinary preparations for that purpose, he and the podesta marched out of *Parma* to *Brissello*, with all the force they could muster; while the *Mantuans*, having fitted out a number of small vessels, attacked the *Cremonese* by water, and took *Ponte de Doxolo*. The confederates then laid waste *Montefori*, *Vidali*, *Portioli*, *Casal Maggiore*, *Rivarola*, and *Luzzara*, with many other places, thereby entirely ruining that delightful country. *Guastalla* submitted to the protector; but he entirely razed its fortifications. The *Veronese* and the *Brescians* at the same time, as being the allies of *Parma*, entered the *Cremonese*, and had their share of the ^b plunder.

The magistracy of Parma disgusted.

THOSE barbarities were extremely disgusting to the magistrates of *Parma*, from whose knowledge the whole expedition had been kept a secret; so that it was undertaken without the consent of the council or community of *Parma*, which the protector was obliged, by his oath of office, to have consulted. All he said in his defence was, that the *Cremonese* were the enemies of *Parma*; and at the same time he gave orders for fortifying *Brissello*, *Colorno*, *Sesso*, and *Borgo di San Domino*, under pretence of defending them against the *Cremonese*; but, in reality, to hold them against the *Parmesans* themselves, who were now every day conspiring his ruin. His intentions were so visible, that *Rubeis* and the other exiles joined with the *Milaneze*, the *Cremonese*, the *Lodese*, and the *Pavians*, and laid waste ^c the lands of their enemies about *Parma*. The protector's enemies were equally active against him within the city; but having the army at his devotion, and being well served by spies, all their intrigues were discovered, and the conspirators were punished, either by death or banishment.

A new expedition.

THE protector and the podesta then passed the *Taro*, and again marched into the *Cremonese* by another quarter, where they renewed their devastations; as the *Brescians* did in the country about *Ponte Vico*, and even in the neighbourhood of *Cremona* itself. On the other hand, the *Cremonese* marched against *Brissello*, which was garrisoned by *Parmesans*, who defeated the *Cremonese* with a considerable slaughter. In the middle of *October*, *James della Senaza* and *Palamede*, the natural son of *William de Rubeis*, at the head of some exiles, were ^d defeated by the *Parmesans* near *Borgo di San Domino*, and both the leaders, with many of their soldiers, were carried prisoners to *Parma*, where the common men were executed upon gibbets; but the leaders were led away to *Guardaxoni*. The farther operations of this campaign were prevented by a prodigious swell of the rivers all over *Lombardy*. The late conquest obtained by the protector had rendered him so insolent, that, when the term of the podesta's government was expired, none chose to succeed him in that command, till *William de Foligni*, who was then captain of the people, took it upon himself, and exercised both offices at the same time. At last, one *Malavolta* of *Sienna*, who had been podesta of *Brescia*, was invited to the podestate of *Parma*, which he accepted of, upon the salary being augmented, and entered upon his office with great pomp and popularity. ^e

Differences between the Venetians and the Parmesans.

THIS year the *Venetians*, at the request of the marquis of *Este*, the *Cremonese*, the *Milaneze*, the *Pavians*, and the *Bergameze*, attempted to carry salt and other merchandizes up the *Po*, to supply the inland parts of *Italy*; but the *Parmesans*, dealing largely themselves in salt, opposed the navigation. The *Venetians* remonstrated, again and again, by their ambassadors, that this opposition was unjust, and that they had a right to the free navigation of the *Po*: but all their remonstrances were in vain; for the *Parmesans* would not yield; and thus salt, and other commodities, became so excessively dear at *Cremona*, *Pavia*, and other places, that they could not procure the proper ingredients, then in use, for their *Christmas* festivities. A quarrel, about this time, happening between the *Cremonese* and the *Brescians*, the *Parmesans* sent four hundred soldiers to the assistance of the latter, who ^f thereby recovered the territory of *Giedo*, which had revolted to the enemy, and brought the garrison prisoners to *Brescia*. In the year 1308, *Malavolta* of *Sienna* being still podesta of *Parma*, an accommodation was concluded between the protector *Correggio*, and the then abbot of the monastery of *St. John*, who returned home with all his adherents. This year died the marquis of *Este*; and, by the assistance of the *Bolognese* and the *Venetians*, he was succeeded by his natural son *Frisco*, or *Francis*. Some historians say, that *Frisco*, fearing his father might have legitimate children by his wife, put him to death. But *Parma* was now on the eve of a great revolution.

Conspiracy against the protector.

THE protector, thinking that his power could not now be shaken, went to take a few days diversion upon his estate at *Correggio*, which gave his enemies an opportunity to put ^g into execution the conspiracy they had so long meditated against him. Upon his return to the episcopal palace, where he still had his residence, near *Parma*, he found that some of his chief domestics had made an attempt to seize the palace; into which, with some difficulty,

a ty, he forced his way, and, being assisted by those who were still true to him, a sharp dispute ensued; but he drove the conspirators out of the palace. Fearing, as indeed was the case, that the conspiracy had spread farther, he and his retinue immediately took horse, and rode to *Parma*; but his entrance was opposed by a great number of the *Guelphs* at the head of the bridge. The protector, however, who had now received a considerable reinforcement, beat his enemies from their post, and entered the city, where his party took arms, and plundered or set fire to the houses of the chief *Guelphs*, many of whom they put to death, and, amongst others, *Oddovrandi*, a venerable old nobleman. As those disorders were, in fact, as much owing to rapacity and avarice as to party or religion, the mob every hour grew stronger; and the murders, plunderings, and robberies, continued for a whole day. A party of the *Guelphs*, however, took possession of *St. George's-street*, crying out, "Peace, peace, the people, the people;" and cut off the communication between *Saxoli de Saxolo*, captain of the mercenaries, and the protector. The captain found means to join the protector by another quarter; but, it being now dark, nothing farther happened that night; and all parties continued under arms, fortified their houses, barricading the streets, and preparing for action next morning. No sooner did light appear, than every street of *Parma* became a scene of tumult and bloodshed; but the *Guelphs* must have prevailed, had not the podesta interposed, and, by undertaking an accommodation, persuaded them to forego their advantage. The *Gibelins*, being reinforced by the protector, availed themselves of this truce, and put to flight their enemies, most of whom fled out of the city towards *Cremona*; while the *Gibelins*, as usual, plundered and set on fire their houses.

c *DE RUBEIS* and *Lupi*, with the other exiles of *Parma*, were all this while at *Cremona*, strengthening their party; and they no sooner heard that the insurrection was begun at *Parma* than they set out for that city, attended by the podesta of *Cremona*, with his militia and the *Brescian* exiles: but upon their march being met by the *Parmesan* fugitives, who informed them of the discomfiture of their party, they returned to *Grugni*, beyond the *Taro*, where they remained for a whole night. The protector interpreted their retreat as a flight, and perhaps was the less solicitous about the care of the city. The exiles, however, had many even amongst those who appeared in his party, who corresponded with them, and who promised, if they appeared before the gate of *St. Hilary*, to open it, and admit them d into the city. In consequence of this agreement, *Rubeis* and *Lupi*, with the other exiles, and not above thirty of the *Cremonese*, presented themselves before that gate, which was opened to them by their friends; but marching on to the gate of the *Holy Cross*, they found it shut, and were preparing to force it, when the protector, looking over the wall, and seeing them but a handful, ordered the gate to be thrown open, and attacked the exiles with great vigour. The latter, however, behaved with such intrepidity, that they obliged the protector to fall back; and this small advantage encouraged the concealed *Guelphs* in his train to declare openly against him; so that the exiles found means to enter the gate of the *Holy Cross* along with the fugitives, and were thereupon joined by great numbers of the inhabitants, so that all the cry in that quarter was now for the people. The protector still e maintained his ground, and made a most obstinate resistance, in which many on both parties were killed or wounded; but at last, towards night, the protector and all his friends and followers were obliged to fly through the quarter of *St. Benedict*. Night favoured their retreat, and they escaped partly to *Reggio*, which city was strongly in the protector's interest, and partly to *Correggio*. In this rout, *Saxoli*, who has been already mentioned, was taken, and delivered to *Rubeis*, who treated him with the greatest respect and humanity, partly on account of his valour, and partly because of his great interest.

who is driven out of Parma.

f THE *Guelphs* made the same cruel use of their success as the *Gibelins* had done of theirs. All the fugitives of their party returning home, the robbings and burnings were renewed, and the *Gibelins* were persecuted and murdered in their turn. The public suffered most by the followers of *Rolandino Scorza*, who were composed of rustics and banditti of every denomination, and had been banished on account of their crimes. Those wretches, being joined by all the needy and necessitous of the city, took possession of the two public palaces, the houses of the podesta and the captain of the people, the collectors of the revenue, the judges, and the courts of justice, where they tore into small pieces the records and sentences against all malefactors, and throwing them out of the window, the air was filled with them, says my authority, as with flakes of snow; by this proceeding getting rid of their banishments, and paying their debts. They even cut in pieces the robes of the podesta and the other magistrates, civil and criminal. When those violences were somewhat abated, by the interposition of the heads of the magistracy, who still remained at *Parma*, g *James de Carvalcabo* of *Cremona*, who, with his two sons, had been highly instrumental in the late revolution, was chosen podesta of *Parma*; and the first exercise of his office was to put a total end to the ravages and plunderings in the city and suburbs. All this while, the podesta and soldiers of *Cremona* had remained at *Grugni*; but the new podesta, to strengthen

Disorders there.

Treaty for restoring the protector,

strengthen his authority, invited them to *Parma*, where they remained for some days. They then set out for *Cremona*, after insulting *Correggio* and *Campignani*, where the late protector and his brother were shut up. Before their departure, their chief officers received from the community of *Parma* presents of scarlet robes, lined with furs. In their return, they ravaged the territory of *Brusolo*. An exchange of prisoners was then set about, in which *James della Senaza*, *Palamede de Rubeis*, and other noble *Guelphs* of *Parma*, were exchanged for *Saxolo*. This new establishment of *Parma* did not long continue, because the individuals of the party that had prevailed were united in no principle, but in that of opposition to *Correggio*. *Benno* of *Bologna* was made captain of the people; and had no sooner entered on his office, than all who were known or suspected to be of the *Gibelin* or bishop's party were put under arrest. This did not content the common people, whose chief view was plunder; and about the middle of *May* they ran to arms, and the street resounded with the cry of "Down with the *Gibelins*." They then fell upon the house of *Oppizoni de Henzola*, the *Thomasini*, and *Altarmani*; and, after plundering them, set them on fire, and the flames communicated to many other houses in the neighbourhood. It was no wonder, that the most sensible of the *Guelph* leaders began now to think, that the tyranny of the mob was less supportable than that of *Correggio* had been, and that some of them entered into a private treaty with him. *Correggio*, by all accounts, was a man of parts and address; and perhaps had been, for his own safety, forced to give way to many of the excesses that had been committed under his government. He readily yielded to the proposal for an accommodation; and promised, if he was restored, to replace the people of *Parma* in their just rights, and, if possible, to abolish all heats and distinctions of party. *James della Senaza* was the principal agent in this accommodation. He had obtained leave from the community of *Parma* to fortify the castle of *Henzola*, or, as others call it, *Inzola*; which he did, according to the manner of those times, very strongly; and then sent a message to the community, complaining that *Larioli Burencato*, and *Pinati della Senaza*, who had been banished for the murder of *Ugardi de Correggio*, had been re-admitted into the city. Though there was great weight in this complaint, yet it was disregarded; upon which *Senaza*, receiving a supply of troops from *Correggio*, bade defiance to the community of *Parma*, and began to ravage their lands, especially of such as held any in the bishopric.

who is joined by the chief exiles.

THOMASINI and *Oppizoni de Henzola*, who had been amongst the most forward to expel the protector, resenting the burning of their houses, declared themselves of the same party with *Senaza*, and surprised *Opilio*, into which they likewise admitted *Correggio's* troops. The ravages in the *Parmesan* territory were now renewed; and *Correggio* himself taking the field, he spread devastation to the very gates of *Parma*. It may justly be wondered at, by our readers, how a small country, such as that of *Parma*, could subsist under so many repeated ravages. We have, in another place, made the same remark, and shall only add here, that those ravages are not supposed to be universal, and that each party only destroyed the possessions of the other; and perhaps in some places the words plundering and burning are only used of course to signify any hostile invasion.

A fruitless expedition.

THE *Guelph* party within the city were equally active; and so forward were all ranks of people to assist in keeping out the late protector, that when oxen were wanting to draw a large battering engine, the boys in the streets performed the service. Every thing being ready for taking the field, the community came to a resolution to defend themselves to extremity, and while their podesta was absent, to make fresh levies against the late tyrant and his new allies. The podesta next marched with all the force he could then bring together against the enemy, and advanced to *Henzola*, which lies about nine miles from *Parma*, but is now a place of no note; but all they could do was to renew their ravages; for they found *Correggio's* party so strong, that they were obliged to return to *Parma*. By this time the new levies had been raised with surprising success; and a general council being called, colours were formally delivered to the respective companies, and a promotion of officers took place. The podesta then took the field, at the head of the most numerous and best appointed army that *Parma* had ever sent out, and marched by *Sorbolo* towards *Henzola*. In their march, so sure did they think themselves of success, that they detached two hundred horse and two hundred foot, to the assistance of their allies the *Cremonese*, who were hardly pressed by the *Milanese*, *Pavians*, *Placentines*, and all the neighbouring people, in revenge of their having invaded *Brescia*. This detachment advanced to *Bina Nova*, lying on the banks of the *Lodio*, over which they proposed to throw a bridge; but after various debates and attempts, they did nothing more than draw off part of the enemy to attend their motions. Their appearance, however, was of great use to the *Cremonese*, who, with the assistance of their allies of *Mantua* and *Verona*, defended themselves so bravely, that their enemies were obliged to break up their camp, while the *Parmesan* detachment returned to their main army, which lay before *Henzola*. At this time *Zefredini della Torre* of *Milan* came to *Parma*, with two hundred men under his command, to join the

a the *Parmesan* army; but, at the request of the inhabitants, he remained in *Parma* for the defence of the city.

The protestant
entirely defeats
the Parmesans.

But *Correggio* now had assembled all his force, consisting of the *Gibelins* of the imperial as well as episcopal party, a great number of *Reggians*, though they served without consent of the community of *Reggio*, the militia and soldiers of *Modena*, who were commanded by their own captain and officers, all the *Bolognese* exiles, the counts *Panigo* and *Paleoti*, the *Parmesan* exiles, with their tenants, *Malespina* of *Lunigiana*, and many others, who most of them at this time served in *Correggio's* pay, and were by him well equipped in all the necessaries of war, besides his own tenants. At first *Correggio* sent them proposals for an accommodation, the same as he had agreed upon with *Senaza* and his friends; and though they were rejected by the majority, who were afraid of trusting him, yet they created a division in the *Parmesan* army; but a battle appeared unavoidable. *Correggio* was sensible that his force was not equal in number to that of the *Parmesans*; but being superior to their commanders in the art of war, he made so judicious a choice of his ground, that the enemy could not attack him, but under great disadvantages. *Ferreti Vicentini*^a tells us, though the *Parmesan* chronicle is silent as to the fact, that this gave him leisure to recal his son-in-law *Alboin*, then serving in the *Brescian*, who accordingly joined him with some choice troops. Both armies lay for some time inactive in sight of each other. At last the *Parmesans*, ashamed to be longer idle, drew up their army with much greater parade than military discipline, and moved to the attack; but so greatly divided amongst themselves, that their march was without order or regularity. *Correggio* had foreseen this, and seemed to retreat. This increased the disorder of the enemy; and watching his opportunity, he gave the signal for the attack; and the *Parmesan* cavalry, which formed their van, was instantly thrown into confusion, and forced back upon their infantry, at the very time their leaders thought themselves certain of victory. The consternation which this occasioned was so great, that the infantry neither advanced nor retired, and many suffered themselves to be cut into pieces without resistance, a few of the cavalry only escaping by the swiftness of their horses. At last *Correggio* put a stop to the carnage which must otherwise have been total, on account of the cruelty of his mercenaries, who thought they could not please him better than by butchering his enemies; such of the *Parmesans* as survived were put in irons; but few of the wounded recovered, and the slain amounted to above five thousand men. Such is the account of this battle, so memorable in the *Parmesan* annals, that is given by *Vicentini*. According to the chronicle of *Parma*, above one hundred of the principal citizens of *Parma* were killed on the spot; but the author does not particularize the whole loss, though he acknowledges it to have been very great; and by his account it must have amounted to little less than that mentioned by *Vicentini*. Some of the prisoners were carried to *Castro Nuovo*, which had been built by *Correggio* upon his own estate; others were sent to *Pupuli*, *Campignani*, *Henzola*, and *Guardaxoni*; and many were carried off by the *Modenese*, and other auxiliaries, to their own estates, where the captors suffered them to live only that they might receive their ransom, which was accordingly paid upon the re-establishment of the public tranquillity. All the military engines, the standards of state, the baggage of the officers and private soldiers, together with the carriages, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The *Modenese* were the chief gainers; for though they had before termed themselves the brethren of the *Parmesans*, yet they plundered them more than all the rest of *Correggio's* army did, and were remarkably severe upon the prisoners who had the misfortune to fall into their hands.

CORREGGIO followed the fugitive *Parmesans* to the very gates of the city; but he was obliged to retire by *Zefredini* of *Milan*, who defended it. His repulse provoked him so much, that on his return to his own estate, he picked up all the stragglers he could of the defeated army, and carried them prisoners to *Castro Nuovo*. The grief and consternation at *Parma* upon this defeat, were inexpressible, as there were but few families in the city, who had not lost a father, son, or other relation in it. The podesta and the captain of the people, with some of the standard-bearers, made their escape from the field of battle, as did the two heads of the *Rubeis* family, *William* and *Ugolin*; but *Jacobino*, *William's* son, was taken and carried prisoner to *Modena*, where he remained in an honourable captivity till a peace was concluded. *Anselmo de Marano*, abbot of the monastery of *St. John*, undertook that desirable office, which proved more practicable than had been expected. *Correggio* continued in his system of moderation, and offered to return to *Parma*, upon the terms on which he had first entered it, and to restore the people to all their constitutional rights. *Marano* made this concession the basis of his negotiation; and two syndics or plenipotentiaries were named, one for the community of *Parma*, and another for *Correggio*, on the 28th day of *June*, which was but nine days after the battle was fought. In this meeting

and is restored
to Parma,

^a FERRETI VICENT. apud MURAT. tom. ix. page 1032.

Correggio ordered all his concessions to be repeated; but intimated, at the same time, that if they were rejected, he would enter the city by force, and give no quarter to the enemies of peace. A treaty was soon concluded upon the following terms: "That all the exiles of the city of *Parma*, either imperial or episcopal, or in the interest of *Correggio*, and that all who had been expelled the said city, on account of misdeeds or malversations, or for any other crime or pretence, should be discharged from their sentences; that all prisoners should be set at liberty; and that all the aforesaid might return with freedom to *Parma*, as they should think proper." It does not appear, by this compromise, that any censure was passed on those who had opposed *Correggio*; for all the prisoners he had made were set at liberty, excepting those who had fallen into the hands of the *Modenese*, and the other confederates. On the same day this accommodation was made, *James de Cavalcabo* the podesta, and *Benno* the captain of the people of *Parma*, appeared in the council, and not only received in ready money, all the arrears that were due to them, on account of their offices, but satisfaction for all the losses they had sustained in the late battle. *Zefredini della Torre* was then chosen to be administrator of the city and state of *Parma*, and podesta as well as captain thereof; and he kept the said provisional offices till the second of *August* following; when a council of four hundred of the principal citizens of *Parma* were chosen for the ordinary administration of justice; and the abbot *Anselmo de Marano* was by them appointed to nominate and control the podesta, and the captain of the people. It was expected that *Zefredini*, whose power was now annulled, would have accepted of the office of podesta, but he absolutely declined it: upon which the abbot named *Sigisfred Arzignano* of *Vicenza* podesta, and *Andrioli*, a *Genoese*, marquis of *Gavio*, captain of the people, both of whom accepted of their offices.

and to his
power there.

BUT those proceedings entirely disconcerted the secret schemes of *Correggio*, whose intention was to re-assume the government, and to leave the same to his son-in-law *Albain*, to whom he chiefly owed his successes. *Rubeis* and *Lupi*, and the heads of the *Guelphs*, pretended to his friends, that the terms of the late pacification had been complied with by suffering him to return to *Parma*, in quality of a private citizen. This did not satisfy *Correggio*, who insisted upon the punishment of some of the ringleaders of the faction against him. That being denied, he and his friends, on the 3d of *August*, appeared under arms in the Great Square of the city. *Parma* once more was involved in blood; but *Rubeis*, *Lupi*, and *Henzola*, who had been so assistant in gaining the late victory, after a long conflict, were driven out of the city, and a long train of robberies, firings, plunderings, and murders, once more took place. By the late pacification it had been provided, that *Borgo di San Domino*, the castle of *Marano*, and that of *Berceto*, should be put into the hands of *Rubeis*, and the other heads of the *Guelph* party, to serve as places of protection for them and their friends, in case the public distractions should be renewed. The exiles therefore repaired to those castles; but the inhabitants of *Marano* and *Berceto*, who probably had a secret correspondence with *Correggio*, refused them admittance; so that they were obliged to retire to *Guarola* and *Torclaria*, which they fortified, as they did *Borgo di San Domino*, and made excursions upon the lands of their enemies; but without being able to do them much damage. *Sigisfred* of *Vicenza*, the podesta elect, was at this time on his journey to enter upon his new office; but when he arrived at *Mantua*, hearing of the new revolution, he went back with all his family to *Vicenza*. The marquis of *Gavio*, who had entered upon his office, refused to exercise it any longer; and on the 4th of *August*, in a general council, he resigned the same, but demanded his salary, which being refused him, he and his family set out without it for *Genoa* the very next morning.

The civil go-
vernment of
Parma weak.

IT was now evident, that the offices of podesta and captain of the people of *Parma* were merely nominal, and no man of rank would accept of them. One *James de Stradella*, who had attended the late captain as his judge, or counsellor, was nominated (but by what authority is not said) podesta: and one *Gazapini*, a *Cremonese*, who had attended the late podesta in the same capacity, was made captain of the people. They were, however, mere cyphers in the government, without either power or authority, to put a stop to the thefts, robberies, murders, burnings, and all kinds of mischief, which now filled every quarter of the *Parmesan*. When their time expired, each received sixty marks for his salary; but the chronicle is here imperfect. Amongst other murders committed at this time, were those of *James de Sanaza*, who was esteemed the worthiest man in *Florence*, his uncle *Adigherio*, *Antoni de Sulcio*, and *Sanaza's* youngest son, with others of the same party, to the number of nine, at *Rocbelli*, whose deaths, especially that of *James de Sanaza*, created an universal grief and consternation at *Parma*. The next *Parmesan* podesta we find upon record, is *Pagonini*, count de *Panico*, a *Bolognese* exile, who served out his time of six months; and *Ugolini de Manfredi*, a *Reggian*, was elected captain of the people. About this time a pacification like that which had been made at *Parma*, took place at *Placentia*, where all the exiles returned to that city, under the command of *della Torre*, then the lord of *Milan*, whom

a whom they elected their protector for five years, and who, after introducing them to *Placentia*, and seeing every thing peaceably settled, returned to *Milan*. The same year the lords of *Storti*, who were exiles at *Torclaria*, burnt a town near the new gate of *Parma*; and *Rubeis*, with the other chief exiles, still held the castle of *Guarola*, from whence they continued their depredations. This obliged the *Gibelin* party in *Parma* to take the field, where they were met by the exiles; and a bloody encounter followed, in which the latter were defeated, and that castle was retaken, and all its garrison, which consisted only of sixty men; but some of them of consideration were made prisoners, and sent some to *Guardaxoni*, and others to *Parma*. From *Guarola*, which they demolished, the *Parmesan* army marched to *Torclaria*, which was defended by *Scoza*, and his two sons *Rolandini* and *Cabrini*, so bravely, that many of the assailants, after lying fifteen days before it, and losing many of their best men, returned in a most miserable condition to *Parma*: they left, however, a sufficient number to block up the place, which, being reduced to the utmost distress, surrendered by capitulation, on condition that all who were within it should be freed from their sentence of banishment, and return to *Parma*.

THOSE civil commotions and devastations were not confined to *Parma*, but raged all over *Lombardy*, where many of the principal cities and states submitted, rather than be longer harraßed by petty tyrants. The *Milanese* chose *della Turre* for their perpetual governor, his command before being only temporary. *Maffeo de Madio*, brother to their late bishop, was chosen by the *Brescians* to the same capacity; and the *Ferrarese*, after holding out for a long time against the *Bolognese* and the *Paduans*, perceiving that *Frisco de Este* was unable to defend them, submitted to the government of the *Venetians*, who had sent a small fleet to their assistance. *Frisco* on this occasion received a large sum of money from the *Venetians*, who broke all their terms with the *Ferrarese*, whom they reduced to a state of servitude. Towards the end of the year *Borgo di San Domino* was besieged by the *Parmesans*, who, not being able to take it, surprized *St. Hilary*, and burnt great part of it to the ground.

Public distractions all over Lombardy.

IN the beginning of the year 1339, *Peter Mancafolo* of *Placentia* was chosen podesta of *Parma*, while *Correggio*, though he was absolute there, contented himself with being chosen provost of the merchants for five years; so efficacious was a long permanency even in an inferior office for the purposes of tyranny. The terms of *Guelph* and *Gibelin* were by him artfully discontinued, and the only distinction now was between the friends of the community of *Parma*, and the faction of the *Rubeis*. Many of the latter were imprisoned, and some of them put to death; while others were kept under the awe of impeachments, for disobeying the orders of the community. This year domestic differences arising in *Placentia*, between *Alberto Scotti* and the government there, *Mancafolo* the podesta of *Parma*, who was son-in-law to *Scotti*, marched with a body of *Parmesans* to his father-in-law's assistance, and drove from that city all the faction of *della Turre*, and restored the exiles of *Scotti's* party to their estates and effects in the *Placentine*. This expedition, however, cost *Mancafolo* his life, for he never returned to *Parma*; and he was succeeded as podesta thereof by *Bartolino de Rodini* of *Reggio*, who had served under him as his judge or assessor. After the time of his government, which was about a month, was expired, he was succeeded by *Ugolini de Manfredi*, who continued podesta for ten days, till his successor, whose name is not mentioned in the chronicle, arrived. At this time *Antonio de Gualdini*, a *Parmesan*, was podesta of *Genoa*; but being opposed by *Oppizoni Spinola*, who, from being an exile, had been chosen captain of the people, *Spinola's* party within the city was the most powerful, and drove the podesta out of it; and the latter happening to encounter a body of the *Genoese* exiles, he was killed in the battle; and the *Guelph* families of *Genoa*, who had been exiles for forty years, resumed the government of that state and city.

Arts of the protector.

Revolution in Genoa.

THIS year *Parma* was honoured with a visit from the pope's legate, on the following occasion. The *Venetians* having, as we have already mentioned, violated all good faith with their new subjects the *Ferrarese*, the latter refused to be longer subservient to them, and sent a deputation to the pope, who had always claimed *Ferrara* as an immediate fief of the church, inviting him to take their state and city under his protection and government. Before an answer could come from his holiness, the *Venetians* and *Ferrarese* had come to blows in the streets of *Ferrara*; and the former being defeated, took refuge in the castle of *Tedaldo*. Upon this the *Venetian* senate equipped a fleet and an army to besiege *Ferrara* both by land and water. In the mean while the *Bolognese* were equally alert to succour their allies of *Ferrara*; and the pope being informed of what had happened, sent express orders to the *Venetians* to evacuate the castle of *Tedaldo*, and entirely to quit the *Ferrarese*, both which the *Venetians* as expressly refused to comply with. The pope then sent his legate to *Parma*, and to the other cities of *Lombardy*, who, after excommunicating the *Venetians*, published a crusade against them, offering pardon and remission of sins to all who would assist the holy see in recovering *Ferrara*. Though *Correggio* could not prevent the legate's

A legate visits Parma.

legate's admission into *Parma*, yet he prevented the *Parmesans*, who in general were sincerely devoted to the service of his holiness, from entering into the crusade. Notwithstanding this, the legate's success was so great throughout the other states and cities of *Lombardy*, that he assembled a numerous army, which drove the *Venetians* out of the *Ferrarese*, stormed the castle, and put all who were found within it to the sword. After that the legate reduced the other places of *Ferrara*, and delivered the whole principality from the *Venetian* yoke.

THE famous extermination of the knights templars of *Jerusalem* began this year. They were accused of heresy, blasphemy, and every other crime, though their greatest seems to have been the immense possessions and territories they had acquired, as there was hardly a state in *Europe* in which they had not property. It is to be presumed they had some in *Parma*; for the apostolical legate this year came to that city, where he solemnly pronounced the sentence of excommunication against the whole order. Before the close of the year the *Parmesans*, assisted by all their confederates, resumed the siege of *Borgo di San Domino*; on which they were so intent, that they left only the civil magistrates, and two hundred *Modenese* foot to garrison their city; and here the chronicle of *Parma* ends. From other authors we learn, that the place was taken upon composition, and the exiles returned, and with them tranquility, to that city.

FOR some years after this period, the history of *Parma* is so blended with that of the other states of *Italy*, that to write it so particularly as we have already done, would be to repeat what has been already said in other parts of this work. We shall, however, follow it in every material circumstance that relates to *Parma* only.

It is evident that the two great objects which the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins* in *Italy* had in view, when that distinction first took place, were now changed. The *Guelphs* were for maintaining their liberty under the nominal protection of the pope, who could neither hurt nor help them. The *Gibelins* were in reality as jealous of the emperor as the *Guelphs*, and were as little desirous of his entering *Italy*; but they sought to enjoy its spoils under his powerful authority. But no emperor having intermeddled in the affairs of *Italy* since *Frederick II.* the dread of the imperial power, which was the center of unity amongst the *Guelphs*, vanished; and they broke amongst themselves. *Henry VII.* was now emperor of *Germany*, and he thought that *Italy* was of too much importance to be longer neglected; and, as has been seen in a former part of this work, he marched into *Italy* with an army sufficient to have retrieved and asserted all the imperial rights in that country, had not pope *Clement V.* who was the first to invite him, abandoned him. The family *della Turre*, or the *Torriani* of *Milan*, had likewise solicited him to that undertaking. *Guido Torriani*, their head, had for that purpose sent two preaching friars to him in *Germany*, promising to meet him with all his family at *Lausanne*, at the head of one thousand men, not chusing to bring more, because he could lead him with a walking-stick through all *Lombardy*. Being arrived at *Turin*, some of the *Gibelin* exiles repaired to him as to their head; but he coldly told them, that he was come to be the common father both of *Guelphs* and *Gibelins*, and to abolish all such distinctions. In short, when the heads of the *Gibelins* presented themselves to him as sufferers for him and his party, and intreated to take an oath of fidelity to his person, and authority for the fiefs they held under him, he refused to admit them to take any such oath, because that in effect would have been to have confirmed them in their fiefs, which he intended to resume into his own hands. Every one knows that he was crowned king of *Italy* at *Milan*; but the pope by that time had formed a powerful league against him, which first disconcerted and then ruined all his mighty designs. The parties in this league under his holiness, were *Robert* king of *Naples*, the cities of *Florence*, *Bologna*, *Sienna*, *Lucca*, *Cremona*, *Padua*, *Brescia*, and some others. *Correggio*, who was now the absolute master of *Parma*, at first refused to enter into that league; but he is said to have received twelve thousand florins from the *Bolognese* and the *Florentines*, to induce him to become a party, two thousand of which he presented to the emperor, as part of the arrears due by *Parma* as an imperial fief; but in reality to replenish his imperial majesty's coffers, and to purchase for himself the government of *Parma*, which he obtained, and thereby added a kind of right to power. Soon after the bishop of *Botronto*, and another ambassador, were sent by the emperor to take the oaths of the different cities in *Lombardy*; but when he intimated to *Correggio* their design to visit *Parma* amongst others, *Correggio* flatly refused him admittance; which may be the reason why the bishop, in his relation of the emperor's *Italian* expedition, calls him a *Guelph* tyrant^a. The truth is, *Correggio* at this time, being as much afraid of the emperor as any of the *Guelphs* were, entered into other measures. The emperor had meanly altered the purposes of his expedition to *Italy*. Instead of re-establishing the imperial authority there, by taking into his own immediate management the states and cities of *Lom-*

Arrival of the
emperor Henry
VII. in Italy.

^a Iter Italicum Henrici septimi imperatoris, apud MURAT. tom. ix. p. 905.

- a *hardy*, he accepted of money, and confirmed all their former tyrants, of whatever denomination they were, in their governments, upon being paid a sum adequate to their respective values. In short, he prostituted to sale the meanest place or post he had to give. He had sold the government of *Placentia* to *Galeazzo Visconti*, its podesta, which *Correggio* considering as an injury done to himself, resented so highly, that he formed a conspiracy with the *Pavians*, and some of the *Italian* exiles, for surprising *Placentia*. There was then in *Placentia* one *Yvano de Cornu*, who had formerly been an exile. It was by his vigilance *Placentia* was saved; for *Galeazzo* having discovered the conspiracy on the very night in which *Placentia* was to have been attacked both by land and water, by *Yvano's* advice, he placed watchmen upon the tops of the chief towers, with orders to give a signal the moment they perceived a body of men approach the city, while *Galeazzo* drew out in the main street all the force he had to attack the first who should advance. The *Pavians*, with *Felippo*, their podesta, at their head, were the most forward, and they were at a very small distance from the gate, when they were discovered by the watchmen. *Galeazzo* and *Yvano* immediately rushed upon them, and, after a most bloody encounter, the *Pavians* were defeated, and *Felippo* himself was mortally wounded, and taken prisoner by a *Pavian* exile, in revenge. The *Pavians* who escaped fled to their shipping, which lay in the *Po*; but great numbers of them were cut in pieces, and few or none could have escaped, had not *Galeazzo* been sensible that *Correggio* was approaching at the head of the *Parmesans*, and therefore called his troops off from the pursuit.
- b THEY had, however, been so intent upon it, that the *Parmesans* had found means to enter the city where it was weakest, by making a breach where only one could pass at a time; and as many were suffered to go in as were sufficient to make a breach wide enough for the admittance of the whole party in a regular order. Instead of obeying their instructions, they no sooner entered the city than they fell to plunder; so that *Galeazzo*, when he returned from defeating the *Pavians*, which he did by day-light, was surprised to see the streets filled with his enemies, laden with the spoils of the citizens. Perceiving, however, that their numbers were too small to effect any thing else, he ordered the gates to be thrown open, and attacked the *Parmesans* without, who not hearing of *Felippo's* defeat, thought the place was their own, with such fury, that he put them to flight at the first onset, their cavalry flying and leaving their foot exposed; so that few of the latter would have escaped, had not *Galeazzo's* men been so fatigued, that they could not continue either the fight or the pursuit; and thus *Placentia* remained in the power of *Galeazzo*.
- c *Rioaldi of Ferrara*^b, a contemporary author, informs us, that the emperor had so good an opinion of *Correggio*, that he gave him the government not only of *Parma*, but of *Reggio* and *Guaftalla*; but that at this time he had joined entirely with the *Guelphs*. *Francesco Pipini*, another contemporary author^c, accounts with great probability for the partiality which the emperor shewed to *Correggio*; for he informs us, that while his imperial majesty was encamped before *Brescia*, *Correggio* sent him a solemn deputation, who presented him with the rich imperial crown, which had been taken by the *Parmesans* from *Frederick II.* when they forced him to abandon the siege of their city. *Dino Compagni*, another author of those times, who writes in *Italian*^d, mentions many favours which were heaped by the emperor upon *Correggio*, besides those above recited, and accuses him of the vilest ingratitude, in even offering personal insults to his imperial majesty; and that all the apology he made for his conduct was, that he was not influenced by money, but because his enemies were in possession of *Cremona*. All those evidences, however, serve only to prove that *Correggio* was one of the ablest men then in *Italy*; and the bishop of *Brotonto*^e gives us a pregnant proof that he was not so great a dissembler as is pretended; for he says, that when the emperor created one hundred and sixty knights, in honour of his coronation at *Milan*, all of them were *Gibelins* of *Lombardy*, two excepted, of whom one was *Gilbert de Correggio*; that he afterwards opposed the emperor is certain, and one reason, not to mention others, was the insatiable avarice of the *Germans*, and the mercenary temper of the emperor, who made no scruple sometimes to sell two different investitures of the same place, to two different persons, for money. This brought him and his court into contempt and detestation with the *Italians*; and finding that his army, great as it was, was too weak to break the confederacy that had been formed against him, and of which he looked upon *Correggio* as the head, he had recourse to legal proceedings against him. He ordered articles to be drawn up in form, accusing him of high treason against his imperial majesty, together with his son-in-law *John Quinici* and *Opizini de Unziola*, two persons of great capacity and character, and citations to be affixed on the doors of the imperial palace, commanding them to appear there, and to vindicate their conduct within the space of eighteen days. *Henry* then ordered letters to be directed to the cities of *Parma*, *Reggio*, and
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The Parmesans repulsed at Placentia, with great loss.

Henry's favours to Correggio.

^b Apud MURAT. tom. ix. p. 258.
MOD. HIST. VOL. XIII.

^c Ibid. p. 659.

^d Ibid. p. 529.

^e Iter Ital. p. 895.

whom he con-
demns to death.

others of the league, commanding the inhabitants to pay no farther regard to *Correggio* or a his commands, but to consider him as an out-law, and a rebel to his imperial majesty. Those letters are dated at *Pisa*, on the 9th of *April*, 1312. The farther proceedings of the emperor may be found in other parts of this history; but with regard to the *Parmesans* and *Correggio*, it is certain they did prodigious services at this time to the cause they were engaged in, by sending the *Florentines*, when they were besieged, supplies both of men and money. This exasperated the emperor so much, that upon his return from his tumultuous coronation at *Rome*, he closed his process with a final sentence, condemning him to be put to death as a traitor, and to be quartered before the gates of *Parma*. This sentence would have had but little effect, had not the emperor's party become now too prevalent in *Italy* to be resisted, and the famous *Mastino*, commonly called the *Dog of Verona*, b formed such intrigues in *Parma*, that *Correggio* was at last deprived of his power there. After this the *Parmesans* lost their liberties, and their history contains nothing distinct from that of the other states of *Italy*, to most of whom it was by turns subjected, till it came under the dominion of the house of *Farnese*, of which we are now to give an account.

THAT illustrious family was originally of *Orvieto*, an ancient city, situated in that part of *Tuscany* that belongs to the holy see. The descendants of it made great figures in the armies of the pope, *Florence*, and other states of *Italy*, in the 12th and 13th centuries. But the person who raised it to the highest pitch of power, was cardinal *Alexander Farnese*, afterwards pope *Paul III.* son to *Peter Lewis*, and grandson to *Ranuccio Farnese*, general to c the pope's army in 1432, under the pontificate of *Eugene IV.* This *Alexander* had been made a cardinal by *Alexander VI.* purely in consideration of his merit, and had managed the most important affairs of the pontificate under *Leo X.* and *Clement VII.* At the time of his accession to the papal throne, the reformation was as good as established in *Germany*; and he employed his whole care and assiduity to reconcile the two heads of the *Roman* catholic religion; at least nominally so, *Charles V.* emperor of *Germany*, and *Francis I.* king of *France*; but though he brought about a suspension of arms for ten years between them, yet he could not prevail with them to see and converse with each other in his presence. This *Paul III.* convoked the famous council of *Trent*, which, after long sitting, proved so ineffectual for the purposes of its meeting, the reformation of the doctrines, and discipline d of the church. He was more fortunate in his scheme of aggrandizing his family; for he first raised his son, who had been born before the father had taken holy orders, to the dignity of prince, and then a duke, first of *Castro* and *Camerino*, and then of *Parma* and *Placentia*. We are not, however, to imagine that this duke, who was commonly called the pope's nephew, was born in lawful wedlock, for it was sufficient if his holiness thought himself obliged, in conscience, to provide for him in the best manner he could; nor was this conduct unprecedented, several popes having done the same before. Besides *Peter Lewis*, his holiness had other children, particularly a daughter *Constance*, who was married to *Bosio*, count of *St. Flora*, of the house of *Sforza*. As to *Peter Lewis*, the emperor *Charles V.* was, at a particular time, so fond of obliging his father the pope, that he gave him the e investiture of the kingdom of *Navarre*, though the present was attended with no effect. But this intimacy did not long continue; the situations both of his holiness and the emperor occasioned them often to be embroiled together. This naturally produced an animosity against the emperor in the prince of *Parma*, a man of violent unruly passions, which carried him so far, that he supported the *Fiesques* of *Genoa*, in their conspiracy against the *Dorias*, who were the founders and supporters of the imperial interest in that city. That conspiracy being defeated by the accidental death of the principal conspirator, some authors pretend that *Charles*, out of resentment at the prince of *Parma*'s ingratitude, secretly employed *Gonzaga* duke of *Guastalla*, governor of *Milan*, to put him to death. According to other and better authority, his death happened in a very different manner. f

Death of
Peter Lewis.

AMONGST his other vices, he had an inordinate passion for women, and he stretched his power to the very utmost to gratify it, without the least consideration either to the virtues or the qualities of those he debauched. His general residence was at *Placentia*, where he built a castle, and where the irregularities of his behaviour towards ladies of the greatest distinction, induced four noblemen, *Pallavicino*, *Landi*, *Anguisiola*, and *Consalonieri*, to enter into a conspiracy for putting him to death. The duke suspecting their design, resolved to imprison them all the next day; but was incautious enough the night before to drop an intimation of his intention, which coming to the ears of the noblemen, they entered the palace, to which they were admitted on pretence of business, and rushing into the duke's bed-chamber, they stabbed him dead with their daggers, and threw his body out of one of g the windows of the castle. This done, the conspirators dispatched an express to the duke of *Milan*, imploring the protection of the empire; and he accordingly sent them some troops, who took possession of *Placentia*, in the emperor's name. From the complexion of this

a this story, and from the great coldness that for some time had prevailed between the emperor and his holiness, there is reason for believing, that the governor of *Milan* was not intirely unconscious of the conspiracy. When the emperor heard of the assassination, his imperial majesty wrote a letter of condolance to the pope, who dissembled his suspicions, and returned a smooth answer of compliment to the emperor, but requesting him at the same time, to restore *Placentia* to *Ostasio*, the son of *Peter Lewis*, and his imperial majesty's son-in-law. This request introduced some fresh demands of the emperor upon the pope, which the latter was by no means disposed to comply with. Other incidents widened this breach.

b *CHARLES V.* was sincerely disposed to have put an end to the religious divisions of Christendom, which prevented his enjoying the least repose; and he had with great difficulty prevailed with the pope to call a general council at *Trent*, which was now translated to *Bologna*, under pretence that *Trent* was not a place of safety, on account of its too near neighbourhood to *Germany*, which was then over-run with religious sectaries. This, and the ineffectual proceedings of the council, disoblged *Charles* so greatly, that he sent word to his holiness, he was resolved to examine into the rights of the holy see to *Parma* and *Placentia*, as its possession of them was acquired so late as the pontificate of *Julius II.* whose violence, ambition, and injustice, were well known to the world. This message highly exasperated his holiness, and yet the proceeding was apparently so reasonable, that he could not openly condemn it. He laid before the imperial commissaries a patent granted by the emperor *Maximilian I.* grandfather to *Charles*, dated 1510, giving to pope *Julius II.* the city and territory of *Placentia*, as lying within the exarchate of *Ravenna*, which had been granted by the countess *Matilda* to the holy see. Though the imperial ministers could make little reply to this, and many other evidences, which were produced on the part of his holiness, yet *Charles* kept possession of *Placentia*.

The emperor displeased with the pope.

c UPON this the pope, to prevent the emperor from seizing upon *Parma*, as he had upon *Placentia*, re-united it to the holy see, and governed it in his own name; and thus young *Ostasio Farnese* was deprived of all his inheritance. All *Europe* at that time condemned the emperor for his injustice, in with-holding from him *Placentia*; and *Henry II.* of *France* offered to assist his holiness with troops to redeem it. But the power of *Charles*, and the example of pope *Clement's* fate, whom he had made a prisoner, deterred *Paul* from accepting of *Henry's* offer. But it had so good an effect, that the emperor offered him, in lieu of *Placentia*, an annuity of forty thousand crowns a year; which the pontiff was about to have complied with, when he died in the year 1549. Pope *Julius III.* though he might, with great show of justice, have kept possession of *Parma*, was generous enough to restore it to young *Ostasio*, who incessantly plied his holiness with petitions, that he would interpose his good offices with the emperor for the restitution of *Placentia*. *Julius* would gladly have served him in this request, and made some applications to the emperor for that purpose; but he was afraid to push the matter too far, both because he was naturally timid, and because he dreaded the imperial power, and was unwilling to embroil himself with *Charles* in the beginning of his pontificate. He likewise, from the same motives, declined the offer which was again made of assistance from *France*. Disgusted with his coldness, *Ostasio* was resolved to apply in person to his imperial majesty, who was then holding a diet of the empire at *Augsbourg*. He presented himself in that city before *Charles*, attended by an equipage suitable to his quality and pretensions, and was received by the emperor in a most distinguished affectionate manner. He presented his request, and obtained such an answer as made all the court believe that it was granted. Notwithstanding this, all he could procure from *Charles* was a promise that he would do him justice at a proper season. *Ostasio* knew, or had heard, too much of his father-in-law, not to be sensible that this answer was, in effect, a repulse; and he returned with a heavy heart, after remaining a month at *Augsbourg*, to *Rome*, where he renewed his solicitations with the pope to act with more vigour in his favour, as his cause was the same with that of the holy see. *Julius* continued to give him the most soothing promises; and *Ostasio*, to be nearer at hand, fixed his residence at *Rome*, where he and his brother the cardinal continued to press his holiness, as all applications were ineffectual, to proceed to the extremities of excommunication and ecclesiastical censure against the emperor; but as nothing could be obtained, *Ostasio*, at last, requested leave of the pope to employ the means that fortune put into his hands for doing himself justice.

Distress of the young duke of Parma.

f *OCTAVIO*, at that time, had a natural brother, named *Horatio*, in the service of *Henry II.* who conceived such an esteem for his courage and other qualities, that he gave him in marriage his natural daughter *Diana*. *Horatio*, sincerely devoted to the interests of his family, let slip no opportunity of bringing *Henry* and *Ostasio* to a good understanding; and succeeded so well, that *Henry* undertook to furnish *Ostasio* with a body of troops to recover *Placentia*, and to oblige the emperor to do him justice, provided *Ostasio* would agree to admit

He is assisted by France,

admit a *French* garrison into *Parma*, and act in every respect, in concert with his generals; all which *Ostasio* agreed to. As soon as the emperor was informed of this threatening alliance, he wrote a letter to the pope, complaining of the indignity that had been done him, and threatening to bring both his holiness and *Ostasio* to a severe account, if any *French* troops were admitted into *Italy*. To this letter *Julius* answered, with great sincerity, that he never had consented to such admission; and that he was intirely ignorant of any connections that had been formed by the prince of *Parma* and the king of *France*. He owned, at the same time, that, perceiving all his applications to his imperial majesty, in favour of *Ostasio*, to be ineffectual, he had left him at liberty to pursue what course he thought proper for redress; but that he never understood that he was to enter into any violent measures.

*French garrisons
Parma.*

*Duke of Parma
excommunicat-
ed.*

DURING this correspondence between the pope and the emperor, *Henry* not only threw a *French* garrison into *Parma*, but introduced a large body of troops, to make good his other pretensions in *Italy*, and some of them were even quartered upon the ecclesiastical state. Upon this, the pope, who, of all things, dreaded the introduction of the *French* into *Italy*, excommunicated the duke of *Parma* and all his abettors; and, expecting to be supported by *Charles*, he even wrote a letter to the *French* king, threatening him with the same censure, if he did not, within a limited time, withdraw his troops out of *Italy*. His holiness, at the same time, demanded from *Charles* a force sufficient for expelling the *French* out of *Parma* and the ecclesiastical state. The emperor, far from being backward in complying with this request, immediately ordered *Gonzaga*, governor of *Milan*, to take the field with a body of troops, and, in conjunction with those of the pope, which lay at *Bologna*, to form the siege of *Parma*. *Henry* was equally ready to support the credit of his new alliance; and ordered an army, under the command of *Brissac*, and his son-in-law *Horatio Farnese*, to pass the *Alps*. They were stopt on their march by the duke of *Savoy*, who refused them a passage through his dominions; and *Gonzaga* was obliged to order the troops, that were allotted for the siege of *Parma*, to that duke's assistance. His holiness laid hold of this opportunity to remonstrate to the duke of *Parma*, how much it was his interest to put *Parma* into his hands, offering him the peaceable possession of the principality of *Camerino*, the first title of dignity in his family, with an annuity of fifteen thousand crowns, in exchange. The duke had it not now in his power to comply with those offers (a *French* garrison being in possession of his capital), without the consent of *Henry*. In consideration of this, his holiness sent one of his nephews to the *French* court, to persuade *Henry* to give orders for the evacuation of *Parma*, as it might be a bone of contention, and occasion a general war in *Europe*. *Henry* was so far from listening to this proposal, that he ordered his troops, who, by this time, had forced their passage through *Piedmont*, to live at free-quarters upon the ecclesiastical state, which they did till they had almost ruined the *Bolognese*. Things remained in this situation till the year 1553, when *Horatio Farnese* was accidentally blown up at *Hedin*. As he had been the great instrument of the alliance between the *French* and the duke of *Parma*, and as the whole dependence of the latter rested upon his interest at *Henry's* court, the duke took the resolution to submit his pretensions upon *Placentia* to the pleasure of the emperor. *Charles*, however, died without restoring him to the possession of that city, which he did not regain till thirty years after.

*Death of
Charles V.*

Soon after the death of the emperor *Charles V.* his son, *Philip II.* appointed his sister *Margaret*, duchess of *Parma*, to the government of the *Low Countries*, where every thing was in confusion, on account of *Philip's* despotic government, and the tyranny, both civil and ecclesiastical, which *Philip* wanted to introduce there. *Ostasio*, at the same time, as a pledge of his attachment to *Philip*, put into his hands his son and heir *Alexander*, then very young, to be educated at the court of *Spain*.

*Account of
Horatio Far-
nese,*

FROM what has been already related, the reader may have some idea of the high rank in which bastardy was held at this time in *Spain* and *Italy*. *Horatio Farnese*, whom we have already mentioned, assumed to himself the title of duke of *Castro*, an estate he never possessed; and *Wiquefort*, an unexceptionable authority, informs us, that on a solemn occasion the pope's master of the ceremonies asked the *French* ambassador whether he intended to take precedence of the duke of *Castro*. The ambassador's reply was, that he would take precedence of the duke of *Parma* himself; but that he would yield the precedence to the duke of *Castro*, because he was destined to the honour of being son-in-law to the *French* king. It is uncertain whether the ambassador had instructions on this head; but probably his master did not disapprove of his concession, as we do not hear that he ever was questioned for it.

*and Ostasio's
two brothers.*

OCTAVIO, duke of *Parma*, had two brothers, *Alexander* and *Ranuccio*, both of them cardinals, and both of them men of abilities and genius. One of them received his hat when he was but fourteen, and the other when sixteen years of age; and, notwithstanding the degeneracy, luxury, and impiety of their grandfather's court, their morals remained untainted,

- a untainted, excepting as to a few slight gallantries of *Alexander*, who was father of *Clelia Farnese*. In other respects, he was a prince of vast magnificence, as appears by his building the celebrated *Farnesian* palace at *Rome*, on which was lavished all that is great and elegant in architecture, sculpture, and painting. The flatteries of the Jesuits induced him to build for their fraternity the fine church, called the *Great Jesus*, at *Rome*, which he ornamented at a vast expence, and where he ordered his body to be interred. Towards the end of his life, however, he grew much disgusted with the ambition and insatiable avarice of that order. His brother *Ranuccio* was distinguished for his patronage of learning, and of all who were eminent in literature. They had a sister called *Victoria*, whom the pope their grandfather had intended should be the wife of *Cosimo de Medici*, the second duke of *Tuscany*; but the emperor opposed the match, taking it amiss that it had been proposed without his privity or consent. She was afterwards married to *Guido Balde*, duke of *Urbino*, whose posterity failing, his duchy was annexed to the church about the middle of the last century.

- WHILE *Margaret* duchess of *Parma's* conduct, as governess of the *Low Countries*, was attracting the attention and admiration of all *Europe*; and while her son *Alexander*, at the court of *Spain*, was giving specimens of those military abilities which afterwards intitled him to the rank of the greatest captain in *Europe*; *Ottavio*, the husband and father, was leading an idle but inoffensive life at *Parma*, and seemed to be forgotten by the world. At last, in the year 1566, he paid a visit to his wife at *Brussels*. In the mean while, their son *Alexander Farnese* made so distinguished a figure in the court and armies of *Spain*, that *Philip II.* procured for him a royal match in the person of the princess *Mary*, daughter to *Edward*, the son of *Emanuel*, and brother to *John III.* king of *Portugal*. *Philip*, in compliment to the mother, ordered that the nuptials should be celebrated within her government, and gave count *Egmont* the charge of attending the prince to *Brussels*, where his father then was, and where his noble address and engaging manners endeared him in a wonderful degree to the *Flemings*. Soon after his arrival, the duchess his mother made preparations for celebrating the nuptials; and a fleet was sent to conduct the young bride to the *Low Countries*, where she arrived, attended by a vast train of *Spaniards* as well as *Portuguese*, each striving to outvie one another in the magnificence of their equipages. The bridegroom was then but fourteen years of age; but the bride was older: a circumstance which put the public in mind of what had happened to the duchess of *Parma* herself, who, when but twelve years of age, was married to *Alexander de Medici*, who was twenty-seven years of age; and afterwards, when she was twenty, she was married to *Ottavio Farnese*, who was no more than thirteen. *Alexander*, who was then designed prince of *Parma*, after his marriage, carried his wife to that city, where for some time they tasted the pleasures of tranquility. But after *Selim II.* had rendered himself formidable to all *Christendom*, by taking the island of *Cyprus* from the *Venetians*, *Philip II.* at the request of the latter, agreed to be a party in a general league against the infidels. The substance of this famous confederacy, the views with which it was formed, and the parties who entered into it, are to be found in the other parts of this history. The prince of *Parma*, while at the court of *Spain*, had been intimately acquainted with *Don John of Austria*, who was appointed to be generalissimo of the Christian forces. The young *Parmesan* readily embraced that opportunity of at once testifying his gratitude to his Catholic Majesty, and fond of acquiring glory to himself. A noble band of *Parmesan* nobility joined him as volunteers, who served under him at the sea-fight of *Lepanto*, and had a considerable share in the glory of that celebrated victory. The prince then returned to *Parma*, where he was now father of two sons, *Ranuccio*, who succeeded him in his dominions, and *Edward*, who was afterwards raised to the purple.

His duchess
governess of
the Low
Countries.

where their
son is married.

- ALL historians are agreed, that had the moderate councils of the duchess of *Parma* been followed, *Spain* never would have lost the seven *United Provinces* there; but she had two insuperable difficulties to conquer: the first was the unpopularity of cardinal *Granvele*, who was by *Philip* appointed to be her first minister; a man of a great but violent genius, and extremely improper for that post, in a country where the minds of the people were already exasperated, and their affections alienated from the government by the alterations both in church and state, which *Philip* had ordered to be introduced. The second disadvantage the duchess was under, was her being forced to be subservient to *Philip II.* who, in matters of religion, was a gloomy, cruel bigot; and who, though he did not openly check his sister's proceedings, was secretly disobliged at her having received any application from the people against the innovations he wanted to introduce. For this reason, when *Granvele* had become so unpopular that he was obliged to resign the administration, and return to *Spain*, *Philip* ordered the duke of *Alva*, a man of his own cast, but of a disposition still more cruel and unrelenting, to be his general in the *Low Countries*; but, in fact, to be the instrument of his tyranny and inhumanities, under the duchess of *Parma*. The

She resigns her
government.

duchess, had her councils been attended to, might still have retrieved her brother's affairs there; but the bloody proceedings of *Alva*, under her name, soon determined her to resign a government, in which she was sensible she was no more than a cypher. Her resignation was accepted of, and she returned to her husband at *Parma*.

History of
Alexander
the Great
duke of Parma.

AFTER various revolutions in the government of the *Low Countries*, Don *John* was appointed to govern them; and he earnestly requested the prince of *Parma* to attend him thither, being well acquainted with his great capacity in military affairs. This request the prince agreed to; and *Philip* ordered him a salary of one thousand golden ducats a month for his equipages, which *Alexander* declined accepting, till he could do something to distinguish himself in his majesty's service. When he arrived at *Brussels*, he carried with him one hundred *Italian* gentlemen, and three hundred choice soldiers, for his guard; and when the state of Don *John*'s health began to decline, he received from *Philip* assurances, that if Don *John* died, or resigned, he should succeed him in his government, which he accordingly did in the year 1578. It is well known, that the prince of *Parma* not only executed, but projected every thing of consequence that happened under Don *John*'s government. He was as able a statesman as a soldier; and it is certain, that he acted the most illustrious part of any general in his time upon the military theatre; nor is there any point in history in which writers are so much agreed, as they are in acknowledging, that he was as humane a man as he was a great general, and that he was the greatest the age he lived in produced. He had on different occasions the princes of *Germany*, with all the powers of *France* and *England*, to encounter; and he proved superior to them all. The coolness of his temper, and the solidity of his judgment, may be known from one small incident that happened. In one of his expeditions to *France*, while he was besieging a place of great importance, which the *French* king wanted to relieve, *Alexander* baffled that great prince so much, that, losing his temper, he challenged *Alexander* to single combat. The prince thanked his majesty for the honour he did him; that his life was not at his own, but his master's disposal; and therefore he could not fight him; but, added he, I will take the place between his whiskers. During his government of the *Low Countries*, the history of which contains the history of the greatest part of *Europe* at that time, he met with several rubs, occasioned partly by the intrigues of his enemies about *Philip*'s person, by which he was kept often in want of money, and partly by the detachments he was obliged to spare out of his army, which never was very numerous, for other services. In the year 1588, he was forced to send the greatest part of his army to the expedition against *England* in the great armada; and there was nothing the *English* were so much apprehensive of as his commanding the *Spaniards*, if they should land. The world is still divided as to the private views which *Philip* had, when he ordered the duke of *Parma* (for both his father and mother died in the year 1586) to march in person into *France*, to support the league against *Henry IV*. But whether *Philip* acted or did not act from motives of ambition or religion, or both, it is certain that no other general in *Europe* could have performed what *Alexander* did; and it was owing to him that the *French* are not now a protestant nation.

His expediti-
ons into
France,

HE twice brought with him to *Flanders* his son *Ranuccio*, that he might be initiated, under his own eye, in the art of war. The first time, *Ranuccio* was very young; but in the second campaign he made there, he acquired great glory. *Alexander*, in his first expedition into *France*, had obliged *Henry* to raise the siege of *Paris*; and in the second, that of *Rouen*. *Henry* had made great dispositions for preventing *Alexander* from repassing the *Seine*, in his return to *Flanders*; and prince *Ranuccio* was the very last of his father's troops who guarded that passage against the *French* king, who had the mortification to see both father and son not only make their own retreat good, but that of all their troops, their train of artillery, and baggage, in the most perfect order, which *Henry*, with all his efforts, could not interrupt or disturb. The duke of *Parma*, after his return from this glorious expedition, fell ill, and for some time drank the waters of *Aix* for his recovery; and, finding but little relief from them, he returned to *Brussels*, where he continued the war with the same spirit and vigour as ever. In the mean while, he received an order from the court of *Madrid* to make a third expedition into *France*; upon which he was so intent (to prevent any suspicion in *Philip* of his backwardness), that he relapsed into his disorder, and died upon his march at *Arras*, on the 4th of *December*, 1592. It was observed, that his private manners resembled those of an ecclesiastic rather than of a soldier; and, at his death, he expressed the most profound sentiments of piety and resignation. The greatest blot upon his memory (though the credibility of it rests upon very doubtful circumstances), is his having been accessory to the intended assassination of the prince of *Orange*, in the year 1582. He ordered his body to be carried to *Parma*, and there to be interred with that of his wife, *Mary of Portugal*; and the execution of this order has given rise to various idle reports amongst historians, as if his body had been dismembered, and packed up like a bale of goods, to preserve it from being intercepted by his enemies.

and death.

a It was to this great *Alexander Farnese*, when prince of *Parma*, that *Philip* restored the entire possession of the city of *Placentia*, which had remained in the hands of the *Spaniards* ever since the death of his grandfather *Peter Lewis*. Some writers pretend, that he had put *Octavio* into possession of the city; but he had kept the citadel garrisoned with *Spaniards*. According to them, duke *Octavio*, in 1585, made a formal demand upon *Philip* of the city and territory of *Placentia*, which was agreed to without the least difficulty. But this is extremely improbable, as both *Philip* and his father *Charles* had rejected all former applications, though made by the popes themselves, on that account. Besides, *Philip* was not possessed of that kind of spirit that would have complied with a peremptory demand, from a prince whom he considered as his dependent. According to the best authorities, the restitution was effected in the following manner. While *Alexander* was in *Spain*, attending on the unhappy *Don Carlos*, *Philip's* eldest son, that king one day expressed himself in unusual terms of affection towards *Alexander*, who artfully insinuated to him, that he could not give so noble a proof of his friendship for him, as by raising a family which *Philip* might justly call his own, because its greatest glory was owing to the house of *Austria*, and by restoring his father, duke *Octavio*, to the possession of *Placentia*. *Philip*, touched with the manner in which the young prince preferred his petition, immediately wrote an order to the governor of *Milan*, for giving up *Placentia* to duke *Octavio*. *Philip* put this order into *Alexander's* hands, and he instantly dispatched it by an express to *Parma*, foreseeing what would happen; for *Philip*, the next council day, acquainting the members with what he had done, they all thought such an alienation to be of so great importance, and so prejudicial to the crown of *Spain*, that they prevailed upon him to revoke it. A second order for that purpose was sent to the governor of *Milan*; but it came too late, the first order having been already executed. This account is confirmed by the duchess *Margaret*, mother to *Alexander*, having built a noble palace, which stands on the very spot of ground on which the citadel was built, where her father-in-law *Peter Lewis* was murdered, and which still retains the name of the citadel. That princess, for some years before her death, lived in that palace; and her body, at her own request, was interred in the abbey of *St. Sesto* at *Placentia*.

Placentia restored to his family.

d *RANUCCIO I.* duke of *Parma*, was in the *Low Countries* at the time of his father's death; but returning to *Parma*, he married in the year 1592, the niece of *Clement VIII.* of the house of *Aldobrandini*. He was a prince of a pacific disposition, and under him *Parma* made no kind of figure in the affairs of *Italy* and *Europe*; and it is scarcely so much as mentioned in history. He was, however, like others of his family, a patron of the arts and of learning; and his time was employed in making vast collections of books, manuscripts, pictures, statues, and other works of genius; all which were carried from *Parma* by *Don Carlos*, the present king of *Spain*. But the theatre built by this *Ranuccio* still remains, and is not only the noblest, but the most commodious of any in the world. *Ranuccio*, like a wise man, thought that he had acquired military reputation in his younger days sufficient to entitle him to repose in his old. His children were two sons, *Odoard*, whom we shall call *Edward I.* who succeeded him, and *Francis-Maria*, who was afterwards a cardinal; and two daughters, both of whom were afterwards successively married to *Francis I.* duke of *Modena* and *Reggio*.

He is succeeded by his son Ranuccio I.

f *Duke Ranuccio* dying in the year 1622, his wife and brother took into their hands the tutelage of his son *Edward I.* and during his minority his dominions enjoyed tranquility. When he came of age, being of a restless turbulent disposition, he embroiled himself in the affairs of *Italy*, and joined with *France* and the house of *Savoy* in the dispute concerning the succession to the duchy of *Mantua*. When the *French* king, in the year 1635, sent the marechal de *Crequi* into *Italy*, the duke of *Parma* joined him with his troops, and assisted at the siege of *Valenza*, upon the *Po*. The duke being young and fiery, was impatient at the dilatory slow approaches of the marechal, whom he pressed so much on that head, that their differences in opinion ended in a direct breach. The siege lasted fifty days; but at last the place was relieved by the *Spaniards*. The duke then posted to *Paris*, where he endeavoured to clear his own conduct, at the expence of the reputation of the marechal, who recriminated in his turn. *Richelieu* was then first minister to *Lewis XIII.* but having the *French* interest in *Italy* greatly at heart, he avoided giving any umbrage to the duke, tho' he was far from approving of his conduct.

who is succeeded by his son Edward.

g DURING *Edward's* residence in *France*, the marquis *de Leganes*, governor of *Milan*, marched a body of troops into the *Parmesan*, and would have seized on the whole duchy, had not the duke of *Savoy* interposed, by sending some troops to its defence. Duke *Edward* returned in 1636 from *France*, greatly enraged at the advantage which had been taken against him in his absence; but when he attempted to enter his own dominions, he found all the passes so strongly guarded by *Spaniards*, that it was impracticable for him to force his way. He therefore went on board a small skiff, in the *Riviera di Genoa* incognito, and landed

Parma attacked by the Spaniards.

landed at *Lunigiana*; from whence, with some difficulty, he passed to his own estates. *Parma* and *Placentia*, at this time, had *French* garrisons within them; but they were so weak, that they durst not take the field; nor could they prevent the devastations which the *Spaniards* spread to the very gates of *Parma*. His most Christian majesty, at this time, was beset with enemies on all sides. One of his armies was employed against the cardinal-infant, governor of the *Low Countries*, who was actually in *Picardy*. Count *Galas*, the imperial general, obliged the prince of *Conde* to abandon the siege of *Dole* in *Franche-comté*; and the admiral of *Castile* had obtained some advantages over another *French* army, which had in vain laid siege to *Fontarabia*, on the frontiers of *Spain*. Thus *Lewis* was utterly disabled from affording any assistance to his ally of *Parma*, who was obliged to fortify himself in *Placentia*, where he was actually besieged by the *Spaniards*, who continued their ravages, and had seized all the out-posts and avenues leading to the city.

War in the
Parmesan.

NOTHING could have saved the duke of *Parma* from ruin at this time, if the *Spaniards* had opened the trenches before *Placentia* in form, and proceeded against it with resolution, but the invincible aversion that all the princes of *Italy* have at foreigners settling in that country. The ministers of the senate of *Venice*, and of the great duke of *Tuscany*, were perpetually representing, at the court of *Madrid*, the bad policy of his Catholic majesty, in carrying matters to extremity against the duke, who had been guilty only of an error in judgment, and the ill effects which must attend the court of *Spain's* appropriating the *Parmesan* dominions to itself, which would breed a ferment in *Italy*, that would further the views and interests of *France*. *Urban VIII.* was then upon the papal throne; but though he had more at stake if the *Spaniards* had made themselves masters of *Parma* and *Placentia*, than either the *Venetians* or the family of *Medici* had, yet he made no efforts in favour of the duke, who had exasperated him by contemptuously refusing to obey his advice, or rather commands, in abandoning the interest of the *French* at the siege of *Valenza*. The duke had been imprudent, or vain enough to make a merit, with the *French* generals and ministers, of the small account in which he held the papal power; and they having sharply reproached, and even threatened the pope's legate, for entering into their camp on such an errand, his holiness came to the knowledge of the whole affair, and highly resented the undutiful behaviour, as he called it, of the duke his vassal, which was the true cause of his coldness.

Distress of the
duke of Parma,

THE *Spaniards*, however, had no real intention to ruin the duke of *Parma*. They knew that all the revenues of the *Parmesan* could not defray the expences they must be at in keeping possession of it, and all they wanted was to detach the duke from his alliance with *France*. This, at the instance of the court of *Madrid*, was again and again repeated to the duke's friends in *Italy*, who represented to him, at the same time, the great lustre and advantages which his family had acquired by its connections with the house of *Austria*, and the benefits that must accrue to him if he should resume them. The duke continued deaf to all exhortations of that kind, and refused even to treat with the *Spaniards*. Upon this, the *Spanish* general had orders to straiten him more than ever, and to cut off all communication between *Placentia* and the rest of the *Parmesan*, which he accordingly did. In a few days, want and famine overspread the city, and the duke himself must have been without the common necessaries of life, had not the *Spanish* general, out of regard to the grand duke of *Tuscany*, who was the friend of *Spain*, furnished his table with some provisions.

who reconciles
himself to the
Spaniards.

MISERY at last overcame obstinacy, and the duke consented to treat, provided he could do it so secretly as that the negociation should not perspire. The pope's resentment was now so far abated, that he offered to be one of the mediators; but the duke gave his ministers a peremptory exclusion from the whole negociation, which was carried on under the mediation of a *Florentine* secretary at *Milan*, where the treaty was finished before the count of *St. Paul*, the *French* general in *Parma*, knew that it had been proposed. But the *French* were in possession of *Placentia*, and the treaty could not be carried into execution, unless they evacuated that city. Duke *Edward*, on this occasion, acted with great address. He ordered, under pretence of paying the garrison, that they should be mustered before him on the parade. This being complied with, the duke in a few words informed the count of the treaty which unrelenting necessity had obliged him to conclude, and pointing to the great artillery, which was levelled against the garrison, he begged the count that he would instantly withdraw his troops out of *Placentia*, as he had prevailed with the governor of *Milan* to grant them and him a safe conduct through the *Milanese* to *Piedmont*. The count easily saw that he had no choice to make; and not displeased at having so good a pretext for getting rid of so disagreeable a service, marched directly with his garrison out of the city towards *Piedmont*; while the garrison of *Parma*, reduced likewise to a most deplorable condition, evacuated that city, and obtained liberty from the *Venetians* to march through their territories to the *Valtelline*. Thus duke *Edward* once more reconciled himself to the

a Spaniards, who were now masters of *Italy*, and from whom he never would have detached himself, had it not been for the practices of cardinal *Richelieu*.

THE duke was of too lively and impetuous a temper to continue long in a state of tranquillity. He secretly disliked his new connections with *Spain*, because they divided him from *France*, where *Richelieu* still continued, notwithstanding all that had happened, to amuse him with magnificent promises. But his chief resentment was against pope *Urban*. This pope was of the family of the *Barbarini*, which from being inconsiderable, he raised to a pitch of invidious greatness; he made Don *Thaddeo*, one of his nephews, prefect of *Rome*, and had given him precedency of all ambassadors, and of princes under the degree of a crowned head. *Edward* complained that his holiness, instead of giving him that protection which was due to a feudatory of the holy see, had abandoned him to his enemies, and taken pleasure in seeing him reduced to extremity. He complained likewise, that instead of interposing his authority in his behalf, or assisting him with troops or money, he had proposed to him the sale of part of his territories to his nephews, in order to raise money, which was the same thing as to triumph in his misfortunes, and joining with his enemies.

His differences with the pope;

THE *Barbarini* were at first so far from being enemies to duke *Edward*, that they courted his friendship; and to give their family a figure amongst the princes of *Italy*, they had proposed a marriage between him and one of their nieces, daughter to Don *Thaddeo*. Though the duke disdained this match; yet he had his reasons, at that time, for keeping c fair both with the pope and his nephews, because of the great sums which he owed to the bank or Mount of Piety at *Rome*, and for which he paid excessive interest. It was in the power of his holiness, as governor of that bank, to modify the interest as he pleased; and the duke happening to pay a visit to his duchy of *Castro*, which lies near *Rome*, the *Barbarini* promised, if he would pay their uncle a visit, to prevail upon him to abate some part of the interest he paid, which was then excessive. The duke was averse to this proposal, because of the precedency which he understood was claimed by the prefect; but to remove that objection, it was agreed, that the prefect should be absent from *Rome* during the duke's residence there; upon which he complied, and paid his holiness a visit. It is immaterial for us to enquire into the reasons why this compromise was broken into by the prefect's remaining in *Rome*, during the duke's abode in that city; but it is certain he found him d there, and some disagreeable adventures passed between them. The prudence of the cardinal-nephews reconciled them; and the duke seemed to entertain the motion of his marriage with their niece so cordially, that they prevailed with their uncle to grant a diminution of the interest by a deed, which in its own nature was deemed to be irrevocable. This affair being concluded, all the return the duke made, was, to demand a private audience of his holiness, which he obtained, and spoke to him with so much freedom, of the insolence and ambition of his nephews, and their haughty behaviour to himself, that he drew tears from the eyes of the pontiff, who promised to reform their conduct, which was more than he ever performed; for in a short time they recovered all their ascendancy over their e uncle.

THE duke having gained the point he had in view, by the abatement of the interest, left *Rome*, without taking leave of the *Barbarini*, or concluding the match, the proposal of which he had till then encouraged; and upon his return to his own dominions, he married *Margaret de Medici*, daughter to the great duke of *Tuscany*. The *Barbarini* secretly resented this proceeding, which does not give us a great idea of the duke's sincerity, or, at least, delicacy of conduct; and they sought how to be revenged, without incurring farther unpopularity. The interest which the duke now paid for his money, was easily defrayed by the corn and provisions which his duchy of *Castro* every year furnished to the pope's agents, and the public magazines at *Rome*; and a considerable ballance remained in his favour. f But the *Barbarini* put an end to this commerce, by contracting for nothing out of that duchy; so that the duke was for some years intirely disabled from paying the interest of the money he owed to the Mount of Piety. As the people of *Rome*, and the ecclesiastical dominions, as well as other states of *Italy*, were the proprietors of this mount, and the livelihood of a great number of poor people depended on its credit, its cause became popular; and the duchy of *Castro* having been mortgaged for the payment of the money, the pope and his court made a formal demand, within a certain time, both of the interest and principal, alledging, that if they should grant any farther delay, the value of the duchy could not satisfy the debt. The duke had nothing to reply to this demand, but complaints of the unkindness of his holiness and agents, in withdrawing their custom from his g duchy of *Castro*, which, had it continued, would have paid all the public creditors. But he was answered, that that was mere matter of option to the contractors, who were at liberty to go to what market they pleased; whereas, the duke was tied up by a positive written obligation.

against whose family he declares himself.

He forfeits the
duchy of Ca-
stro.

THOSE altercations continued till the year 1641, when the *Barbarini* declared the duchy of *Castro* to be forfeited, for the duke's non-payment of his debt; and that his holiness, in justice to the public creditors, could not avoid taking possession of it. This being intimated to the duke, he ordered some troops to march to *Castro*, and the city to be fortified. Upon this, the enraged pontiff sent a monitory to the duke, requiring him, upon pain of excommunication, not only to desist from fortifying that city, but within thirty days to demolish all the works he had already begun. To give the menaces of his holiness the greater weight, the *Barbarini* advanced to *Viterbo*, with six thousand foot-soldiers, and five hundred horse, as if with an intention to attack the duke in his own dominions. From the face of this narrative, the reader may easily perceive that the duke was rendered unable by the malice of the *Barbarini*, to satisfy the debt he had contracted, by their having stopped the only vent he had for turning the produce of his duchy into money. This consideration, however, neither acquitted the duke of the debt, nor satisfied the creditors.

He is joined by
his allies.

THE necessity of maintaining the balance of power in *Italy*, once more presented itself in the duke's favour. The *Italian* princes and states were alarmed; and the *Spaniards* were afraid that the pope was secretly tampering to introduce the *French* into the kingdom of *Naples*, and that he had picked a quarrel with the duke of *Parma*, only that he might have some colour of a pretext for raising an army to favour the designs of *France*. Those surmises, however, were not sufficiently grounded for the *Spaniards* to begin hostilities upon them; and therefore his Catholic majesty ordered the viceroy of *Naples* to send an officer to *Rome*, and to offer the mediation of *Spain* between his holiness and the duke of *Parma*, and, in the mean time, to intreat the former to lay aside the thoughts of all violent measures, and not to employ arms in a quarrel which, though inconsiderable at first, might involve all the powers of *Italy* in its consequences, and spread much farther than his holiness could foresee. The duke of *Tuscany*, *Edward's* father-in-law, was, at this time, on very bad terms with the *Barbarini*, on account of his having given his daughter in marriage to the duke of *Parma*; but, without regarding that, he sent a minister to his holiness, who represented to him, that he might, in a short time, repent his having kindled up a war in *Italy*, upon a private personal quarrel; and that it was possible still to keep the flames from spreading. He added, that so great was his passion for peace, and so profound his respect for the holy see, that he had even refused a passage through his dominions for the troops of his son-in-law, to the duchy of *Castro*; but that he could not dissemble his unwillingness to see him oppressed by his holiness, and that he was ready, if possible, to assist in preserving him from ruin.

The pope dis-
appointed by
the Venetians.

HIS holiness and his family, haughty and self-interested as they were, were startled at so powerful a mediation; but they were not long in determining upon the part they had to act. They considered the duke of *Tuscany* as an indolent prince, and unable to carry his menaces into execution; and that it would soon be in their power to satisfy the *Spaniards*, that their suspicions were without foundation. They were therefore under very little apprehension from any power in *Italy*, but the *Venetians*; and his holiness sent instructions to his nuncio there, to leave nothing unattempted to bring them over to his interest, or, if that was impracticable, to prevail with them to be neutral. The *Venetians*, at this time, were highly out of humour with his holiness, on account of certain paintings he had introduced into the Vatican, which they thought reflected on their honour, and therefore were but little disposed to oblige his holiness. The nuncio employed on this occasion was Mr. *Vitelli*, who is famous in the republic of letters, and was reckoned one of the greatest orators then in *Italy*. The pope depended so much on his abilities and success, that he treated all applications for an accommodation as indignities offered to his character, and preached up nothing but the expediency of maintaining the honour of the holy see, and chastising a rebel subject who had dared to fly in his face. But his holiness was greatly shocked, when he understood that to all the elegant speeches made to the senate of *Venice*, that body returned for answer, that the affair between his holiness and the duke of *Parma*, was a matter of so great importance, that they could not help declaring, they would not be idle spectators, as it was impossible to know either the designs of his holiness, or how far their own interests might be affected should a war break out.

By this time the pope had ordered his troops to advance into the duchy of *Castro*, where he took some places belonging to the duke, because their garrisons did not know that they were upon the point of being succoured, as the great duke of *Tuscany* had before this, granted leave for the *Parmesan* troops to march through his dominions. Those petty successes elevated the pope to such a degree, that he became more intractable than ever, and declared that he would listen to no terms of accommodation, till the duke of *Parma* should come to *Rome*, throw himself at his feet, and implore his pardon; a haughtiness that arose from his seeing that no power in *Italy* took the part of the duke, but by their intercessions and requests. In the mean while, the time prescribed by his holiness for the duke's submission

a mission to his monitory being expired, his holiness declared, that he had incurred the sentence of excommunication actually pronounced against him, by which he was to be deprived of all his dominions, prerogatives, and honours.

THE princes of *Europe* had not for many years seen an instance of such an excommunication; and those amongst them who were the most zealously devoted to the interests of the holy see, had now learned to despise a sentence which was pretended to have greater effect upon a sovereign prince than upon his subjects; because a private person, though excommunicated, is not subjected to the loss of his estate and property. Perhaps the pope would not have been so ready to have discharged this ecclesiastical bolt, had not his nephew *Thaddeo* been at the head of twenty thousand men in the *Bolognese*, and had demanded from the duke of *Modena*, who was in no condition to resist such a force, a passage through his dominions to those of *Parma*. The pope's power did not daunt duke *Edward*, who was naturally endued with a most surprising presence of mind and talents for quick execution. The duke of *Modena*, notwithstanding his incapacity to make head against such a force, gave no immediate answer to *Thaddeo*'s demand, till he had consulted with the *Venetians* and the great duke of *Tuscany*, who were extremely well disposed to serve the duke of *Parma*, and had their troops in readiness for that purpose. After some deliberation, it was wisely resolved upon by all parties, as the ecclesiastical army could not reach *Parma* but through the *Modenese* dominions, that the *Venetian* and *Tuscan* troops should join that duke, with whom his holiness had not the shadow of a difference, and who had an indisputable right to oppose the march of foreign troops through his territories. The duke of *Modena*'s case therefore was that of all neutral princes, and keeping intirely upon the defensive, he gave his holiness no provocation or room to complain of his behaviour.

The duke of Parma vigorously assisted by his allies.

AMONGST other powers, duke *Edward* had applied for assistance to the *Spaniards*; but, as they knew he had entered into engagements with *France*, they refused to serve him. This gave some encouragement for the pope to endeavour to gain them to his side; but they still suspected that his real design was against the kingdom of *Naples*, and that he had entered into a secret treaty with *France*, and therefore they declined taking either side of the question. All those cross incidents at last obliged the pope to give order for his troops, who had flattered themselves with enjoying the spoils of *Parma*, to halt in the *Bolognese*; and sending for the *French* ambassador, he voluntarily offered to grant the duke of *Parma* a truce for fourteen days, till some means could be devised for settling all their differences in an amicable manner. This proposal being made to the *French* ambassador, increased in the *Spaniards* their jealousy of his holiness, especially as they saw that the *French* made no dispositions for assisting the duke, but by their good offices in the way of negotiation, and therefore armaments were fitted out both at *Naples* and *Milan*. But their suspicions of his holiness were rendered more strong than ever, on a still more important occasion.

The Spaniards distrust the pope.

THE duke of *Braganza*, about this time, had recovered his family-right to the crown of *Portugal*; and having driven the *Spaniards* out of that kingdom, his title was recognized by the *French* court. It was no secret to the *Spaniards* that *Urban* had always a warm side to the *French*, from whom he had received many obligations during his residence at that court as pope's nuncio. The *French* therefore encouraged the new king to send the bishop of *Lamego* as his ambassador to the court of *Rome*, to obtain from his holiness an acknowledgment of his right to the crown of *Portugal*. The bishop was thwarted in his negotiation by the *Spanish* ambassador, who left no means untried to dissuade the pope from receiving the prelate in a public character; and the *French* were as earnest that he should.

Their suspicions are strengthened.

WHILE these disputes were depending, an incident happened which gave great uneasiness to his holiness. The equipages of the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* ambassadors happened one day to encounter one another in the streets of *Rome*, and that of the bishop and his domestics were severely pelted by the *Spaniards*. The *French*, however, took part with the *Portuguese*, and in a few hours all the inhabitants of *Rome* were divided between the two parties. The pope did not know how far this quarrel might proceed; and, instead of conquering *Parma*, he began to be apprehensive, lest he himself should be turned out of *Rome*; and therefore began in good earnest to endeavour to find out the means of being reconciled with the duke of *Parma*. The latter, on the other hand, being joined by a body of *Venetian* and *Tuscan* cavalry, which with his own made up three thousand; and being without any apprehension from the *Spaniards*, took the field with his horse, to whom he was unable to give either pay or subsistence; and, without either infantry or artillery, he marched into the *Bolognese*. The pope's generalissimo, the prefect *Thaddeo*, was still quartered there, and was in full persuasion that the menaces he threw out, and the terror of his uncle's name, would immediately finish the war in his favour; but he no sooner heard of duke *Edward*'s approach, than he fled to *Verona*, and his troops disbanded and separated. This left the duke the undisputed master of the field. He raised large contributions

Duke of Parma invades the ecclesiastical state,

butions over all the dominions of the ecclesiastical state which he marched through; and pursuing his good fortune, he pushed into the *Romagna*, when the inhabitants of *Imola*, *Faenza*, *Forli*, and all its other towns of any consequence, opened their gates to him, being no longer protected by their own sovereign's troops. He then fell back upon *Tuscany*, and marched through part of it to another quarter of the ecclesiastical state, within a few miles of *Castro*, declaring, where-ever he came, that he intended to obey the pope's monitory, and appear in person at *Rome*; and now that he was attended by so numerous a retinue, to pay a visit to the prefect and his two brothers.

but is obliged
to retire.

ALL duke *Edward's* movements testified great intrepidity and resolution, and by this time he had actually passed by *Aquapendente* and *Monte Fiascone*. His holiness, seeing him thus in a manner at the gates of *Rome*, turned to every side to extricate himself from the labyrinth of difficulties he had been led into. He would now willingly have listened to the moderate proposals which he had before so haughtily rejected; and, instead of being, as usual, courted to an accommodation by the ambassadors of foreign princes, he courted them in the most abject manner to interpose in his behalf. It happened fortunately for him that neither the *Venetians*, the grand duke, nor the *Modenese*, ever intended that the duke of *Parma* should have carried matters so far as he had done; and his irruptions, especially the last of them, into the ecclesiastical state, had been undertaken without their knowledge or consent, all their intention having been to act upon the defensive, and to prevent his being attacked in the *Parmesan* by the pope's army. They had therefore privately admonished the duke to check his impetuosity, otherwise they threatened to recall their troops, and to leave him to defend himself.

Artful dissimu-
lation of the
pope.

BEFORE their admonitions could have any effect, his holiness had applied to all the foreign ministers at *Rome*, to whom he offered to abandon *Castro*, and to put matters upon their original foundation, so as to effect an entire and sincere reconciliation between himself and the duke of *Parma*. He no sooner, however, heard that the duke had stopped in his career by the messages sent him from his allies, than he began to qualify his concessions by offering to give up *Castro* as a deposit into the hands of the *Venetians*, the great duke, the duke of *Modena*, the *French*, or the *Swiss*. This proposal he knew would protract the negociation to a much greater length than the duke's finances could admit of, and that he must consequently be obliged to disband his troops. In the mean while the duke, being pressed anew by his allies, found himself in a most deplorable situation. He had by them been forced to evacuate all the places he had taken in the ecclesiastical state; and he was now encompassed by mountains and barren vallies, where he could neither find subsistence for himself, nor forage for his horses. He had spirit and courage enough to have risked all considerations, even a breach with his allies, and to have marched to *Rome* itself; but that was impracticable, as he was without infantry, magazines, or artillery. At last he was obliged to fall back into *Tuscany*, where he committed the care of his army to the marshal *d'Estrees*, and recommended his interests in the way of negociation to *M. de Lionne*, and then set out for his own dominions.

A new war
breaks out.

URBAN easily saw that his projects had succeeded; and now that his enemy was no longer at his gates, he assumed a new tone, and baffled *Lionne* in every point of negociation. He revoked some concessions which he had granted before, and substituted what he called equivalents in their place: he explained away others, and clogged others with new conditions; so that it was now extremely plain to all parties, that he meant nothing but to protract and puzzle the negociation. In the beginning of the year 1642, duke *Edward's* affairs standing in this indetermined situation, he resolved, if possible, to wrest *Castro*, which was garrisoned by the pope's troops, out of his hands. With this view, having assembled some regiments, he embarked them on board transports at *Lunigiana*, which were to carry them to *Porto Ercole*, or some landing-place near *Castro*, and at the same time he raised troops for making a new irruption into the ecclesiastical state. The embarkation was accordingly performed; but being driven back by contrary winds, the whole plan of the duke's operations fell to the ground. Not discouraged with this, he turned his arms against the *Ferrarese*, where he took *Bondeno* and *La Stellata*, both which places he fortified.

The pope's
arms baffled.

In the mean while the pope talked in a more decisive strain than ever, and was spending immense sums in raising a new army, the command of which he gave to his nephew the cardinal *Antonio Barbarini*, an enthusiast for the glory of the holy see, and the interests of his own family, and the most expensive prelate alive, from the immense revenues that had been granted him by the pope and the *French* king. The duke of *Parma's* allies, the *Venetians*, and the dukes of *Tuscany* and *Modena*, were highly offended at seeing their moderation thus abused, and not knowing what views besides the reduction of the duke of *Parma* his holiness might have, resumed their arms, and renewed their alliance with *Ed-*
ward.

a ward. The cardinal took the field at the head of his army, with a pomp and magnificence that was more proper to celebrate a triumph than encounter an enemy. Without deigning to spend his time against the two places that had been taken by the duke of *Parma* in the *Ferrarese*, he marched directly into the *Modenese*; but he had scarcely entered that territory, than he was driven out of it with loss and disgrace. In the mean while, the great duke of *Tuscany*, as an ally to the dukes of *Parma* and *Modena*, ordered his army to advance into the ecclesiastical state, where he obtained several advantages; and upon the whole, this and the following campaign, including the extravagant expences of the pope's nephews, is said to have cost the apostolical chamber the incredible sum of twenty millions of crowns, without its receiving any return but losses and disappointments, for that immense expence. At
b last *Urban*, enfeebled with age and diseases, treated, through cardinal *Bichi*, about a peace with *France*. The negociation proved to be extremely advantageous to the holy see, by the recognition which *France* made of the validity of the papal excommunication. For her previous demand was, that the duke of *Parma* should be absolved from all his censures; a request which the republic of *Venice* could never be brought to make to *Paul V.* nor would she ever even accept of absolution. It was, however, said, on the part of the *French* court, that the duke of *Parma*, not being an independent sovereign, the concession did not wound the rights of crowned heads. This, however, is but a feeble plea; because if these censures were valid in a temporal sense against any prince, they were equally so against all; nor can it be pretended that the duke of *Parma* was not, in every respect, a sovereign prince,
c while he complied with the terms on which his ancestors obtained their dominions.

THE event of this negociation was, that the pope forgave all that was past, and consented to return to the duke of *Parma* the duchy of *Castro*, and all that had been taken from him. The duke, having thus, by his undaunted spirit and perseverance, baffled all the refined politics, and, what is more, the superior force of the see of *Rome*, went to *Venice* to thank the senators for the kind assistance they had afforded him in his distress. He likewise testified his gratitude to *France*, by giving her ambassadors at *Rome*, during their residence there, the use of his palace, one of the most magnificent in the world. The *French* ambassadors accordingly dwelt in it till the year 1698, when they resigned the possession of it to the then duke of *Parma*. The public, however, and especially the sovereign princes of *Europe*, were
d by no means satisfied with regard to the merit which *France* claimed from this reconciliation. It was justly thought, that, had she not intermeddled, the duke of *Parma* would have obtained better terms than he did, because the pope was reduced to the utmost distress, and rendered incapable to continue the war; but that insidious court, as usual, by holding with both parties, and dissembling with both, consulted her own ends. Duke *Edward*, in fact, acquired nothing by this accommodation but the evacuation of *Castro*; for he was still as much obliged as ever to pay to the creditors of the Mount of Piety the money he owed that bank. This, in reality, was material justice; nor was it in the pope's power, unless he had paid the money himself, to have compromised the affair upon any other condition. Upon the whole, both parties were highly to blame; the duke, for not paying a
e fair and just debt, which was, in a manner, owing to the poor and the necessitous; and the pope, or rather his family, for their putting him under difficulties for satisfying that debt, by their not continuing to take from the duke, as usual, the product of his duchy, by which the debt might have been satisfied without distressing him. Duke *Edward* died in the year 1648, two years after his accommodation with the pope. He was blamed by his contemporaries for abandoning the interests of *Spain*, to whom his family owed its elevation, for those of *France*. But the *French* vivacity and manners were entirely suited to his own; and he appears to have been of a temper not easily wrought upon by opposition and difficulties.

DUKE *Edward* was succeeded by his son *Ranuccio II.* Notwithstanding the seeming victory *Edward* had obtained over the pope, it is certain that when *Ranuccio* succeeded to his father, his revenues were in a most miserable situation. Though his dominions were clear of foreign enemies, yet the expences of the war had left him no more than the means of barely subsisting himself and his court with decency; and when pope *Innocent X.* mounted the papal throne, he found himself involved in the same difficulties that his father had encountered. *Innocent* was as tenacious as his predecessor had been of the papal prerogative, and considered the house of *Parma* as no better than successful rebels against their rightful sovereign. *Ranuccio II.* on the other hand, was one of the most moderate princes of his age; and his reputation for wisdom was such, that the senate of *Venice* consulted him in all affairs of difficulty or moment. All his abilities, however, could not raise the money to
g satisfy *Innocent*, who demanded both the interest and principle of what he owed to the Mount of Piety. It was in vain for the duke to plead his inability to pay the debt, of which his holiness himself could not be insensible; and it was with difficulty he obtained a respite.

Duke of Parma
regains Ca-
stro.

Succeeded by
Ranuccio II.

Innocent now considered *Ranuccio* in a most despicable light, and took every opportunity to mortify him, by making him feel the weight of his authority; but an accident that happened, completed the breach between them.

A bishop of
Castro mur-
dered.

THE popes always had exercised a right to fill up the vacant sees in the ecclesiastical state, of which the bishoprick of *Castro* was reckoned to be one. The more moderate, however, of *Innocent's* predecessors, seldom nominated a bishop to that see, without consulting the dukes of *Parma*, and sometimes even paid them the compliment of accepting their recommendation. *Innocent X.* was so far from observing any delicacy of that kind, that he named a *Theatine* monk to be bishop of *Castro*. This monk, of all persons, was the most disagreeable to the duke, who applied in the most earnest manner to *Innocent* to nominate another to fill the see. This request was more than sufficient to determine *Innocent* to adhere to his first nomination; and he reproached *Ranuccio* for being so presumptuous as to offer him his advice. *Ranuccio*, not discouraged with this haughtiness, renewed his application; and, even in the most submissive manner, begged the holy father to desist from his nomination. This served only to draw upon *Ranuccio* fresh reproaches, and even threatenings, which rendered him still more determined to frustrate the choice of his holiness. Finding that he could make no impression upon the pope, he secretly applied to the monk himself, by an agent, who advised him, as a friend, not to accept of the bishopric; and spoke in such a manner, as to make the nominee sensible of the fate that was intended him, if he should comply with the will of his holiness. The ecclesiastic repaired to the pope, and, on his knees, besought him to revoke his nomination, which if he accepted of, he said, must be fatal to him. To see a monk decline a mitre, was somewhat so extraordinary, that *Innocent* was astonished at the request, which was urged with all the appearance of sincerity, and in the most moving earnest manner. Upon inquiry, he discovered the monk's motives for his self-denial; and the discovery rendered him more obstinate than ever. He assured the monk, that he had nothing to fear; and that his authority should protect him against all his enemies, either secret or revealed; as no prince in *Italy*, be he ever so great, would venture to incur the indignation of the holy see. He, therefore, laid his commands upon the monk to receive episcopal consecration, which he was obliged to submit to, tho' he declined it with tears in his eyes; and when he came to take leave of *Innocent*, before he set out for his bishopric, he told him that he was going to his death. The pope repeated his assurances of protection and safety; but all his pontifical power could not save the new-made bishop; for, as he was travelling in his litter to *Castro*, he was assassinated upon the road by persons unknown.

The bishopric
translated to
Aquapendente.

INNOCENT was exasperated to the highest degree at this murder, which must be acknowledged to have been barbarous and inhuman. He ordered the strictest inquisition to be made after the murderers; but none could be discovered. The place where the assassination was committed was chosen with so much judgment, that it was hard to pronounce whether it lay in the duchy of *Tuscany*, or in the ecclesiastical state; while, at the same time, no doubt remained with the public as to the motives or authors of the fact. The pope went so far as even to threaten *Ranuccio* with excommunication; but he had not a circumstance on which he could ground a charge, and thus his holiness was obliged to drop the prosecution. *Innocent*, however, was not of a temper to put up with such a disappointment, convinced as he was of the duke's actual guilt, and he resolved to make him feel his vengeance to the full. The respite for the payment of the duke's debt to the Mount of Piety was now expired, and *Innocent*, in the rudest manner, pressed him to pay the money. The duke, after various excuses, which did not avail him, was at last obliged to plead his inability; to which plea his holiness paid so little regard, that he adjudged the duchy of *Castro* to be confiscated for the payment of the said debt, to be re-united to the holy see, and incorporated; a term made use of at *Rome*, to signify a state to be so incorporated with the dominions of the apostolical chamber, that they never can be separated from them again. Not contented with this, his holiness, under pretext that *Castro* was now his own property, ordered the city to be razed to the ground, and a pillar to be erected in the market-place, with an inscription on its base, "Here stood *Castro*;" and at the same time he transferred its bishopric to *Aquapendente*, as a punishment on the inhabitants for the death of the episcopal monk, whose name was *Christopher Giarda*.

Account of Ra-
nuccio's mi-
nister, whom
he beheads.

RANUCCIO, notwithstanding all his policy, was not void of prepossessions for a favourite minister, an obscure *Frenchman* by birth, who assumed the title of marquis *Gaufride*. This person had insinuated himself into the good graces of duke *Edward*, who placed him about his son, and he became *Ranuccio's* first minister. In the process of the dispute between him and pope *Innocent*, the marquis *Gaufride* not only advised his master to oppose his holiness by force of arms, but to give him the command of the troops raised for that pur-

a pole. The duke complied with all that his minister desired; but the latter proved to be so wretched a soldier, that he was beat in every encounter by the pope's troops. His absence from *Parma* gave the duke's friends an opportunity to open his eyes with regard to his favourite, who had, in the most scandalous manner, abused the power intrusted to him by his master. The duke, who was in no condition to continue a war against the pope, laid down his arms; and, upon his favourite's return from the campaign, he was tried for corruption and malversation in his ministry; and the articles being clearly proved against him, he lost his head upon a scaffold.

THIS *Ranuccio* II. after the sequestration of his duchy of *Castro*, took little concern in the public affairs of *Italy*. The debt for which it was sequestered amounted to about one hundred thousand pounds sterling, which never was in his power to pay; but in the year 1664, *Lewis* XIV. persuaded, or rather obliged, pope *Alexander* VII. to grant the duke a respite of eight years; within which time, if the debt was paid, the duchy of *Castro* was to revert to his family. This, however, never was done, and the duchy remains now annexed to the apostolical chamber. Upon the accession of the present king of *Spain* to the possession of *Parma*, he offered to pay off the mortgage; but the pope refused to accept of the money; and the emperor, in the year 1736, agreed, that that duchy never should be dismembered^b from the papal dominions.

His debt respited.

RANUCCIO II. duke of *Parma*, in his own person, was one of the most extraordinary men of his age. His manner of living was elegantly simple; and he had no exterior marks of greatness about him, that could distinguish him from another gentleman. Notwithstanding this, his court was magnificent and expensive, beyond what could have been expected from his revenue. Though he had not applied much to study, yet he laid out great sums in purchasing valuable manuscripts, and other curiosities, for his library; and he employed a *Carmelite* friar, who ransacked all *Europe* for those kinds of purchases. He employed the famous father *Coronelli*, at *Venice*, to make him a pair of globes, the then largest in the world; but the good cordelier, having constructed and finished them within his own cloister, was obliged to take down the wall before they could be carried to *Parma*. Some incidents in this duke's life will more effectually give the reader an idea of his true character, than any other description of it can communicate.

Conduct of Ranuccio.

d He had at his court an officer, under the title of purveyor-general of his household. This officer was a foreigner; and, by the help of a decent assurance, the duke, who always conversed in person with those he employed, even in the meanest stations about his palace, raised him by degrees to the purveyorship. His behaviour, in this station, was so exact, regular, and inoffensive, that he acquired the good-will of all the court, as well as that of his master; and lived several years in great affluence and credit, without so much as being suspected of the smallest misconduct. At last, he fell sick; and apprehending his disease to be mortal, he found means most earnestly to request the duke to send some person, whom he could rely on, to receive an information that greatly concerned his highness. The duke accordingly sent to him one of his gentlemen; to whom the purveyor confessed, e that, during the course of his employment under the duke, he had embezzled immense sums, by applying them to his private pocket; and earnestly begged the gentleman to ask the duke to forgive him, and to seize upon all the estates he was to leave behind him, which, he said, fell short of the sums of which he had defrauded him. He, at the same time, gave the gentleman an inventory of all his household furniture, and other goods, to be delivered to the duke, that he might enter into immediate possession of them, as the only satisfaction he could make for his embezzlements. The gentleman executed the commission he was charged with; and the duke, having heard him with great attention, desired him to return to the sick man, and to acquaint him, in his name, that he readily forgave him all his embezzlements; and that, so far from accepting of his estate, f he left him at free liberty to dispose of it as he pleased, which favours he granted him in consideration of the salutary example he set to his other servants. "Learn from this person, said he, (turning to those about him) to become honest men; and, at least in your last hours, to disburden your consciences. I make no doubt, continued he, that many of you are as culpable as this purveyor, whom you see I have treated so favourably; and if, instead of reserving your confessions to your last moments, ye will, every first day of the year, when you come to pay your compliments to me, confess, at the same time, the particulars of all the slips and embezzlements you have been guilty of, and which I know is not in my power either to prevent or to prove, I will, upon my honour, forgive ye, in the same manner as I have forgiven this purveyor. Think of g what I have said; for, I do assure ye, my absolution, in such a case, is far preferable to that of the pope himself. He never absolves without obliging the party to make restitution; but ye shall have my pardon without any such condition."

His generosity.

^b BUSCHING's Geography, vol. iii. p. 156.

History of
count Calvi.

RANUCCIO II. notwithstanding his great and amiable qualities, had his weakneſſes likewise, as appears from the choice he made of *Gioſeppino*, an *Italian* ſinger, and an eunuch, to be his firſt miniſter. This *Gioſeppino* was the favourite of a *Venetian* curtezan, named *Madelona*, who was rich, and who ſupported him at a vaſt expence. The cuſtom is at *Parma*, and other cities of *Italy*, after a certain time of night, to ſhut the gates, and every perſon then admitted muſt ſend in his name and quality to an officer, who waits at the gate for that purpoſe, and he makes his report to his maſter of all who enter. *Gioſeppino* and *Madelona*, in one of their excuſſions, arrived at the gates of *Parma* ſo late, that they were obliged to ſend in their names, and the duke in the morning ordered them to attend him. His courtiers imagined that he intended to puniſh or to reprimand them for the lewdneſs of their lives; but they were ſurpriſed to ſee the courteous manner with which he received them. *Gioſeppino*'s preſence had prepoſſeſſed him in his favour; and entering into converſation with him, he ſoon perceived that he underſtood politics as well as muſic, and that he was not infected with that levity which is ſo common to the *Italian* muſicians. In ſhort, the duke offered him a ſettlement at his court; and, perceiving that he made ſome difficulty on account of *Madelona*, he offered to entertain her likewise, and to treat her in every reſpect as *Gioſeppino*'s wife. The bargain was ſoon ſtruck; and the duke not only performed all he had promiſed, but provided handſomely for *Gioſeppino*'s two brothers, giving one of them a commiſſion in his own guards, and the other a living in the church. After this, *Madelona* wiſely retired to a nunnery, where the duke ſtill continued her appointment.

As to *Gioſeppino*, he ſhewed himſelf not unworthy of the duke's partiality in his favour. A magnificent palace was erected for him, with a communication, by a covered gallery, with that of the duke; and in a ſhort time he acquired a much larger eſtate than could have been expected to be amaſſed in the ſervice of a duke of *Parma*. The duke was ſo far from diſcovering any uneaſineſs on that account, that he adviſed his favourite to lay out his money in purchaſing land, but not in the *Parmesan*, leſt his ſon and ſucceſſor ſhould call him to an account for the riches he had acquired. *Gioſeppino* accordingly purchaſed an eſtate in the *Milanefe*, and was created a count by the title of *Calvi*, the name of his father, who was a poor taylor in *Pavia*. In other reſpects, *Gioſeppino* behaved with the moſt profound ſubmiſſion to the duke, his family, and court. But all his caution could not guard him from enemies amongſt the nobility, who ſtill looked upon him as an upſtart.

Marriage of
the prince of
Parma.

WHEN prince *Edward*, *Ranuccio*'s ſon, grew up, *Lewis XIV.* ordered *du Pré*, his reſident at *Parma*, to offer a princeſs of his own blood in marriage to the young prince. He had, at the ſame time, made the like offer to the dukes of *Tuſcany* and *Modena*. Nothing could be more unpopular than the *French* court at this time was in *Italy*. *Lewis XIV.* had, with unconcern, ſeen the *Turks* make a progreſs in *Germany*, which threatened the extinction of the Chriſtian religion and intereſt in that empire; and the *French* armies in the *Palatinate* had behaved in a manner more brutal and inhuman than the worſt of barbarians. Though the *Italian* princes had never been fond of the imperial yoke, while the houſe of *Auſtria* aſpired to give laws in *Italy*; yet, now that its power was reduced, they remembered that the emperors of *Germany* had been the lords paramount of that country, and that they themſelves owed to them their freedom, and independency upon the ſee of *Rome*. The duke of *Parma*, particularly, thought that if he owed any allegiance it was to the emperor, and not to the pope, whoſe predeceſſors had availed themſelves of the diſtreſſes of *Germany* to get poſſeſſion of *Parma*. That duke, therefore, and the other *Italian* princes, rejected the propoſal of the *French* alliance with a kind of horror; and *Ranuccio* concluded a match between his ſon *Edward* and the princeſs *Dorothea-Sophia* of *Neuberg*, ſiſter of the empreſs-dowager.

Calvi mortified.

RANUCCIO, upon this occaſion, gave a proof of his wiſdom and good ſenſe, by mortifying his favourite, upon the only occaſion in which he ſeemed to have forgot the meanneneſs of his birth and circumſtances. The duke had given orders for making the moſt magnificent preparations for celebrating his ſon's nuptials; and had committed to the marquis of *Rangone*, a nobleman of great quality and eſtate, the care of repairing his celebrated theatre at *Parma*, for the exhibition of certain pompous entertainments. The marquis accepted of the charge; but the theatre being very much out of order, and the time allotted for repairing it but ſhort, he ordered the workmen to admit no perſon within it, but thoſe who came along with the duke and his ſons. *Gioſeppino* preſented himſelf one day and demanded admittance, which was reſuſed him by one of *Rangone*'s ſervants, tho' the miniſter at the ſame time acquainted him with his name and quality. The ſervant answered, that he was no ſtranger to both; but that noblemen of much greater rank had been reſuſed admittance, and that he muſt obey his orders. This affront drove *Gioſeppino* from his uſual moderation; and after threatening to cane the ſervant the firſt time he met him,

a him, he withdrew. When the marquis of *Rangone* heard of what had passed, he dismissed all the workmen; and ordering the theatre to be locked up, he carried the keys to the duke, and desired his highness to excuse him from having any more concern with the reparation of the theatre. The duke was amazed at his request; but was soon informed of the whole affair by the marquis, in terms that put the duke in mind of his minister's original meanness, and of his presumption in threatening to beat his servant for doing his duty; adding, that he did not doubt that he soon would have insolence enough to threaten the same to himself for having given the order.

A PRINCE not possessed of *Ranuccio's* wisdom and moderation would have been offended at the freedom with which the marquis treated his favourite's person and character. *Ranuccio*, on the other hand, discovered no marks of displeasure; but after calmly examining the affair, he found it to be as the marquis had represented it. The offence was of too slight a nature to deserve a severe punishment; and yet there was a kind of necessity for satisfying the marquis, and humbling the favourite at the same time. He therefore prevailed with the marquis to resume his charge, and promised him satisfaction. Next day the marquis, as usual, continued to give directions about the reparations of the theatre; and the duke ordered several of the courtiers to attend him, and amongst others *Gioseppino*; but ordered him to be the last of all his train who should enter the theatre. When the marquis came to receive the duke, all the attendants were admitted but *Gioseppino*, in whose face the door was shut. This was what the duke had foreseen and suspected; and in a day or two repeating his visit in the same manner, *Gioseppino* received the same affrontive exclusion. In a few days after the same experiment was repeated, when the marquis, thinking that he had done enough to mortify the favourite, and beginning now to understand the duke's meaning, saluted him by the name of Signior *Gioseppino*, and told him that he was welcome to enter; and thus the quarrel ended, without the duke appearing to take the least concern in it.

THE celebration of the nuptials between prince *Edward* and his bride, was the most magnificent of any that for some centuries had been exhibited in *Italy*. Rich presents, according to their respective qualities, were made to all the *Germans* of either sex who accompanied the bride. The feasts, entertainments, and shews of all kinds, which lasted for some weeks, were equally pompous and ingenious; but a description of particulars does not come within our design, though volumes were filled with the description of them; and the marriage of prince *Edward* with the princess *Dorothy* of *Neuberg*, is to this day talked of amongst the *Italians* as the master-piece of all magnificence of that kind.

Magnificent wedding.

BUT notwithstanding *Ranuccio's* gentleness and politeness, no prince knew better than he did what was due to his rank, and to the decorum of a court. His brother, prince *Alexander Farnese*, while he was governor of the *Low Countries* for the king of *Spain*, had by his mistress a natural son called after his own name. This young gentleman was educated at *Parma*, under the eye of his uncle, in a manner suitable to the quality of his father, who was afterwards general of the *Venetians*, and held an employment in *Spain*. Upon the marriage of prince *Edward*, the duke of *Parma* gave Don *Alexander*, for so the young gentleman was called, a post about the person of the princess, and his fine presence and accomplishments soon brought him to be distinguished by a *Parmesan* countess, one of the most illustrious ladies in all the duke's dominions. As the lady was married, their intercourse became scandalous, and it soon reached the duke's ears. As he was extremely delicate in those matters, he at first reprimanded Don *Alexander*, being willing to make allowances for his youth; but the scandal of the intrigue daily encreasing, he treated him with rougher language, and threatened, if he persevered, to disqualify him from all future commerce with womankind. He ordered, at the same time, that when the duchess came to the opera, she should be placed in a box opposite to his own, that her gallant might have no opportunity of entertaining her. The lovers found means partly to elude even this precaution; but being impatient of restraint, they at last agreed to make an elopement, and to fly to *Naples*, where they might enjoy themselves in security. Don *Alexander* accordingly repaired to the lady's country-seat, in the disguise of a postilion; and on pretence that he was sent for her by her husband, who was then in *Parma*, he carried her off, and they made the best of their way to *Naples*. They had been gone two days before the duke heard of their flight; and being highly provoked by the young man's temerity, he dispatched expresses to the governors of the chief cities in *Lombardy* and the *Romagna*, through which it was most probable they would pass, with a description of their dresses and persons, entreating them to stop the fugitives. It was not long before they were stopped at *Ancona*; and the duke no sooner heard that they were in custody, than he sent two coaches, with proper guards, to conduct them to *Parma*; but with orders, that they should not be suffered to speak to each other during the journey. In this he was punctu-

History of Don Alexander Farnese.

Policy and wisdom of Ranuccio.

ally obeyed; and upon their arrival at *Parma*, the lover was condemned by the duke to a perpetual imprisonment, and the lady to pass the rest of her days in a cloister. But the most distinguished public action of this duke's life, was his establishing the fair of *Placentia*. This fair used to be held in *Genoa*, to which all the merchants of *Italy* resorted once a year, and transacted their affairs. But the difficulty of passing to *Genoa* by land, on account of the vast mountains with which that city is surrounded, being a prodigious discouragement to the merchants, *Ranuccio* formed the noble project of transferring the fair to *Placenza*. He no sooner made the proposal, than it was unanimously agreed to by all the traders of *Italy*; and for their convenience, he ordered above three hundred booths to be built in the streets of *Placenza*; and during the fair he appointed guards for the security of the wares they contained. But as the resort of wealthy bankers to the fair was its principal support, the duke, with a magnificence peculiar to himself, sent to *Florence*, and all the other trading cities in *Lombardy* and the *Romagna*, coaches and other carriages for conveying them to *Placenza*, where they were lodged all the time of the fair, at his expence, and every night entertained with elegant exhibitions of plays, operas, and other entertainments of music. All was performed in the highest taste of politeness as well as hospitality; so that those merchants appear to be invited rather to a court, as the guest of a great prince, than to a fair, as merchants transacting their own business.

Flourishing state of his dominions.

In like manner the duke rendered his dominions the residence and delight of the *Italian* princes and nobility. After the fair of *Placenza* was over, the operas still continued; and as the duke was himself a great judge of music, the favourite entertainment of the *Italians*, none but the finest voices and performers were admitted. All the expence was defrayed by the duke, who was so good an œconomist, that his guests were astonished at his magnificence, his ordinary revenues not being computed to amount to above one hundred thousand pounds a year. He found means, however, by the great concourse of nobility and merchants, whom he brought to his dominions, to raise a revenue far exceeding that sum, without oppressing his subjects. But though he defrayed all the charges of his opera and theatre, by paying the performers of every kind, as well as providing dresses and machinery, yet he suffered *Gioseppino*, soon after he came into his favour, to be the manager of the whole, and even to take money for the boxes at the opera. This amounted to about a thousand pounds a year clear to the favourite. But it drew upon him so much envy and ill-will from the other performers; and the public was so much disgusted at seeing the same person act in the double capacity of minister and musician, that he resigned the management. After all, however, we have said of this duke *Ranuccio's* magnificence and generosity, he had his frugal and saving hours. When he acted in the character of a sovereign prince, he required from all his servants and courtiers, the strictest observance of forms in their several degrees; and they who were negligent in any part of their duty, were always sure of having some marks of his resentment. This made all about him so attentive to their duties, that no prince was ever known to be better served. But *Ranuccio* spent the far greater part of his time as a private gentleman, without the smallest distinction of dress or attendance. He conversed easily and familiarly with all whom he went to visit, or who came to visit him. His table was then served like that of a private person; and they who trembled before him on days of ceremony, were charmed with his conversation, his affability, and good-nature, as a private person. Towards the latter end of his days, he was troubled with an imposthume in his leg, which the physicians attributed to his excessive eating of *Parmesan* cheese; but they could not persuade him to abstain from it. His disorders, therefore, multiplied so greatly, that his subjects thought his life was prolonged by the miraculous interposition of saints. The count *de Anguisciola* was then his resident at the court of *Paris*, where *Lewis XIV.* one day enquired after the health of the duke his master; the count answered, "That he had been miraculously recovered by the intercession of a certain saint." "You *Italians*, replied the king, are fond of being under obligations to heaven, and run so much in debt to the saints, that I am afraid you will soon prove insolvent." But after many escapes he at last died in the year 1694.

Death

and marriages of Ranuccio.

DUKE *Ranuccio* had three wives; his first was *Margaret* daughter to *Victor Amadeus*, the first duke of *Savoy*, by whom he had prince *Edward*, who, as we have already seen, married the princess *Dorothea Sophia* of *Neuberg*, daughter to *Philip-William*, the elector-palatine, and sister to the empress-dowager; but he died in 1693, during his father's life-time, leaving behind him a daughter, who was afterwards married to *Philip* king of *Spain*, and is now alive. His second and third wives were *Isabella* and *Mary*, the latter of whom he married by dispensation, daughters to *Francis I.* duke of *Modena*. By the former he had two sons; *Francis*, who succeeded him, and *Anthony* (*Alexander*, his grandson, by *Edward*, dying in his cradle.) *Ranuccio's* two brothers were *Alexander* and *Horatio*. The latter was general of the cavalry in the *Venetian* service, during the famous siege of *Candia*; and he

- a he was at the famous battle of the *Dardanelles*, in which the *Turks* were beat; but he himself died without issue, when he was upon his return to *Italy*. He was succeeded in his command by his brother prince *Alexander*, who afterwards entered into the *Spanish* service, and served in *Flanders* in the same rank. In the year 1669 he was appointed viceroy of *Navarre*, and in 1680, governor-general of the *Low-Countries*. Two years after the *French* gave him the command of their troops; and in the year 1687, the king of *Spain* appointed him generalissimo by sea of all his kingdoms and estates, in which post he died two years after he received it; but without leaving any legitimate issue.

- b Duke *Francis I.* son of duke *Ranuccio II.* of *Parma*, succeeded his father with great advantages. The contending parties in *Italy* concurred in the high esteem they had for the late duke; and the measures of his government were so wise, that his son's dominions were free from all the calamities of war, which desolated the rest of *Italy*, at the time of his accession to the duchy. *Francis*, however, found great difficulty to maintain himself in this desirable neutrality. This was occasioned, not by any mismanagement of his own, but by a dispute between the pope and the emperor, about their respective rights of superiority over *Parma*. The imperial general, the marquis *de Prie*, in November 1706, marched some German regiments into the *Parmesan* and the *Placentine*, with an intention there to take their winter-quarters. Duke *Francis*, as well as his subjects, pleaded to be excused, on account of *Parma* and *Placentia* being fiefs of the holy see, and therefore not subject to such burdens. The imperial general, however, in December following, threatened the two duchies with military execution; so that duke *Francis* was compelled, against his will, to nominate *Francis Malpeli* his governor of *Parma*, and count *John Francis Marazzani Visconti* and the marquis *Annibal Scotti*, to be his plenipotentiaries for settling articles between him and the marquis *de Prie*; and at last ten articles were agreed upon. By the first article, the winter-quarters of the German troops were estimated at the sum of ninety thousand *Spanish* pistoles, of which the lay-subjects of the duke were to advance seventy-six thousand one hundred and fifty to the imperial military chest, for the maintenance of the infantry, who were quartered upon his duchies, the cavalry having evacuated the same for their greater ease. The said sum being paid, the imperial plenipotentiary undertook that all necessaries furnished for the maintenance of the said troops, horse as well as foot, should be punctually defrayed, and paid for at a moderate rate; and that if any disputes should arise between the duke's subjects and the said troops, that the same should be adjusted, and satisfaction made to the subjects by the commanding officer or officers of the regiments, or by the marquis of *Visconti*, general of the imperial cavalry. By the second article, the marquis *de Prie* allows to the duke five thousand out of the said ninety thousand pistoles, on account of provisions furnished the preceding *August*. The third article obliges the duke's subjects to pay two-thirds of the said sum, in ready money, in the following *April*, and to give accepted draughts upon creditable bankers, for the residue to be paid in the months of *August* and *October* thereafter: which payments being made, the marquis *de Prie* declares, that the duke has satisfied the imperial court for all demands upon him, as holding his estates as fiefs from his imperial majesty.

Succeeded by his son Francis.

His dispute with the emperor.

- f THE five next articles only settled the manner in which the contributions were to be raised, and the rations furnished to the soldiers; but the ninth article is extremely remarkable. It recites, "that as the ecclesiastics, secular as well as regular, are in possession of great part of the duke's territories, and had always borne their share of the public burdens, and even at that very time paid one-fourth towards the expence of the garrisons in the *Parmesan* and the *Placentine*, the imperial commissary reserved to himself a power of raising, upon their estates, the sum of twenty-one thousand two hundred and thirty pistoles, that the estates of the said ecclesiastics may be delivered from the inconveniences to which they must be subjected if such payment should not be made; the seculars, however, protesting that they have no concern whatever in drawing up or concluding the said articles;" which was signed the 14th of *December* 1706.

- g WHEN those articles were published, the pope *Clement XI.* issued a decretal, condemning the same, in a very high strain, as being injurious, in the most atrocious manner, to him and the rights of the holy see, to which the dukes of *Parma* and *Placentia* owe a direct and immediate fealty; and that consequently the said articles were declared to be void of all strength, force, and validity. His holiness then referred to a letter expedited by his predecessor *Urban VIII.* on the 5th of *June*, 1641; by which those, and the like insults upon the holy see, were effectually guarded against: the protestation entered by the secular clergy, concerning the proportion to be paid by them, having thrown the cognizance of that affair entirely upon the pope. He then refuses, in the most peremptory terms, to ratify the same, and declares the articles to be rejected and condemned. He next proceeds to mention a letter written with his own hand to the duke of *Parma*, threatening with ecclesiastical

Interposition of the pope.

fiastical censures, all who should presume to invade his just rights, or trouble his sovereign jurisdiction, and that of the church of *Rome*, over the said duke's estates, or in the matters already mentioned.

A full state of
the claims
made by the
imperial and
papal courts,

It appears, that after the conclusion of the above articles, the clergy, both secular and regular, of the *Parmesan* and *Placentine*, had absolutely refused to furnish their contingents, without express orders from the pope, for which the imperial generals had quartered a considerable body of troops upon their estates, in hopes to oblige them to comply with their demands. The pope, in the decree of censures before us, exclaims, in the most bitter terms, against this sacrilegious practice, as being a violation of all ecclesiastical immunities and privileges. He then proceeds in the following strain: "Having found all our paternal cares fruitless for remedying the said abuses; and as we are bound to protect, upon earth, the rights of the church of *Rome*, and all inferior churches, as well as the persons of the ecclesiastics, although we do not doubt that the bishops of those places, whose zeal we have excited, will courageously do their duty; and though we believe most certainly that so unjust a military attack, directed by wicked counsels, will be disproved of by our most dear son *Joseph* king of the *Romans*, elected emperor, who we hope will severely chastize and punish all who have been guilty of the said excesses; yet, that we may not appear idle and inactive, we who are charged with the duties of the apostolical office, and that we may not, by our too long forbearance, be accused of having betrayed the privileges of ecclesiastics, of having shamefully abandoned the cause of God; we, trusting in his divine assistance, and following the example, not only of *Urban* our aforesaid predecessor, but of pope *Leo X.* who by his constitution, published the 23d of *June* 1515, excommunicated, anathematized, and struck with the sword of cursing and eternal damnation, all persons, even those whose quality seemed to claim particular mention, who should invade the towns, territories, and places, belonging either mediately or immediately to the holy see, particularly the cities of *Parma* and *Placentia*; we declare, by the tenor of these presents, that the treaty within-mentioned, and all its articles, with all that followed thereupon, and all that may follow it, to be injurious, abusive, invalid, unjust, and destitute of all force and effect; that they were so from the beginning; they are so now, and ever must continue so, notwithstanding any oath confirming them; that no person is obliged to observe them; that no person either ought, or can lawfully observe them; and that no person has acquired, or can acquire, any right or pretence of a right for such possession or proceedings."

His holiness then enforces all the censures and ecclesiastical pains that had been published against such violators by his predecessors or himself, or the bishops of the *Parmesan* and *Placentine*; and concludes with the usual forms to declare the said decree to be lawful and valid in all respects. We have thought proper to be the more full upon this difference between the imperial and papal courts, because it remains still undecided, and it may yet be productive of important consequences in *Europe*. It is proper, however, for the same reason, to give the reader the substance of the answer, which the imperial court made to this thundering declaration, and which is dated the 26th of *June*, 1708.

upon the sovereignty of
Parma.

It begins with putting the public in mind of the great deliverance which the imperial army had obtained for *Italy*, after it had been enslaved by the *French*. His imperial majesty then proceeds to complain of the papal ministers, who had, either at the instigation of others, or for self-interested views of their own, introduced spiritual arms into a dispute that was entirely temporal, and to publish the same, to the great scandal of Christianity and Christian princes. "Having attentively considered, says the imperial manifesto, the declaration of his holiness, and all its contents, we cannot but be sensibly affected at the court of *Rome's* having the boldness to dispute the antient rights which we and the *Roman* empire have in *Italy*, and particularly those which the duchy of *Milan* has over *Parma* and *Placentia*, and this under the great pretext of a dominion which the said papal court pretends to have acquired over those two duchies. It is evident, by the full concurrence of all histories, and by the investitures which the *Roman* emperors our predecessors have bestowed, and other certain acts, that the supreme dominion and high sovereignty of the said cities of *Parma* and *Placentia*, only belong to us and to the sacred *Roman* empire, and that the lawful possessors of the duchy of *Milan* received the investitures thereof. It cannot be proved that this supreme dominion and high sovereignty ever has been given up by any emperor, or that it was ever in the power of any duke of *Milan* to yield up, cede, or transfer the same, far less that the court of *Rome* is intitled to usurp the same; or that the duke of *Parma* and *Placentia* himself ought to be considered as holding his dominions from the pope. Many historical tracts record at large all that has been done, without interruption, for preserving the rights of the empire in that affair; and they who are conversant in public matters, are fully sensible with what zeal our predecessors,

a fors, the emperor *Charles V.* in particular, of glorious memory, have defended, and expressed their resolution to defend, even to their last breath, their rights, and those of their empire, to the said duchies. It being besides evident, that those rights were annexed to the empire in such a manner, that they could not be separated from it without its consent, far less against its will, by any papal bulls, be they what they will, or by any menaces of ecclesiastical fulminations, however terrible they may appear. It is therefore lost and ridiculous labour which the popes have bestowed, by arrogating, in their own cause, a power of giving sentence; and being forced to establish, by means of their own bulls, claims that directly point to the prejudice of a third power. Surely it is beyond comprehension, how the court of *Rome* could imagine or alledge, that our soldiers have
b invaded the property of the church, as the said court knows, or ought to know, that the places into which our troops have entered, are fiefs belonging to us and the empire; and that we are entitled to demand from them provisions and necessaries of life, by the laws of nature and nations, even though the same had been a neutral territory, especially as the said demand was made that we may be able to defend those upon whom it is made, and to deliver them from dangers and farther losses with which they are threatened. Matters being thus circumstanced, every one must be sensible that the canons of the church, with the laws and reasons of state, oblige the clergy, as well as the other parts of the community, to contribute to the public expences, especially as they are employed for their tranquility and liberty; but more especially in a country where, by antient custom, the
c clergy has always contributed to the common support of the public; and where, as is the case in *Parma*, their possessions are so great, that they form more than one-fourth part of that duchy. The ecclesiastics, therefore, would become unworthy the happiness they enjoy, if they should be so tenacious and covetous as to refuse to concur with lay-subjects in paying the sum required by our imperial commissary, and persisting in the said refusal."

THE manifesto then proceeds to extol the conduct of his imperial majesty, and to blame the harsh and precipitate censures that had been issued against him by the pope. It then goes on as follows: "Our demand is agreeable to our own rights, and those of the empire; and we have made it in a manner that is agreeable to the imperial constitutions and
d usages, which entitles us to a return of that particular respect which we pay to the common father of Christianity, when he divests himself of partiality, witness the many negotiations of cardinal *Grimani*, to obtain that consent from his holiness, though the same was superfluous, and to remonstrate upon the too hasty abuse of papal authority. We well observe examples of the like collections and contributions imposed upon ecclesiastics, with the pope's consent, by our enemies, in a very different manner, though those enemies had no other end but to disturb the common tranquility of *Europe*, and were unworthy of all favour. Notwithstanding that, the court of *Rome* yielded to their requests, often against all right, thereby shewing as much indulgence and kindness to them, as animosity and enmity to us, by attacking us and the most undoubted rights of the empire in the face of the
e world, by words, writings, and actions, which might have excited in us the most violent resentment, had we not been influenced by that goodness which is natural to our house of *Austria*, and our regard for the universal church. We would even have persevered in our patience, though it has been abused ever since the beginning of our reign, if it had been permitted us to delay longer to vindicate our rights, and those of the empire, and if we could have excused that delay to God and our posterity. Hence it is, that, all things considered, we, mindful of the capitulation which we swore to observe, and the imperial constitutions, having taken the sentiments of all our privy-counsellors, together with those of the imperial aulic council; and having consulted many able foreign divines, and persons conversant in the canon and civil laws, for the preservation of our rights, and those
f of the empire, we declare, that the writing above referred to, is evidently null, vain, and of no force; and the rather, because it is plain that it wants the requisite essentials, to wit, the commission of a mortal sin, contumacy in a mortal error, a previous citation of persons, and the like; and because the said writing published by the court of *Rome*, tends not to preserve the heritage of our lord, but to usurp our imperial rights upon the duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*."

THE manifesto then retorts the pope's injustice upon himself, and accuses his ministers of cruelty and oppression, and of practices against the emperor, the king of *Spain*, and the duke of *Savoy*. It then declares, in the most solemn manner, that it is not in the power of his imperial majesty to give up any of his rights, far less his direct sovereignty
g over *Parma* and *Placentia*. On the contrary, "We resume, proceeds the paper, to ourselves and the sacred *Roman* empire, firmly and expressly, all and singular the sovereign rights that have been usurped, or are yet detained from us, and we declare them ours in

The conclusion of the imperial manifesto of Parma.

the most effectual form and manner, annulling, abolishing, and cancelling all illegal pretences and possessions, excepting those that have been expressly transferred to the said holy Roman see, by the goodness and munificence of our imperial predecessors. All which is of so much the less validity, as even the emperor himself has not power to make such alienations, without observing the requisite forms." The close of this famous manifesto is as follows: "We forbid all and singular the ecclesiastics and secular vassals belonging to us and the empire, our ministers and subjects, living either in the dominions of the church, or in the duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*, or any-where else, under pain of our indignation, confiscation of goods, and corporal punishment besides, to pay the least regard to the aforesaid writing, promising them in return our protection and clemency, first requiring, in the necessary forms, the duke of *Parma* not to acknowledge, for his duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*, any other superior but ourselves, and our most dear brother the king of *Spain*, as being the sole lords and lawful possessors of the duchy of *Milan*, to whom the said duke is answerable for our rights, and those of the sacred *Roman* empire."

Anthony marries his brother's widow.

THE vicissitudes of war prevented this dispute from coming to an issue; it being an established maxim with the papal court, never to give up a claim, or terminate a difference, but to make temporary compromises, still keeping their claims open, and resuming them at proper junctures. An accommodation afterwards took place between the emperor and the pope, but without any decision being made as to the sovereignty of *Parma*. The new duke, however, behaved so inoffensively, that he would gladly have been excused from having the imperialists quartered upon his dominions; yet he was regarded by both parties, inasmuch, that in the year 1695, his holiness gave him a dispensation for marrying his brother's widow, to the astonishment of all *Europe*, the former having had children by her. But *Anthony* having no children by the said lady, the succession to his estates became a very serious consideration with the powers of *Europe*, after the accession of king *George I.* The duke of *Parma* himself inclined to be a feudatory to the court of *Rome*, rather than to the emperor, who, he was sensible, wanted to reannex his duchies to the dominions of the house of *Austria*; and the same fate must have attended them, had they been declared to be fiefs of the crown of *Spain*, which was then claimed by his brother *Charles*, in opposition to *Philip*, duke of *Anjou*; both of them assuming the royal titles of *Spain*, and each in possession of part of that kingdom. To prevent, if possible, such a reannexation from taking place, *Anthony* duke of *Parma* married *Elizabeth*, his elder brother's daughter, and only surviving child to *Philip*, by which the descendants of the marriage claimed the rights of succession to the duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*.

Account of the succession to Parma, as settled by the quadruple alliance.

WHEN the state of affairs in *Europe* rendered it necessary to supply the defects of the treaty of *Utrecht*, in which nothing effectual had been stipulated with regard to *Parma* and *Placentia*, that succession came under the consideration of the contracting powers. At first a triple alliance was concluded between *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Holland*, and the emperor, who was then at war with *Spain*, thinking the same to be injurious to his interest, refused to accede to it; but by the unwearied application of the *English* and *Spanish* ministers, who declared, that one of the main objects of the alliance was to bring about a peace between their imperial and catholic majesties, his difficulties abated; and upon his acceding to the treaty, it got the name of the quadruple alliance, the fifth article of which was as follows; "The duchies of *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, were to be accounted for ever as male fiefs of the empire, and were to descend, in default of the male heirs, to the queen of *Spain*'s eldest son. As the consent of the empire was necessary, the emperor was to use his utmost endeavours to obtain it. *Leghorn* was to remain a free port; and the king of *Spain* was to yield to his son the town of *Porto Longone*, with what he possessed in the island of *Elba*, as soon as the prince of *Spain* should be in possession of *Tuscany*. None of these duchies was to be possessed by a prince who should, at the same time, be king of *Spain*; nor was the king of *Spain* ever to take upon himself the guardianship of that prince."

THIS settlement of succession to so considerable dominions, without consulting the parties who were in possession of them, surprized all *Europe*, but those who were in the secret of the alliance; and therefore by the mediators, to quiet the apprehensions of the dukes of *Tuscany* and *Parma*, it was provided, "That it should never be allowed, during the lives of the possessors of *Tuscany* and *Parma*, that any forces of any country whatsoever, whether their own or hired, should, either by the emperor, the kings of *France* or *Spain*, or even by the prince appointed to the succession, be introduced into any garrison, city, port, or town, of those duchies. But, for security of the succession, six thousand *Swiss* were to be put into *Leghorn*, *Porto Ferraro*, *Parma* and *Placentia*." After the conclusion of this treaty, a new treaty was entered into, between the emperor and the king of *Sicily*, by which *Sicily* was restored to the emperor, who agreed to give his *Sicilian* majesty, in return, the island of *Sardinia*. The farther particulars of this treaty, only as they related to the duchies of

- a of *Parma* and *Placentia*, are foreign to our purpose. It is sufficient to say, that upon the whole, the negotiations exasperated *Spain* so greatly, that cardinal *Alberoni*, then his catholic majesty's first minister, made amazing attempts for enabling *Spain*, both by sea and land, to withstand the efforts of all the contracting parties in the quadruple alliance. This produced a resolution in the allies to deprive the queen of *Spain*'s issue, if that court should continue obstinate, of their succession to the duchies of *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, and to give the investitures of the same to some other prince. Such a proceeding disgusted the states general, and the rather, as the ministers of *Great Britain* and *France*, seemed rather to prescribe than to negotiate a peace, and had not consulted their high mightinesses during the whole progress of the treaty. This and various other considerations, determined
- b the *British* court, before they struck the important blow they were then meditating, to send the earl of *Stanhope* into *Spain*, with fresh instructions to make that court sensible of its danger, if his catholic majesty still held out. The fourth article of those instructions were, "That in case his catholic majesty should refuse to accept of the said treaty, the confederates should unanimously dispose of his expectations on the dominions of *Tuscany* and *Parma*, in favour of some other prince." The fifth article was, "That the emperor shall not act within the said term of three months, upon condition that the king of *Spain* does not act on his side; but that if his catholic majesty, instead of accepting the said treaty, should, within the said term, act any hostilities which might prevent the execution of any disposition of the said treaty, then the allies shall immediately, and without waiting the expiration of the said term, supply the emperor with such forces as are therein stipulated." The
- c public knows in what manner those instructions were rejected, and the signal blow which, in consequence of the rejection, the marine of *Spain* received from Sir *George Byng*, the *British* admiral. But tho' the conduct of the *British* ministers and admiral on this occasion, were justified by parliament, the active spirit of *Alberoni*, who was the greatest minister *Spain* ever had, embroiled the affairs of *Europe* so much, as to kindle a war in *Italy*, and to threaten *Great Britain* with an invasion in favour of the pretender, which last project was defeated by the accidents of winds and tides. At last, in the year 1719, *Spain* being exhausted by the amazing efforts she had made, began to think of peace, and the plan of an accommodation was sent to his catholic majesty's minister, the marquis *de Beretti Landi*, at the *Hague*. Amongst the other
- d articles of this plan, it was proposed, that *England* should restore *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon* to *Spain*, and that the successions to *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, should be settled on the queen of *Spain*'s son, without being held either of the emperor or the empire. The pope was likewise to be obliged to restore the duchy of *Castro* to the duke of *Parma*. But this plan was rejected, and *Spain* was at last obliged to accede simply to the quadruple alliance. In the year 1723, the discontent of the *Italian* states against the treaty of *London* was so great, that the king of *Sardinia*, with the dukes of *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Modena*, presented memorials against it at the congress of *Cambray*; and the emperor evidently shewed that he disliked it. Matters stood upon this footing till the year 1725, when the treaty of *Vienna* was concluded between the emperor and the king of *Spain*. By this famous treaty, the
- e emperor granted (without the consent of the empire) the investiture of the dukedoms of *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, to the queen of *Spain*'s eldest son, in case those dukedoms should be vacant for want of heirs; the determination of king *George* and the regent of *France*, in the treaty of *London*, that they are masculine fiefs of the empire, being taken for granted. This treaty was counterbalanced by the treaty of *Hanover*, concluded between *France* and *Great Britain*, to humble the emperor and the queen of *Spain*; but nothing particularly was stipulated in that treaty with regard to the succession to *Parma*. Thus that succession continued in a very indetermined state till the year 1728, when the congress of *Soissons* assembled, at which the duke of *Parma* had a minister to take care of his interest there. The negotiations at that congress proved abortive and trifling, and a war seemed
- f inevitable between *Great Britain* and *Spain*.

Britain threatened with an invasion.

- In the mean while the duke of *Parma*, still resenting the settlement of the succession to his dominions by the quadruple alliance, and imagining, that he would be supported by *Spain*, invited the pretender to the crown of *Great Britain* to reside in his dominions, where he treated him with the same distinctions, as if he had been actually upon the *British* throne. This being known to the *English* government, signior *Como*, agent for the duke of *Parma* at *London*, was, by his majesty's command, ordered to depart the kingdom in two days, and to be attended by one of the messengers of state to the place of his embarkation. Notwithstanding this, *Spain* and *England* being equally averse to a rupture, colonel *Stanhope*, afterwards earl of *Harrington*, was nominated ambassador extraordinary to his catholic
- g majesty, and, in conjunction with Mr. *Keene*, the *British* plenipotentiary at the court of *Madrid*, negotiated with the marquis *de la Paz* and Don *Joseph Patinho*, on the part of *Spain*, the treaty of *Seville*.

By

By the ninth article of that treaty, "six thousand of his catholic majesty's troops are, without loss of time, to garrison *Leghorn, Porto Ferraro, Parma, and Placentia*, which troops shall serve for the better securing and preserving of the immediate succession of the said states, in favour of the most serene infant *Don Carlos*, and to be ready to withstand any enterprize and opposition which might be formed, to the prejudice of what has been regulated touching the succession."

By the tenth article, "the contracting powers are to use the softest and most effectual means of persuading the dukes of *Tuscany and Parma*, that the garrisons might be quietly received; and stipulating the taking of an oath to be faithful to the regnant powers, in every thing that shall not be contrary to the right of the succession, reserved to the most serene infant *Don Carlos*. It is likewise stipulated, that the said garrison shall not meddle, directly or indirectly, in the government of the places where they are garrisoned, and render to the dukes of *Tuscany and Parma*, all the honours that are due to a sovereign in their own dominions."

By the eleventh article, "his catholic majesty engages to withdraw his troops from the said garrisons, as soon as the said successions are quietly settled in the person of *Don Carlos* his son." By the twelfth article, "the contracting powers became guarantees for *Don Carlos* quietly possessing and enjoying the said states of *Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia*, after he has succeeded thereunto."

By the thirteenth article, "the kings of *England and France* promise to ratify and guarantee all the particular regulations that shall be concerted between his catholic majesty and the two dukes of *Tuscany and Parma*, relating to the said garrisons." The fourteenth article stipulates, "that the states-general of the United Provinces shall be invited to accede to the treaty, the ratifications of which were to be dispatched within the space of six weeks at farthest."

THOSE stipulations with regard to the succession to *Tuscany and Parma*, were severely censured in *England*, as being foreign to the national interest, and tending to involve *Great Britain* in a war upon the continent of *Europe*, and inconsistent with the tenor of the quadruple alliance. To this it was answered, "That there neither was, nor could be, any essential difference, if the emperor was sincerely, and *bona fide*, resolved to fulfil the terms of the quadruple alliance, as to the eventual succession to the duchies of *Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia*; and that introducing *Spanish*, instead of neutral troops, into the garrisons of those dominions, could make no material difference, especially as the treaty had in the strongest manner stipulated, the troops should be withdrawn as soon as the succession to the duchies, which was a main object of the quadruple alliance, should be secured." This apology did not quiet the national animosities against the treaty; and a motion was made in the house of peers, that the agreement in the treaty of *Seville*, to effectuate the introduction of *Spanish* troops into *Tuscany and Parma*, was a manifest violation of the fifth article of the quadruple alliance, tended to involve the nation in a dangerous and expensive war, and to destroy the ballance of power in *Europe*. A negative was put upon this motion; but the emperor still continued to exclaim most violently against the treaty, though it was acceded to by the states-general. In the year 1730, the court of *Spain* made vast preparations for carrying the treaty of *Seville* into execution, while the emperor published manifestoes, impeaching the justice of the treaty, and alledging, that he was ready to give *Don Carlos* the investiture of *Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia*, with the consent of the empire, provided it was required in a regular manner; but that the court of *Spain* had farther views in his favour, than the stipulations in the treaty of *Seville*.

THE event justified the imperial court's conjecture, though perhaps at that time it was thrown out without real foundation. The duke of *Parma* died. After his death, his will being opened, it contained very moving requests to the other powers of *Europe* for favour to his distressed family, and he declared that his duchess was three months advanced in her pregnancy; for which reason he hoped that they would defer the execution of their projects till she was delivered. If the child was still-born, or should die soon after its birth, he appointed that the infant *Don Carlos* should succeed him, but he named five regents to govern the duchy during the child's minority. A scene now succeeded which astonished all *Europe* by its novelty and absurdity. The duchess of *Parma* was prevailed upon by the imperial court to declare, that she was with child, and general *Stampa*, at the head of six thousand imperial troops, took possession of the duchies of *Parma and Placentia*; but they publicly declared, that they kept the same for *Don Carlos*, who, if the duchess was not delivered of a son, might, whenever he pleased, receive the investitures of the said duchies from the emperor. In the mean while, the imperial general declared, that his troops should behave with the utmost regularity and moderation; and that the government, till the event of the pregnancy of the duchess was known, should be administered by the regency appointed in the late duke's will.

Death of the
Duke of Parma.

- a The pope was far from being an unconcerned spectator of a transaction, in which he pretended to have so great a concern; and upon this occasion he revived his claim of superiority upon *Parma* and *Placentia*. He had expressed great uneasiness at the disposition of the succession to the same by the quadruple alliance; and expecting that it might be confirmed by the congress at *Cambrai*, he ordered a protest to be entered on that head, in which were the following expressions: "Can Christian princes flatter themselves with the hopes of concluding a lasting peace, when the depriving the holy see and the vicar of Christ of their undeniable rights is made the foundation of it? Can they promise themselves to enjoy what they violently seize against all manner of justice, and invade the indisputable right of an uninterrupted possession, which has been acknowledged for several ages by all the nations of *Europe*?"
- b The minister of his holiness then entered a protest, "That no power hath, or had, a right to settle or dispose of the duchies of *Parma* or *Placentia*, to the prejudice of the sovereignty and rights of the *Roman* church; and consequently that all treaties, conventions, agreements, and dispositions, with their confirmations and ratifications, already made, or to be made, either at *Cambrai* or *Ratisbon*, or in any other congress whatever, concerning the investiture, infeoffment, or concession of the said duchies, are and will be for ever null and void; and disowns and rejects the same in the most authentic manner."

- c The *Roman* Catholic powers of *Europe* paid as little regard as the Protestants did to this protest; but as it was notorious, that the imperial court had prevailed upon the duchess of *Parma* to declare herself to be pregnant, which declaration suspended the execution of their favourite measure, that of introducing the infant *Don Carlos* into *Italy*, the marquis de *Castelar*, his Catholic Majesty's minister at *Paris*, declared, in the name of the king his master, in a writing under his hand, that his Catholic Majesty looked upon himself as intirely free from the obligations of the treaty of *Seville*. Notwithstanding this the crown of *Great-Britain*, at that time, had so vast a sway in the affairs of *Europe*, that on the 16th day of *March*, 1730-1, a new treaty, called the second treaty of *Vienna*, was concluded between his *Britannic* Majesty and the emperor. By the third article of that treaty, "his Imperial Majesty consents to the introduction of the *Spanish* troops into the duchies of *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*; and binds himself to use his utmost endeavours to obtain the consent of the empire for that purpose."
- d In a separate article of the same treaty, his *Britannic* Majesty declared authentically, that notwithstanding the introduction of *Spanish* garrisons into the strong places of *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*; yet that he had no intention to depart from what had been settled by the fifth article of the quadruple alliance, either with regard to the rights of his Imperial Majesty and the empire, or to the security of the kingdom and states which his Imperial Majesty actually possesses in *Italy*; or, lastly, to the preservation of the quiet and dignity of those who were then the lawful possessors of those duchies, and therefore he renews to the emperor the guaranty of those countries. But to take away all suspicion of the emperor's trifling in this matter, he emitted a declaration, of the same force and date with the treaty, importing, "that if the pregnant duchess-dowager of *Parma* should be brought to bed of a son, the introduction of the *Spanish* troops to that duchy should still take place; and that, if she should be brought to bed of a daughter, *Don Carlos* was immediately to be put into possession of the duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*, by an eventual investiture from the emperor and the empire." And his Imperial Majesty further declares, "that, in case the duchess-dowager should be brought to bed of a daughter, he will immediately withdraw his troops from the duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*, to give way to the peaceable possession."
- e

- f THE great inducement which the emperor had for making those concessions in favour of the succession of *Don Carlos* to the duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*, was his *Britannic* Majesty's guaranty of the pragmatic sanction, by which his female issue was rendered capable of succeeding to his hereditary dominions. But though by this guaranty he gained his favourite point, yet it is certain that he prevailed with the duchess of *Parma* to act a part, which, had it been successful, might have disappointed all the ambitious views of her Catholic Majesty for the aggrandizement of her family. She still obstinately maintained that she was with child; and it is more than probable, that some very dark scene of imposture might have been acted, had it not been prevented by the vigilance of the *Spanish* party in *Parma*. They insisted upon a formal examination of the pregnancy of the duchess by able midwives, and in the presence of the eldest duchess-dowager, which was submitted to, and the youngest duchess-dowager was declared to be pregnant. This declaration suspended the operations of all the courts of *Europe*, as the introduction of *Don Carlos* into *Italy* was the main spring of their political systems. At last, after a delay of about six months, the duchess declared, that she believed herself not to be with child; upon which the imperial general *Stampa* signified to the great duke of *Tuscany*, and to *Dorothea* the duchess-
- g

Pragmatic sanction.

Imposture of the duchess of Parma discovered.

duchess-dowager of *Parma*, who were joint guardians to the infant *Don Carlos*, that he then held the duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia* for him, and not for his imperial majesty; and soon after he withdrew his troops into the *Milanese*. Notwithstanding this pacific appearance on the part of the imperial court, neither *Spain* nor *Great Britain* believed that it was sincere; and therefore the *British* ministry this year equipped a strong fleet, the command of which was given to *Sir Charles Wager*, for carrying the infant *Don Carlos* to his new dominions. *Sir Charles* sailed from *Portsmouth* on the 14th of *July*, and on the first of *August* he arrived at *Cadiz*, where he found the *Spaniards* had made no preparations to join him with a fleet, as they had engaged to do. After obtaining an audience of his catholic majesty at *Seville*, he proceeded to *Barcelona*, where he was joined by a few *Spanish* ships of war. In the mean while, *Don Carlos*, instead of going on board the *British* fleet, which had been fitted out at vast national expence, went by land through *Languedoc* and *Provence*, notwithstanding the pretended dislike which *France* had expressed at his succession to the *Italian* dominions, and embarked at *Antibes* for *Leghorn*. This gave great disgust to the *British* nation, and was considered as a slight put upon their flag. The *British* ministry, however, punctually performed all their stipulations in his favour; and *Sir Charles Wager*, after seeing him quietly settled in *Italy*, returned on the 10th of *December* to *England*. At the opening of the succeeding session of parliament, his *Britannic* majesty felicitated the members upon the accomplishment of this great work, which, as matters then stood, was thought to be of great importance to the ballance of power in *Europe*, by preventing so large a succession from devolving upon any of the great potentates.

Ambition of
the court of
Spain.

THE public of *Europe* was far from suspecting the real views of her catholic majesty, which pointed at raising her family not only to the succession of *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, but to that of *Naples*. For this purpose, she had formed the project of an alliance between *France*, *Spain*, and *Sardinia*, which soon afterwards took place; and the marechal *de Villars* was appointed to the command of a *French* army of thirty thousand regular troops, under the king of *Sardinia*. This army began its march on the 12th of *October*; and, after passing the *Alps* by *Briançon*, the valley of *Barcelonette*, and *Savoy*, joined the *Sardinian* troops in the *Vigevano*. In the mean while, the young duke of *Parma*, who, after his introduction into *Italy*, had been educated at the great duke of *Tuscany*'s court, declared himself to be of age; and the king of *Sardinia* publicly notified his joining with *France* and *Spain*, to mortify the excessive pride and power of the house of *Austria*.

Progress of the
allies in Italy.

THE progress of the allies in *Italy* was rapid beyond all expectation. The king of *Sardinia* having, on the 29th of *October*, put himself at the head of the allied army, the *German* garrison evacuated both the city and castle of *Pavia*, which his *Sardinian* majesty took possession of. Soon after the city of *Milan* likewise made its submission to the conquerors, and nine thousand men took possession of the castle, and blocked up the citadel, which soon after surrendered likewise. His *Sardinian* majesty then, almost without any loss, reduced the important fortrefs of *Pizzighitone*; and, though it was the depth of winter, took possession of *Cremona*, the castles of *Frezza* and *Secco*, and of the fort *Fuentes*. Soon after the citadel of *Milan* likewise surrendered. About the same time, the marquis *de Coigny*, a *French* lieutenant-general, took *Novaro*, which made a much feeble resistance than was expected; and the marquis *de Maillebois* reduced *Sarravalle*, and made its garrison prisoners of war; while the *Spanish* troops besieged and took the imperial fortrefs of *Aula*, and sent the garrison prisoners to *Spain*.

Affairs of
Europe.

THE neutral powers of *Europe*, *England* especially, were not less astonished at the amazing progress of the *French* and *Spaniards* in *Italy*, than they were at a loss to account for the motives that induced them to attack the emperor in *Italy*. Mr. *Keene*, the *English* ambassador at *Madrid*, by his master's orders, endeavoured to reconcile matters between the courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*; but received no other answer than "that matters had gone too far for his catholic majesty to retract the measures he had laid down; and that the count *de Montijo* had orders to communicate to the *English* ministry, the reason of his catholic majesty's procedure." The count accordingly laid his memorial before the *British* ministry, which, in the beginning, complained, in general terms, of the emperor, and the court of *Vienna*, for excluding king *Stanislaus* from the throne of *Poland*. "Nevertheless," continues the memorial, "his catholic majesty, out of his great desire of peace, and constant zeal for the public tranquillity, had recourse to the mediation and guaranty of the king of *Great Britain*, for an amicable satisfaction for the insults, damages, and infractions, exercised in the territories and against the person of the infant of *Spain*, *Don Carlos*, his son: but the emperor's ambition was already beyond all bounds; and the court of *Vienna*, animated by the insatiable fury of the supreme power to which the general complaisance of *Europe* had raised them, by suffering them to acquire so many vast dominions, did, at last, make use of extraordinary methods, to render fruitless a long negotiation for a friendly

Memorial.

- a “ friendly accommodation, which the Catholics waited for with a religious resignation, by
 “ forming the difficult design of sacrificing to their caprice the sovereignty of two great
 “ monarchs in the person of king *Stanislaus* ; and, at the same time, despising the wise and
 “ prudent proposals of the king of *Great Britain*.”

THE memorial then proceeds to recapitulate all the provocations his catholic majesty had received from the imperial court, upon the death of the late duke of *Parma* ; and acknowledged, that the peaceful settlement of *Don Carlos* in *Italy* was wholly owing to the friendship of his *Britannic* majesty ; and accused the emperor with all manner of fraud and perfidy, and with stirring up the subjects of *Don Carlos* to disobey his authority. The emperor was likewise accused of publishing a rescript, condemning the great duke of *Tuscany* for suffering *Don Carlos* to receive the homage of his subjects, as lawful successor to the duchy of *Tuscany*. And *Don Carlos*, in another rescript, was condemned for refusing the title of the Great Prince, though, it seems, it had been allowed to him by the court of *Vienna*. His catholic majesty had complained of all these affronts to the king of *Great Britain*, who acknowledged the justice of his complaints. and used his good offices at the court of *Vienna* ; and conferences were entered upon, to find out the properest means of procuring an honourable and friendly accommodation : but the continual delays, the ambiguous answers, the impracticable proposals, the imperious terms made use of in the projects of the court of *Vienna*, the pretended distance between the courts, and the methodical dilatoriness of that of *Vienna*, drew the negotiation to a great length ; and it was as much as the *British* ministers could do to draw up a project the 21st of *July*, 1743. His catholic majesty's ambassador approved of that project ; but the emperor's refused to accept it, till he had received new orders from his sovereign. His majesty's minister consented to this, after repeated protestations, that he would not come into any future captious delays, which might lose the opportunity of the campaign. In this interval, the projected adjustment was dispatched to the two courts ; and though it was readily sent back on the part of his catholic majesty, with his royal approbation, the answer of the court of *Vienna* was a long time in coming. This delay was attributed to the contrary winds, and to the extraordinary business of the ministers at *Vienna* ; but under this were concealed malicious views.

- d THE emperor, instead of sending a satisfactory answer to this adjustment, projected by the court of *England*, sent to his *Britannic* majesty a counter-project or declaration, which his catholic majesty and his ministers complained of, as being illusory and injurious to the crown of *Spain* ; and the count *de Montijo* declared, that he would break off the negotiation. But king *George II.* or, more properly speaking, his ministry, were at this time so invariably bent upon peace, that they applied to the court of *Spain* for a cessation of hostilities for thirty days, which proposal was rejected by the court of *Madrid*. The *Spanish* ministry, all this time, endeavoured to conform itself to the sentiments of the *British* court, as much as possible, by an affectation of moderate and equitable measures ; while they were preparing an army of sixteen thousand foot, four thousand horse, and ten squadrons of dragoons, with proper trains of artillery ; all which were destined to act against the imperialists in *Italy*.
 e The mediation of the *Dutch* proved as ineffectual as that of the *English*, and it was with difficulty they procured a convention of neutrality for the *Austrian Netherlands* ; for the *French* positively rejected their mediation between *Spain* and the empire.

Counter-memorial of the emperor.

- THE successes of the allies in this *Italian* war were less owing to their own courage and power, than to the mismanagement, corruption, and divisions of the court of *Vienna*. The imperial general *Merci*, though a man of great courage and integrity, was very ill supported : his muster-rolls doubled the number of effectual men who served under him ; and the *Austrian* commissaries, those moths of the imperial armies, withheld the money necessary for paying his troops. In *Italy* the allies divided their army. The *French*, under the king of *Sardinia*, after reducing *Milan*, entered the *Modenese* ; but his *Sardinian* majesty found so much difficulty in curbing the impetuosity of *Villars*, the *French* general, who, in his old-age, retained nothing of his former qualities but his native vivacity, that he was obliged secretly to apply to the court of *Versailles* for his being recalled. The *Spanish* general was the count *de Montemar*, an officer of great genius ; and the disaffected *Neapolitans* having repeated their invitations to *Don Carlos*, he resolved no longer to delay his expedition against *Naples*. He began his march in *February*, at the head of the *Spanish* troops ; and, without bloodshed, he obtained possession of *Naples*. Previous to this, he published a manifesto, in which he declared, that he was sent by the king his father to relieve the *Neapolitans* from the intolerable yoke of the house of *Austria*, and to take possession of the kingdom. *Visconti*, the imperial viceroy in *Naples*, finding that the *Neapolitans* in the capital, an inconstant race of men, were ready to receive, with open arms, *Don Carlos* as their king, abandoned the same ; but took care to strengthen the garrisons of *Gaeta* and *Capua* ; and endeavoured to assemble the *Neapolitan* militia, and the few troops that

Corruption of the court of Vienna.

that still continued faithful to the emperor, at *Nocera*, intending to form a camp at *Barletta*. For this purpose, he had got together an army of seven thousand foot, and two thousand four hundred horse; but receiving intelligence that the count *de Montemar* was advancing to attack him, he fortified himself at *Bitonto*. On the 25th of *May*, he was attacked in this post by the duke *de Montemar*, who in less than three hours forced his entrenchments, and intirely defeated his army. No fewer than six thousand six hundred foot-soldiers were killed, and about six hundred horse. Two generals, the duke of *Monteleone*, with the princes of *St. Vincent* and *Belmont*, were made prisoners, with the secretary's office, baggage, and treasure. The count *Visconti* escaped by sea to *Ancona*.

Success of the
French in
Italy.

THE *French* were no less successful on their part. The application of the king of *Sardinia* for recalling *marechal Villars* had the desired effect; and when the *marechal* came to take leave of his *Sardinian* majesty, he was treated with so much politeness, that he had not the smallest idea of what had happened. Upon his return to *Turin*, in his way to *France*, he was presented by the queen of *Sardinia* with a sword, richly adorned with diamonds, to the value of three hundred pistoles; but soon after he fell ill of a fever, and died. The two *marechals* *Coigny* and *Breglio* succeeded to his command under the king of *Sardinia*, and their army was entrenched near *Parma*. Count *Merci* had been most cruelly treated by the *Austrian* ministry, who continued him in his command, but refused him the necessary supports. He was by this time rendered in a manner desperate; and, against the advice of all his officers, he resolved to attack the *French* in their entrenchments. He fell in the attempt, as did a great number of his officers and best soldiers, and the imperial army was intirely defeated. This battle was fought near *Parma* on the 29th of *June*, 1734. The loss of men was almost equal on each side; but by the retreat of the imperialists, when it was dark, the victory remained indisputably on the side of the *French*, who were commanded by the *marechal de Coigny*. Besides count *Merci*, the Imperialists lost the prince of *Culmbach* and *M. de Vins*, nine officers of the first rank, and about seven thousand soldiers. The whole space of the field of battle is said to have contained not above one hundred and fifty fathom square; so that it might be said to have been a carnage rather than an engagement. The prince of *Wurtemberg*, who was wounded, succeeded count *Merci* in the command of the Imperialists. This battle had a great effect on the affairs of *Italy*. The king of *Sardinia* took possession of *Modena*, which was in no condition to hold out; and the strong fortress of *Gacta*, which had been besieged by the confederates, was obliged to surrender to *Don Carlos*.

Don Carlos
king of Na-
ples.

THAT prince was now in fact king of *Naples*, as well as duke of *Parma*; and he had created his *Spanish* general, *Montemar*, duke of *Bitonto*. His successes in *Italy* encouraged him to attempt the conquest of *Sicily*; and, on the 24th of *August*, a fleet of three hundred and fifty ships, having on board it eighteen thousand foot and two thousand horse, sailed for that island. The inconsistency of his *Neapolitan* majesty's conduct, on this occasion, was remarkable; for though he owed all that he possessed to the friendship of *Great Britain*, yet he associated himself with the eldest son of the pretender to that crown; and an inconsiderable circumstance, which then happened, occasioned various speculations in the public; for while the *Sicilian* embarkation was going on, the hat of the young pretender being blown into the sea, "Let it alone," said he, to some officers who endeavoured to recover it, "I will go to *England* and get another:" "And I will go along with you," added his *Neapolitan* majesty, throwing his hat into the sea likewise.

WHEN the *Spaniards* landed on the island of *Sicily*, they met with little or no resistance. His *Neapolitan* majesty had created the duke of *Bitonto* viceroy of that kingdom, and the *Sicilian* noblemen flocked in to submit to him. Those successes, amazing as they were, did not quiet his *Neapolitan* majesty's new subjects, who complained of the excessive contributions under which they were laid; and fifteen hundred troops were sent to keep the *Calabrians* in awe. The *Milanese* were so much oppressed, at the same time, that they sent a deputation to complain of their hardships at the court of *France*; but, far from meeting relief, they were ordered to apply to the king of *Sardinia*, who was so much straitened for money, that he was obliged to let out his own revenues to *French* farmers. The *Modenese*, who had so lately submitted to the king of *Naples*, were in the same undesirable situation, being likewise laid under heavy contributions, as it was well known that their duke, however he accommodated himself to the times, leaned towards the Imperialists. All this scene of negotiation, where all parties agreed in making his *Britannic* majesty the umpire of their disputes. Many difficulties, chiefly occasioned by the obstinacy of the imperial court, were got over; but at last his *Britannic* majesty and the other neutral powers comprised the different claims of the contending parties in two short questions, which were communicated to the ministers of the powers at war, viz.

A negotiation
proposed.

"WHETHER

- a “ WHETHER the emperor and *France* would be content that Don *Carlos* remain king of
 “ *Naples* and *Sicily*, on condition of giving the house of *Austria*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*
 “ with a part of *Milan*, and the succession to *Tuscany*, as an equivalent? Whether king
 “ *Stanislaus*, preserving his regal titles, will be satisfied to be made duke of *Lorrain*, and
 “ that duchy erected into an electorate? The duke of *Lorrain* to marry the eldest arch-
 “ dutchess, to be declared king of the *Romans*, and to have *Parma* and *Placentia* im-
 “ mediately, and *Tuscany* after the death of the great duke? Or, in case this second ar-
 “ ticle is rejected, whether *Poland* shall not be divided between *Stanislaus* and *Augustus*, the
 “ longest liver to take the whole?”

- b THE parties at war were so little disposed to peace, that no regard was paid to those mo-
 derate propositions. The *Spaniards* were elevated by the uninterrupted success of Don *Car-*
los, and the *Germans* were enraged by the frequent defeats or checks they had received. The *German* garrisons in *Sicily*, one after another, surrendered prisoners of war to Don *Car-*
los; and, at last, all their force in that island was reduced to the garrison of *Messina*, in
 which the imperialists were shut up. In the *Parmesan*, the allies had reaped no real ad-
 vantage from their victory at *Parma*. The imperialists had retired towards *Monte Cirugalo*,
 from whence they moved to *Reggio*. They then encamped on the plains of *Carpi*, on the
 right of the *Secchia*, where they received some reinforcements from the imperial court, which
 began now to be ashamed of its own mismanagement; and count *Konigsegg*, one of the
 best officers in their service, was appointed to command their army in *Italy*, which was
 c reinforced by a detachment from prince *Eugene* on the *Rhine*. The allies were preparing to
 besiege *Mirandola*, when he put himself at the head of the imperialists, which remained en-
 camped on the plains of *Carpi*. He then took post at *Quingentolo*, by which movement he
 covered *Mirandola*; and the *Secchio* only interposing between the two armies, he resolved to
 strike a blow that might retrieve the credit of the imperial arms. For this purpose, on the
 19th of *September*, he passed the *Secchia* with the utmost secrecy, and attacked the quarters
 of marechal *Broglie*, the *French* general, so suddenly and vigorously, that he was almost
 taken prisoner; his guards being able only to protect him while he escaped in his shirt and
 slippers, with his children and a few domestics: he lost, however, all his equipages and bag-
 gage, and his strong box, which contained upwards of fifty thousand livres. On this oc-
 d cation the loss of the *French* was very great; for, besides their slain, no fewer than two thou-
 sand of them were taken prisoners, and they retreated with the utmost precipitation to
Guastalla. The imperialists endeavoured to pursue their advantage; and, after taking and
 plundering the *French* camp, they followed their enemies, and attacked them in their in-
 trenchments on the 19th of the same month: the action that followed was very bloody.
 The battle lasted from ten in the morning till five in the afternoon, and the infantry on
 both sides behaved with equal intrepidity, being engaged all that time man to man. *Konig-*
segg endeavoured, but in vain, to break the *French* cavalry; and, at last, the imperialists were
 obliged to retreat to *Luzara*. In this battle both parties claimed the victory; the loss on
 both sides, which amounted to about seventeen thousand men killed, of whom eight hundred
 e were officers, being almost equal: but the *French* had the best claim to the honours of the
 day, by their taking several pieces of cannon, some colours and standards, and remaining
 masters of the field. Amongst the slain, on the side of the imperialists, were the prince of
Wurtemberg, and the generals *Valperreze* and *Colminero*, with many other officers of the highest
 distinction. The imperialists repassed the *Po* at *Borgoforte*; but broke down the bridge over
 which they marched, and took post on the banks of the *Oglio*. After this, the *French* army
 likewise repassed the *Po*, in order to prevent count *Konigsegg* from penetrating into the *Cre-*
monese. Both armies, at this time, were in expectation of large reinforcements; but none
 arriving, no general engagement happened. The marquis of *Maillebois*, however, was
 sent with a detachment of *French* to besiege *Mirandola*; which count *Konigsegg* understand-
 f ing, sent six thousand imperialists, who marched so secretly, that they forced the *French* to
 break up the siege, and relieved the place, when it was upon the point of surrendering. In
 this expedition, the *French* lost a great part of their artillery, ammunition, and baggage;
 and when a cartel came to be settled, it appeared that they had not *German* prisoners enough
 to exchange for those of their own country, and they were obliged to be supplied with some
 by the king of the *Two Sicilies*. After this disappointment, *Maillebois* rejoined the *French*
 army, which, notwithstanding its successes, was unable to continue its operations, and was
 obliged to retire under the walls of *Cremona*, till it could receive reinforcements from Don
Carlos. In the mean while, the imperialists, being strongly reinforced, obliged the king of
 g *Sardinia* to evacuate the *Parmesan*, retook *Sabionetta*, with many other places of importance,
 and advanced within fifteen leagues of *Milan* itself, where the people were very uneasy
 under the yoke of the *French* and *Spaniards*. The same discontent prevailed in the king-
 dom of *Naples*, where *Capua* still held out; and the governor of that city, in one sally,
 killed above eight hundred of the besiegers.

The war con-
 tinues in
 Italy.

Negotiations of
Great Britain
for peace.

THE ministers of his *Britannic* majesty were all this while labouring for peace at the *Hague*; but were thwarted by the insolence of the *French*, and the obstinacy of the imperialists. The former, in conjunction with the *Spaniards*, were in hopes of prevailing with the *Turks* to declare war against the emperor; and the losses which the court of *Vienna* had sustained, seemed only to exasperate them into endeavours to retrieve them; and his imperial majesty threatened, that he would make the campaign of 1735 more bloody than the preceding. This alarmed the *French* in *Italy*; and the marechal *de Broglio*, who commanded them, fortified all the important passes into the *Parmesan*, and his other conquests, so as to render them almost inaccessible to the imperialists. The inability of the emperor to execute his menaces becoming every day more apparent, the court of *London*, which continued still indefatigable in its endeavours for restoring the public tranquility, proposed, in the conferences at the *Hague*, that, as the basis of a future treaty, king *Stanislaus* should resign the crown, but keep the title of king of *Poland*; that *Don Carlos* should remain in possession of *Naples* and *Sicily*; that *France* should restore all the places she had conquered in *Italy*, and elsewhere; and that all the powers in *Europe* should guarantee the pragmatic sanction. All those pacific proposals were rejected by the court of *Vienna*; and, in the beginning of the year 1735, count *Konigsegg*, the brave imperial general in *Italy*, after throwing some troops into *Mantua*, was obliged to retreat towards the bishopric of *Trent*, thro' the *Venetian* territories, after abandoning the fortified towns of *Ostiglia*, *Borgoforte*, *Goito*, and *Castellucchio*, to the armies of the allies, who took possession of the same. After this, the important fortresses of *Mirandola*, having made a brave resistance, was surrendered to the allies, as was *Orbitello*; and *Don Carlos*, having been as successful in *Sicily*, where he was crowned king, as he had been in *Italy*, returned to *Naples*, where his government now enjoyed a perfect tranquility.

joined by the
French.

FRANCE by this time began to think that *Don Carlos*, by being in possession not only of the *Parmesan* and the *Placentine* dominions, but of the kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily*, was more aggrandized than was consistent with the plan of power which the court of *Verfailles* had laid down. It is plain, that his most Christian majesty had hitherto acquired little or nothing for himself in *Italy*, and therefore his ministers now began to listen to the terms of an accommodation that had been proposed by *Great-Britain* and the neutral powers. Those terms had been communicated to the *Spanish* court, where they were rejected, at which the *French* ministry were inwardly displeased. Cardinal *Fleury* was then at the head of the *French* government; and his pacific system falling in with that of Sir *Robert Walpole*, the first minister to his *Britannick* majesty, he secretly communicated to the court of *England*, the difficulties he was under through the haughtiness of the *Spaniards*, and desired the *British* ministry to propose to the powers at war a suspension of hostilities. This being done, the marquis *de Fenelon*, the *French* ambassador at the *Hague*, agreed to the same; and the count *Ublfelt*, the imperial ambassador there, presented in his master's name a memorial to the states-general, importing, "That his imperial majesty, having already given innumerable instances of his sincere desire of peace, and his confidence in the maritime powers, a late proof of which was his readiness in accepting the plan of pacification as settled by the king of *Great-Britain* and their high mightinesses, yet still was ready to give new evidence of his pacific dispositions, and had accordingly invested him (count *d'Ublfelt*) with proper powers to consent to an armistice, being content that it should be a general one, and that affairs in *Italy* should remain in their present state. But, on the other hand, insisting that, for the sake of the princes of the empire, whose territories were exposed to the *French* army, the most Christian king should withdraw his troops from the empire, those in the fortified places excepted; and that negotiations should be immediately commenced in a congress, upon the basis of a plan of accommodation concerted by the maritime powers."

Affairs of
Italy.

THE support of the election of king *Stanislaus* to the crown of *Poland*, was now the only objection that remained on the part of his most Christian majesty, who thought he could, with no shew of decency, sacrifice the interests of his father-in-law. The *British* court, however, was sensible, that the acquisition of *Lorraine* was the ultimate view of the *French*, and that both the emperor and they, being exhausted of money, were heartily tired of the war. The *British* minister at *Paris*, therefore, hinted to cardinal *Fleury*, that it was possible the court of *England*, and the neutral powers, might be brought to agree to his favourite measure. Upon this, *Fleury* ordered *Chavigni*, the *French* minister who attended his *Britannic* majesty then at *Hanover*, to break the affair in private to the imperial ambassador at the same court; and after some little points, rather ceremonious than material, were got over, an armistice was concluded both in *Germany* and *Italy*, between the two nations, in the following terms: "That there be a cessation of all acts of hostility, as is already observed upon the *Rhine* and the *Moselle*: that the suspension of arms shall equally extend to the allies of *France*, till they shall have declared whether they accept or refuse; that tho'

by

a By the term suspension of arms, nothing is meant more than a cessation of hostilities, yet it is agreed, that the *French* troops shall retire from the banks of the *Adige* and the *Mincio*: that they remain in possession of *Goito* and *Borgoforte*. The said troops shall have the course of the *Oglio*, as far as its junction with the *Po*, for their bounds; and the *Po* from that place to the first town in the pope's territory. The troops of the two powers shall not penetrate within each other's limits, except when the *French* have a mind to relieve or refresh the garrison of *Goito*. Passports shall be granted for all boats and waggons belonging to the two armies."

An armistice.

b THIS armistice, for some time, stopped the effusion of blood between the *French* and imperialists in *Italy*; but *Chauvelin*, the *French* minister, who was in the greatest trust with *Fleury*, having secretly attached himself to the queen of *Spain*, the court of *Madrid* could not be brought to render the armistice general. Her Catholic majesty, who had the entire direction of the *Spanish* government, being afraid that the court of *Great-Britain*, tired out by so many repeated instances of her haughtiness and ambition, might interpose and check the progress of her son *Don Carlos* in *Italy*, quarrelled with the court of *Lisbon* upon a frivolous pretence, which obliged the *British* court to send a strong squadron, under Sir *John Norris*, to the *Tagus*, for the protection of his *Portuguese* majesty. The court of *Spain* was informed by Mr. *Keene* of the destination of this squadron, upon which *Don Joseph Patinbo*, the first minister of *Spain*, signified, by his master's orders, that he was willing to submit all differences between the two courts, to his *Britannick* majesty's arbitration; but this offer not being satisfactory, the *British* fleet proceeded to the *Tagus*, as the *Spaniards* had foreseen; and thus *Don Carlos* was left in full possession of all his *Italian* dominions.

c By this time, the ambition of *Spain* appeared in so strong a light, that she was deserted by all her allies. The king of *Sardinia*, who had been so serviceable to her in her *Italian* conquests, claimed the *Milanese*, which had been positively stipulated to him when he embarked in the confederacy. But tho' his solicitations were backed by the *French* ministry, he could obtain no satisfaction. This injustice obliged cardinal *Fleury* to talk in very high terms to the *Spanish* minister at *Versailles*; nor did he dissemble that measures were concerting for obliging the court of *Madrid* to accede to an equitable peace. In the beginning of the year 1736, the preliminaries were finished between the courts of *London* and *Versailles*, and were in substance as follow:

Discontent of the king of Sardinia;

d "FIRST, that *France* restore to the empire all the places taken from it during the late war. Second, that the emperor keep the *Mantuan*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, and the *Milanese*. The king of *Sardinia* to have *Vigevanasco*, *Novarra*, and all its dependencies. Third, that the duchy of *Tuscany*, after the death of the present duke, be given to the duke of *Lorraine*, and *Lorraine* annexed to the monarchy of *France*; but without any vote in the empire. Fourth, that king *Stanislaus* be acknowledged king of *Poland* by all *Europe*, and enjoy all the honours of a crowned head; after which to resign that kingdom to king *Augustus*, who shall restore to him all the estates in *Poland*, which belonged to him or his queen.

e Fifth, that king *Stanislaus* have, by way of equivalent for *Poland*, the immediate possession of the duchies of *Bar* and *Lorraine*, after the duke of *Tuscany*'s death. Sixth, *Don Carlos* to be acknowledged king of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and to have the *Del Presidii* and the isle of *Elbe*; but *Leghorn* to be declared a free port. Seventh, that *France* guarantee the pragmatic sanction. Eighth, that *Spain* and *Sardinia* be invited to accede to the treaty; *England*, *Holland*, *Portugal*, and *Venice*, to guarantee it."

f THOUGH all the disinterested part of *Europe* approved of those preliminaries, the queen of *Spain* objected to them; but the king of *Sardinia*, tho' he had the greatest reason to be dissatisfied, declared he would agree to them, if he was indemnified for the money he had expended in fortifying the places he was to resign. At last, the queen of *Spain* was overruled by her husband and his ministers, who thought that enough had been done for her son *Don Carlos*; and she acquiesced in them in compliment, as she pretended, to the crown of *Great-Britain*. After this, the imperial court, which was in fact under a force to accept of the preliminaries, obtained the accession of the empire to them; and in the beginning of *May*, 1736, the three colleges of the empire unanimously approved of them, and gave his imperial majesty full power to perfect the great work of peace. New negotiations were then begun. One was carried on between the *French* and imperial ministers, for the execution of the preliminaries, and for regulating the manner in which the proper evacuations were to be made in *Italy*. The court of *Madrid*, however, continued still fullen and reserved, and started so many objections to the execution of the preliminaries, that the *French* and imperial ministers prevailed with the court of *Great-Britain* and the states-general, to grant a guaranty of the new disposition of affairs as settled by the preliminaries. This guaranty was communicated to the imperial and *Spanish* ministers; but was disliked by

who agrees to peace.

by the court of *Spain*. Her Catholic majesty, who continued to rule every thing there, was extremely unwilling to deprive her family of the *Tuscan* and *Parmesan* successions; but of the latter more especially; and as the possession of *Tuscany* had been already virtually granted to Don *Carlos*, she refused to give positive orders for the evacuation of that duchy, until her son the king of *Naples* was put into possession of the allodial estates depending on *Parma* and *Placentia*, by which was meant those estates that belonged to the family of *Farnese*, independent of either the emperor or the pope. She next demanded, that he should be secured in the succession to the moveable effects of the house of *Medici*, after the death of the great duke of *Tuscany*, who was now old, and lay past all hopes of recovery. Her Catholic majesty's trifling in this manner, at last exasperated the emperor so much, that he gave orders for some troops, in the beginning of the winter, to move towards *Tuscany*. This obliged her Catholic majesty secretly to apply to the court of *London*, and to offer, if his *Britannick* majesty would assist her in procuring the succession to the duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia* for her second son Don *Philip*, that her husband should renounce all his claim to *Gibraltar* and *Port-mahon*, and settle every thing to the contentment and satisfaction of the court of *Great-Britain*, even so as to extricate the *British* minister from all his difficulties, on account of his pacific disposition, which had exasperated the commercial part of the kingdom.

Cunning of the
court of
Spain.

THIS proposal was equally artful as specious. Sir *Robert Walpole*, the *British* minister, was willing, if possible, to avoid a war; and the court of *Spain* thought that he would stick at nothing to obtain the continuance of peace. The depredations which the *Spaniards* were daily making upon the *British* ships on the *American* seas, had incensed the parliament to an incredible degree; and it was in the power of her Catholic majesty, by a short explanation of the commercial treaties subsisting between the two crowns, to place him above all attacks from domestic faction; but he resisted the temptation, as his compliance could only tend to kindle an universal war in *Europe*; and her Catholic majesty was at last forced to conform herself to the execution of the preliminaries that had been agreed on. The *French* accordingly entered into the possession of *Lorraine*, which was ceded to king *Stanislaus*, as an equivalent for his losing the crown of *Poland*; and they delivered up to the *Germans* fort *Kehl* and *Philipsbourg*, after demolishing the works they had added to their fortifications. At the same time, the cardinal, to deprive her Catholic majesty of all hopes of interesting the court of *Versailles* in her ambitious views, prevailed with his master the *French* king totally to disgrace *Chauvelin*, who had so strenuously supported her interests at that court. The disgrace of this minister, who was confined at the same time, was a great mortification to the queen of *Spain*; but at last she was prevailed upon, though with great reluctance, to give orders for the *Spanish* troops to evacuate *Italy*, and re-embark at *Leghorn*. The cardinal having gained this great point, offered his master's mediation to the court of *Madrid*, to accommodate all farther differences between the courts of *Great-Britain* and *Spain*; but the opposition in *England* was now grown so intractable, that the minister durst encourage no proposals of that kind.

Death of the
duke of *Tus-*
cany.

IN July 1737, the great duke of *Tuscany*, the last of the family of *Medici*, died; and by his death, *Europe* saw itself once more in danger of being involved in a general war. Her Catholic majesty had privately instructed the *Spanish* ministers, to encourage the depredations made upon the *British* commerce in *America*, in hopes of thereby rendering her friendship indispensable to the *British* ministry; but she over-did her part. The wrongs that had been done to the *British* navigation appeared so flagrant, that the minister himself openly condemned them; but he still flattered himself that he should be able to avoid a war by his negotiations. This brought on the famous convention which threw *England* into a flame; and in the year 1739, both nations prepared for war, orders being given by the *English* government for general reprisals on the *Spaniards*, on the 10th of July; and that the high court of admiralty, and other courts of admiralty within his majesty's dominions, should be empowered, by commission, to judge of and condemn all ships, vessels, and goods, taken from the crown and subjects of *Spain*, by virtue of letters of marque and reprisals granted by the high court of admiralty of *Great-Britain*; and that instructions to the same purpose should be sent to the *British* foreign governments and plantations.

It is foreign to our design to recount the history of the war that followed after this, farther than as it affected the dominions of *Parma*, and the interests of the king of *Naples*, as duke thereof. Upon the death of the emperor *Charles VI.* on the 20th of October, 1740, his daughter *Maria-Theresa*, who had been married to the duke of *Lorraine*, now grand duke of *Tuscany*, took possession of his hereditary dominions, in virtue of the pragmatic sanction, which had been guarantied by the greatest powers in *Europe*, and by *France* herself; but the elector of *Bavaria* was chosen emperor of *Germany*. The court of *Spain* laid claim to all the possessions which had belonged to the house of *Austria* in *Italy*. This claim

- a claim was supported by a strong naval armament of two hundred sail of transports, with fifteen thousand land forces on board, which sailed from *Barcelona*, and was joined by the *Spanish* admiral *Navarro*, while *Haddock*, the *British* admiral in the *Mediterranean*, was repairing his ships at *Gibraltar*. It is not to be dissembled, that though the court of *France* had shewn an unjust partiality in favour of the *Spaniards*, with whom *Great Britain* was then at war, yet the *British* ministry were very backward in their resentment of this partiality. The *Spanish* fleet was inferior in strength to that of *Haddock*; and being forced back by contrary winds, in attempting to pass the straits, *Haddock*, having refitted his ships, prepared to attack them; when the *French Toulon* squadron, consisting of twelve ships of the line, stood in between the two fleets with a flag of truce, and sent a message to *Haddock*, importing, that the *Spanish* and his fleet being engaged in the same expedition, he must obey his orders, and could not avoid taking the *Spanish* ships under his protection. *Haddock* had no instructions to consider the *French* as enemies; and therefore, after calling a council of war, he returned to *Gibraltar*, and from thence proceeded to *Minorca*, where he received a reinforcement. In the mean time, however, the *Spanish* transports from *Barcelona* landed at *Orbitello*, while the *French* and *Spanish* ships of war put in at *Toulon*.

- THE queen of *Hungary*, at this time, saw all the stipulations which had been made in favour of her family's succession to the duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*, ready to vanish into air, and had no other recourse, either for assistance or protection, but the court of *England*. From thence she was advised to make the king of *Sardinia*, who had received great provocations from the *Spaniards*, her friend, as being the only power that could check the ambitious views of *France* and *Spain* in *Italy*. That prince durst not take upon himself so hazardous a province; but it was easy for him to foresee that his own destruction must be the consequence, if the ambitious views of her catholic majesty should take place in *Italy*. After some deliberation, he agreed to join the house of *Austria*, in opposition to the queen of *Spain*, who now openly avowed her intentions of erecting all the *Austrian* dominions in *Lombardy* into a kingdom, and of bestowing the same upon her second son *Don Philip*. He made, however, very advantageous terms for himself, by not only stipulating a large subsidy from *England*; but by procuring for himself a cession, so far as it could be ceded by his allies, of such places in *Italy* as lay most convenient for his hereditary dominions.
- d *Don Carlos* was still in possession of *Parma*; but *Don Philip*, his younger brother, had set out from *Spain* to take upon himself that government. The king of *Sardinia* united his troops with those of her *Hungarian* majesty; a *British* fleet was destined to watch the embarkations of the *Spaniards* in the *Mediterranean*, and the states of *Modena* and *Mirandola* were covered from insult. Notwithstanding those precautions, his *Sardinian* majesty could not prevent the *Spaniards*, who landed at *Orbitello*, from joining with the troops under the command of the duke of *Montemar*, whose army, when assembled, amounted to forty thousand men. The junction was formed at *Rimini*; and the duke de *Castropignano*, general of the *Neapolitans*, served under *Montemar*, who obtained leave from the pope to march thro' his dominions. The king of *Sardinia* published a manifesto, importing, that he was resolved to protect the *Austrian* dominions in *Italy*; and in the spring he marched towards the *Milanese* with thirty thousand men, and was joined by count *Traun*, at the head of seventeen thousand *Austrians*. He could not attack *Montemar's* army, without marching through the dominions of the duke of *Modena*, who, notwithstanding his pretended neutrality, had entered into a treaty with the *Spaniards*. This negotiation came to the knowledge of his *Sardinian* majesty, whose first step was to strip the duke of *Modena* of his dominions, and to seize upon his capital, whilst he himself was obliged to take refuge in the *Spanish* army, of which he assumed the nominal command.

Recital of the war.

The king of Sardinia joins the Austrians,

and takes Modena.

- THE *English* fleet in the *Mediterranean*, at this time, was commanded by admiral *Lestock*, an officer of great abilities and capacity, but of little enterprize. The chief command therefore was given to admiral *Matthews*, under whom *Lestock* was to serve as second in command, though they mortally hated one another. The *Spaniards* continued pouring men into *Italy*; but five of their gallies, which had taken refuge at *St. Tropez*, a *French*, and therefore a neutral port, in the *Mediterranean*, were destroyed by the *English*. Soon after, viz. about the beginning of *August*, admiral *Matthews*, in consequence of his instructions, sent captain *Martin*, as commodore, in the *Ipswich*, the *Panther*, captain *Gideon*, the *Oxford*, captain *Paulet*, the *Feversham*, captain *Hughes*, and the *Dursley* galley, captain *De l'Angle*, four bomb vessels, and four tenders, to the bay of *Naples*. The commodore was charged with a message in writing, demanding, that his *Sicilian* majesty should recal his troops from the assistance of the *Spaniards*: if he did not, his neutrality was to be considered by *Great Britain* as at an end, and the commodore had orders to bombard his capital. A farther demand was made, that his *Sicilian* majesty should give it under his hand, not to send for the future any assistance to the enemies of *Great Britain*. The *Neapolitan* minister, upon the appearance of the *British* squadron before *Naples*, desired the *English* consul to go on board

Exploits of the British fleet.

board the commodore's ship to know his intentions, which he did, and at his return delivered the message as above. As soon as possible a grand council was summoned, and, notwithstanding the resentment of the court, a resolution was immediately taken to comply with the demand, which was signified to the *British* commodore, who was required by his *Neapolitan* majesty to give in writing an assurance, that he would commit no hostilities in the mean while. The commodore, not satisfied with this general intimation of compliance, demanded that in an hour at farthest, after the messengers should be set on shore, he should receive a letter of absolute and direct assurance, that orders had been expedited for the recal of the troops, and that his *Neapolitan* majesty would not, in any manner whatever, aid or assist the *Spaniards* who were then in *Italy*. The commodore having received this letter, which was signed by the *Neapolitan* minister, immediately set sail, and returned to the main body of the fleet, which was now employed in blocking up *Toulon*, or in destroying the *Spanish* magazines upon the coast of *Italy*. a
b

A new embarkation of Spaniards for Italy.

DURING those transactions by sea, the queen of *Spain* was making dispositions for a third embarkation of troops, and Don *Philip*, her second son, who was to have the duchy of *Parma*, with the title of king of *Lombardy*, arrived by land at *Antibes*, in his way to *Italy*. The dread of the *British* fleet obliged him to carry on his operations by land; and his mother was so exasperated at the firmness of his *Sardinian* majesty, that she procured the recal of the *Spanish* ambassador from the court of *Turin*; and when the *Sardinian* ambassador came to take leave of her, her passion hurried her into the indecency of desiring him to tell his master, that her son should be a king whether he would or not. In *April*, 1742, twenty-eight squadrons of *Spanish* horse, and twenty battalions of foot, marched through *France*; and being joined by other reinforcements, the whole made up a body of thirty thousand men, commanded by Don *Philip*, and under him by count *de Glines*, who was the acting general. *Parma*, and almost all *Lombardy*, was at that time in possession of his *Sardinian* majesty. The rendezvous of the *Spanish* army under *Montemar*, was at *Rimini*; but the vigilance of the *British* fleet brought it into great difficulties, for want of provisions and ammunition. The same vigilance had defeated all attempts that were made by Don *Philip*, who was now styled the infant duke of *Parma*, for proceeding by sea to recover his hereditary dominions, which had been formerly ceded to him by his *Neapolitan* majesty. The infant duke, therefore, endeavoured to draw his *Sardinian* majesty out of *Lombardy*, by making a vigorous impression upon *Savoy* and *Piedmont*. He first attempted to force his way into the latter by *Nice* and *Villafranca*, but all the ways had been broke up by the *Piedmontese* militia, assisted by detachments from the *British* fleet, so as to render them impassable with artillery. He then attempted to send a body of *Miquelets* through the vale of *Barcelonetta*; but he found all the passages so well guarded by the *Piedmontese* militia, intermixed with regular troops, that he was obliged to recal his *Miquelets*, who had suffered greatly in the attempt, especially from the fire of the *British* ships which lay on the coast, by which they were to pass. The duke then, all of a sudden, desisted to the left and entered *Savoy*, which, not being prepared for resistance, was soon reduced to his power. On the first of *September*, he began to act as sovereign of that duchy, by way of reprisals for what *Parma* and *Placentia* suffered from his *Sardinian* majesty. He ordered the inhabitants, under pain of death, to withdraw their allegiance from their native sovereign, and to pay it to him. He then emitted an order for the deputies of the provinces to settle the subsistence of his army, and to take the oaths to him; to pay no more taxes to their sovereign, and to deliver up their arms. The defenceless people were obliged to comply with all those demands, and on the 10th of the same month he entered *Chamberi* in triumph, and obliged the magistrates, greatly against their wills, to receive him as their master. c
d
e

Don Philip conquers Savoy,

THE progress of Don *Philip* in that poor barren country was no way proportioned to the vast sums which the expedition had cost him, yet it obliged his *Sardinian* majesty to interrupt the course of his victories in *Lombardy*. He had added *Modena* to his other conquests, and *Montemar*, after passing the *Panaro*, for the relief of *Parma* and that duchy, found his army so distressed through sickness and desertion, occasioned by the *British* fleet continuing to cut off all his supplies, that he was obliged to retreat towards *Ferrara*; and was pursued by his *Sardinian* majesty, who, on the 8th of *August*, took possession of the strong camp of the *Spaniards* at *Rimini*. f

which is recovered by the king of Sardinia,

HERE his *Sardinian* majesty discontinued the pursuit, and prepared to march to the relief of his hereditary dominions. He committed the administration of *Modena* to *Christiani*, one of her *Hungarian* majesty's subjects, and at that time her podesta in *Placentia*, and left the counts *d'Apremont* and *Traun*, with a sufficient number of troops, for the defence of the *Parmesan* and the *Modenese*. The great force which the *Spaniards* at this time had in *Italy*, and their being obliged every where to retreat before the *Austrians*, gave the court of *Madrid* a bad impression of *Montemar*'s capacity, if not his fidelity; and they sent count *de Gages*, g

a Gages, a more enterprising general, to supersede him in his command. Count Traun was then encamped at *Buon Porto*, and intended to keep on the defensive; but the *Spaniards* marching in a moment towards *Bologna*, he passed the *Panaro* and offered them battle; upon which the *Spaniards* retired. They then attempted to make their winter-quarters good in *Tuscany*; but count Traun having detached five thousand troops to join those of the archduke, they were disappointed in that design likewise. The rest of the season was spent in skirmishes, and then the *Spaniards* retired to winter-quarters in *Bologna* and *Romagna*, as the imperialists did to the *Parmesan* and *Modenese*.

DURING those transactions, his *Sardinian* majesty was continuing his march towards *Turin*, which city he entered on the 10th of *October*, being then at the head of thirty thousand men. The count *de Glimes*, who continued to command under the infant duke of *Parma*, had not the spirit to oppose his *Sardinian* majesty, who advanced to *Conflans*, twenty miles east of *Chamberri*, while the infant duke, after his troops had suffered a great deal in skirmishes, retired with precipitation towards *Dauphiny*, where he embarked under the cannon of fort *Barreaux*, while his *Sardinian* majesty encamped at *Mians*, near *Montmelian*. This retreat astonished her catholic majesty so much, that she persuaded her husband to recal count *Glimes*, and to give his command to the marquis *de las Minas*. Upon the arrival of this general, the fortune of the war was again changed. *Las Minas* took *Apremont*, a fort of the greatest consequence, by a very masterly series of operations; and though he could not force his *Sardinian* majesty to a battle, yet he took his measures so well, that he obliged him to abandon his camp at *Mians*, and the infant duke, without further difficulty, again became master of *Savoy*. Had it not been for the steadiness of his *Britannic* majesty, the king of *Sardinia*, at this time, might have paid dearly for his connections with the court of *Vienna*. But admiral *Matthews* had orders from his master to risk every thing for his *Sardinian* majesty's support. The court of *Naples*, at this time, had sent some regiments to join the *Spaniards* under *de Gages*; upon which *Matthews* remonstrated against that step, as being a breach of his *Neapolitan* majesty's neutrality. The count *de Montcallegre*, the first minister at *Naples*, undertook to vindicate his master's conduct on this occasion, and delivered to Mr. *Allen*, the *British* minister, a declaration to be forwarded to admiral *Matthews*, importing, "That the king being resolved to keep the neutrality in the most inviolable manner, according to his engagements, his majesty did not think he had acted contrary thereto, by sending to the *Spanish* army the troops that were in his army belonging to that nation; that they were really the very regiment that have always belonged to *Spain*, and which were lent by that court to the king, in order to take possession of *Sicily*; and that body of troops, having always been in the constant pay of his catholic majesty, must necessarily obey his majesty's orders to march, whenever he should think fit to recal them."

THIS apology would not have contented the *British* court, if the various operations of the war in the *Mediterranean*, for the assistance of his *Sardinian* majesty, and blocking up the combined fleets of *France* and *Spain*, had left the *British* admiral a sufficient force to be employed against *Naples*, which of late had received some additional fortifications towards the sea. At last *Matthews* received a reinforcement he expected, under vice-admiral *Rowley*, of eight ships of the line, by which he was enabled to distress the navigation and convoys of the *Spaniards* in those seas more than ever. The courts of *France* and *Spain* all this while were tampering and treating with his *Sardinian* majesty. The former offered to put him into possession of the city and republic of *Geneva*. The inhabitants came to the knowledge of this proposal, and made requisitions of the stipulated succours from the *Swiss* cantons, which were accordingly held in readiness. At the same time they concerted the proper signals between them and their allies, and fortified their city. The *Dutch* ambassador reproached cardinal *Fleury* upon this head; but he denied the charge. This design not succeeding, the *French* court offered one of their princesses in marriage to the prince of *Piedmont*, his *Sardinian* majesty's eldest son, with vast advantages. It was generally thought that his *Sardinian* majesty did not discourage those advances made by *France* and *Spain*, that he might procure some relief to his harrassed dominions, and gain time for the arrival of the *British* succours. As to the house of *Austria*, which was so capitally interested in his *Sardinian* majesty's fate, all the efforts it made for his relief consisted of pressing memorials presented to the court of *Great Britain*; setting forth their own inability to assist him, and the necessity of supporting him more powerfully the more he was oppressed.

THE *British* ministry at this time fell in with the favourite principle of their master, which was to support the house of *Austria*, and to maintain the ballance of power on the Continent, especially in *Germany*. The parliament, at least a great majority of it, was of the same opinion, and enabled his majesty to send that prince large supplies of money as well as shipping. Orders were given to *Matthews* to do every thing conformable to his engagements; and on the 11th of *November* he acquainted the governor of *Villafranca*, that

who loses it again.

State of the war and the negotiations in Italy.

King of Sardinia supported by England.

that he had orders from his master to declare, “that if his excellency should at any time stand in need of part of the artillery, ammunition, or land-forces on board his squadron, he would, on the first notice, send him any succours he should find necessary.” He likewise acquainted him of rear-admiral *Rowley*’s arrival with the squadron under his command. Soon after *Matthews*, understanding that the *Genese* had both secretly and openly favoured the *Spaniards*, sent an order to the *British* consul at *Genoa*, to remonstrate to the senate upon that head, and to require its being attentive to preserve his *Britannic* majesty’s friendship, by hindering its subjects from supplying the *Spanish* squadron with provisions, or sending any to the coast of *Provence*. The senate of *Genoa* pretended that it was not in their power to hinder their subjects from trading on that coast; but that neither party should be supplied by the republic, which was resolved to maintain a strict neutrality. *Matthews*, dissatisfied with this answer, repeated his request; and insisted not only upon the subjects of the republic not furnishing the *Spaniards* with provisions or forage, but upon her denying them a passage through her dominions. To this the senate answered, “that being well acquainted with the rules of neutrality, they were resolved inviolably to maintain one; but with regard to the passage of troops through their territories, be they of what power soever, the republic was not in condition to oppose it, and that they should do nothing more than protest against all such as should attempt it without their consent.” This answer being found likewise to be evasive, hostilities were commenced against the *Genese*, and the *English* ships of war destroyed all their magazines wherever found upon their territories, on presumption of their having been formed for the use of the *Spaniards*. They burnt a *Spanish* ship of seventy-two guns, which had been driven upon the coasts of *Corfica*, and refused to perform quarantine; all which infractions of neutrality threw the *Genese* into the utmost consternation: but their applications for redress to the court of *England* proved to be in vain.

He publishes a manifesto.

So much firmness and spirit exerted on the part of *Great Britain*, kept the king of *Sardinia* steady to his engagements; and to wipe off any prepossessions which the public might have conceived, on account of his leaving *Savoy* in the possession of the infant duke, he published a manifesto, declaring, that he was forced by a superior army to depart from one part of his dominions, that he might protect the other and more valuable part, and he publicly ordered his ministers to trouble him no longer with any proposals for an accommodation between him and *France*. The death of cardinal *Fleury*, the first minister of *France*, whose politics were entirely pacific, made a great alteration on the face of affairs in *Europe*. The *French* ministry engaged deeper than ever in the *German* war, by which the assistance they gave to the *Spaniards* in *Italy* became more feeble than before. The queen of *Spain*, sensible of this, resolved to strike a bold decisive blow, without ever suffering the *Spanish* troops in *Italy* to rest in their winter-quarters. Count *de Gages* was then at *Bologna*; and her catholic majesty gave it him in his option either to fight count *Traun*, the imperial general, within three days, or to resign his command to count *Mariani*. *De Gages* chose the former; but as secrecy was the life of his enterprize, he made a magnificent ball at *Bologna*, from which his principal officers dropped out unperceived by degrees, and he himself before day-light was in the field. All his precautions could not blind the marquis *de Pavia* from suspecting the truth, and he found means, though with great difficulty, to convey some intimation of it to count *Traun*.

Battle of Parma lost by the Spaniards.

THAT general’s army had been weakened by the departure of three thousand *Croats*, who had left it without leave at the end of the campaign; and the intelligence of this had encouraged her catholic majesty in her scheme. *Traun* received the information from the marquis *de Pavia* time enough to draw up his army; so that when *de Gages* advanced with his army early on the 3d of *February*, he found the *Austrians* and *Piedmontese* in order of battle. Being thus disappointed in his main hope, that of a surprize, he ordered his army to halt, that he might make new dispositions; but before they could be formed, he was himself attacked by *Traun* before *Campo Santo*. The *Spaniards* were computed to be in number about twenty-five thousand, and the Imperialists about twenty thousand. The battle continued from eight in the morning till seven at night, it being then moon-light. The *Spaniards* routed the left wing of the *Austrian* cavalry; but the imperial and *Piedmontese* foot behaved so well, that the *Spaniards* were at last obliged to retreat; which they did, however, in good order, carrying with them some military trophies, such as colours, standards, kettle-drums, and cannon, which gave them a pretence to claim the victory, though in fact they lost it, by *Gages* having failed in his attempt. The loss of the *Spaniards* was computed to be about four thousand men; that of the Imperialists was not so great. The count *de Aspremont*, the *Piedmontese* general, fell upon the field of battle, as did many other officers of great distinction and merit on both sides. The consequences plainly shewed the advantage to lie with the Imperialists.

a THE *Spaniards* could not reflect upon the desperate attack they had made, and the hardships they had undergone in the field, without remembering they were fighting in a foreign quarrel, and to gratify the ambition of a haughty *Italian* princeſs. Thoſe conſiderations increased defections amongſt them ſo greatly, that when *de Gages* returned to *Bologna*, he found his army reduced to half the number with which he took the field. He diſpatched meſſengers in great abundance to his *Neapolitan* majeſty for aſſiſtance; but all was in vain, becauſe it was ſtill poſſible for the *Britiſh* fleet to bombard his capital. *De Gages* therefore, finding that he could not maintain his ground at *Bologna*, retreated to *Rimini*, where he remained till *September* in a very ſtrong camp. But a treaty was now ſet on foot, which bade fair to divide the allies of the houſe of *Auſtria*. The king of *Sardinia*'s miniſter at the court of *London*, intimated to the miniſtry of *Great Britain* the uneaſineſs of his maſter's ſituation; and that he expected, before he embarked farther in the defence of the houſe of *Auſtria*, that her *Hungarian* majeſty would ſtipulate ſomewhat to him by way of indemnification for the great loſſes he had already ſuffered; but ſignified at the ſame time, that he could expect ſuch indemnification only through the interpoſition of his *Britannic* majeſty with the court of *Vienna*. The *Britiſh* court and miniſter thought this indemnification highly reaſonable, and *Oſorio*, the *Sardinian* ambaffador, was to name his maſter's terms. He demanded to be put into poſſeſſion of *Final*, a ſea-port town belonging to the *Genoeſe*, who had purchaſed it from the emperor *Charles VI.* but lying very convenient for his *Sardinian* majeſty's dominions. He likewiſe demanded poſſeſſion of the *Vigevanaſco*, with that part of the duchy of *Pavia* that is between the *Po* and the *Teffin*, with the towns of *Placentia* and *Bobbio*, and all the tract of land from the ſource of the *Nura* to the lake *Maggiore*, and the frontiers of the *Swiſs* cantons.

Demands of
the king of
Sardinia.

WHEN thoſe demands were made on the part of his *Sardinian* majeſty, the queen of *Hungary* was not in that diſtreſſed ſituation that had ſo lately obliged her to implore his *Sardinian* majeſty's aſſiſtance. She treated his demands with the higheſt diſdain; but the *Britiſh* miniſtry giving her to underſtand that they muſt be complied with, ſhe was obliged to acquieſce; and count *Waſner*, her ambaffador at *London*, having concluded the treaty, carried it to *Worms*, where it was ſigned by *Oſorio* in his maſter's name, he being there attending his *Britannic* majeſty; and from thence it has obtained the name of the treaty of *Worms*.
d By the third article of that treaty, his *Sardinian* majeſty renounced all claims upon the duchy of *Milan*, and guarantied anew the pragmatic ſanction. By the 4th, his *Sardinian* majeſty's troops were to act in concert with thoſe of the queen of *Hungary*, for repelling the invaſion of the *Spaniards* upon *Italy*. By the 5th article, her *Hungarian* majeſty ſtipulated to augment her army in *Italy* to thirty thouſand men, as ſoon as the ſituation of affairs in *Germany* would permit it; and his majeſty the king of *Sardinia* engaged to keep and employ the number of forty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, comprehending in it what would be neceſſary for the garrifons and defence of his own dominions. The ſixth article gave the king of *Sardinia* the ſupreme command of both armies, when there in perſon. The ſeventh article ſtipulated the naval aſſiſtances which their *Hungarian* and *Sardinian* majeſties were to receive from *Great Britain*. The tenth article ſtipulated the famous ceſſion of *Final*; and the eleventh and twelfth articles regarded the mutual aſſiſtance which the queen of *Hungary* and the king of *Sardinia* were to give to each other, in defence of their reſpective dominions in *Italy*.

Treaty at
Worms.

SUCH were the ſtipulations that concern our preſent purpoſe in the treaty of *Worms*, againſt which *Palavicini*, the *Genoeſe* miniſter, proteſted; and in fact the treaty itſelf proved ineffectual, for the *Genoeſe* fortified and prepared to defend *Final*: nor did either party gain by the treaty. The courts of *France* and *Spain* counter-acted it by one much more political, tending to her catholic majeſty's favourite purpoſe of introducing her ſon *Don Philip* into *Parma* and *Placentia*. It took its riſe from her impatience at ſeeing the combined fleets ſo long ſhut up by that of *Great Britain*, in the harbour of *Toulon*. The terms offered by her to the *French*, who were not fond of riſking their marine in *Don Philip*'s cauſe, were very advantageous; for *France* was to be indemnified for all the loſs ſhe ſhould ſuſtain in aſſiſting the infant duke; and if the *Britiſh* fleet was beat, *Spain* was to aſſiſt her to invade *Great Britain*. When the reſolution of ſailing for *Toulon* was taken by the two courts, admiral *Matthews* was at that time off *Turin*; where underſtanding that the *Breſt* fleet had already failed, he ſent orders for all the *Britiſh* ſhips of war in the *Mediterranean* to join him, and he himſelf repaired on board his own ſhip. The particulars of the famous ſea-fight that followed, is well known to the public, as is the miſcarriage that afterwards followed, through the ſhameful animoſities that prevailed between *Matthews* and *Leftock*. It is ſufficient here to ſay, that the *Britiſh* fleet, at the time of the engagement, was ſuperior in ſtrength to the combined fleets of *France* and *Spain*, and that had it not been for the diſagreement, the combined fleets muſt have been deſtroyed, but they eſcaped, though with ſome damage. After this, the king of *Naples* threw off all pretexts

Sea-fight off
Toulon.

Battle of
Veletri.

to a neutrality, and published a declaration, in which he complained that his moderation had been abused by the court of *Great Britain*; that his frontiers were subjected to all the calamities of war; and that the queen of *Hungary* had publicly threatened to invade his kingdoms, with several other allegations of the like importance. His majesty therefore assembled an army, and joined that of *de Gages*. Prince *Lobkowitz* was at this time general of the imperialists in *Italy*, and had received orders from his court to support and favour an insurrection, which the *Austrian* agents were endeavouring to raise in *Naples*. It was chiefly with that view that *Lobkowitz* had taken post at *Monte Rotondo*, in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, while his *Neapolitan* majesty and *de Gages* encamped at *Velettri*, in sight of the imperialists. While the two armies were in this situation, *Lobkowitz* detached a part of his troops to make an irruption into *Abruzzo*, where they took the city of *Aquila*, and published manifestos, exhorting the *Neapolitans* to throw off the *Spanish* yoke. This attempt proving unsuccessful, *Brown*, an *Austrian* general, of a bold enterprising genius, surprised his *Neapolitan* majesty's quarters; and it was with the utmost difficulty he escaped being made prisoner, by flying through a postern to the quarters of count *de Gages*. It was owing to the courage and presence of mind of the latter that the *Spanish* and *Neapolitan* armies did not suffer more than they did from the unexpected attack: for *Brown* perceiving that *de Gages*, after collecting and forming his regiments, was making dispositions for cutting him off from the main body of the *Austrian* army, ordered a retreat, after killing about three thousand *Spaniards*, making an immense booty, and acquitting himself with vast intrepidity. His own loss was about six hundred.

Retreat of the
Austrians.

This shining exploit was more glorious than advantageous to the *Austrians*. *Lobkowitz*, either through inadvertency, or what is more probable, from the orders he received, had brought his army into a situation where he could not maintain it, the country round him being intirely eaten up, or in the hands of his enemies; add to this, his men were daily dying through fatigue and the heats of the season; so that he was at last obliged to order a retreat. *De Gages* had foreseen this, and prepared to follow him. *Lobkowitz* passed under the walls of *Rome*, and could but just break down *Ponte Molle*, when the van of the *Spanish* and *Neapolitan* army appeared. He could not, however, prevent part of his rear-guard being made prisoners at *Nocera*, nor the frequent desertions that happened amongst his troops; so that his retreat had all the appearance of the most precipitate flight; but at last having passed the mountains of *Gubio*, he arrived at *Bologna*, by the way of *Viterbo*. But notwithstanding all his address and expedition, his army must have been totally ruined, had not count *de Gages*, who followed him, received a peremptory order from his own court, to lay aside all other considerations but that of joining the infant *Don Philip*, who was preparing to march through the *Genoese* territories, to dispossess the *Austrians* of *Parma* and *Placentia*; and this brings us to attend the operations of the infant duke.

Don Philip
joined by the
French army.

IN consequence of the secret treaty with *France*, the prince of *Conti*, at the head of a *French* army, had joined him early in the year at *Antibes*; and after passing the *Var*, they took *Apremont*, and without opposition entered *Nice*. His *Sardinian* majesty was at this time greatly distressed for money, and obliged to entrench himself near *Villafranca*, where he was attacked, and after an obstinate engagement defeated by the combined army. He then was forced to embark with his troops on board the *British* squadron, which carried him to *Vado*. *Don Philip* would then have penetrated through the *Genoese* territories, had not admiral *Matthews* threatened to bombard their city if they gave him a passage through their dominions. Intimidated by this menace, the senate interceded with the two princes, who at their request changed their route; and marching toward *Piedmont*, they laid siege to *Chateau Dauphine*, which the king of *Sardinia* defended in person. They lost four thousand men before the place; but they took it, and the consequence was, that *Demonit* surrendered, which reduced almost all the open country of *Piedmont* to submit to contributions; while his *Sardinian* majesty, to cover his capital, entrenched himself at *Saluzza*. The siege of *Coni*, one of the strongest places in *Italy*, was then formed by the combined army about the beginning of *September*. It was held out by baron *Leutrum*, whose gallant defence of the place gave the king of *Sardinia* leisure to march with his own troops, and ten thousand *Austrians* under *Palavicini*, to his relief. The *French* and *Spaniards* kept on the defensive; so that the attack made by his *Sardinian* majesty upon their entrenchments, was bloody and desperate; and finding it impracticable to force them, he retreated to his camp at *Murasso*. The combined army then resumed its operations against *Coni*; but under prodigious disadvantages, from the heavy rains that fell, as well as the good state of the garrison, which had been reinforced with men and provisions by his *Sardinian* majesty. The siege, however, went on; and though the besiegers began to be much straitened for provisions, it was continued with the greatest obstinacy, till the end of *November*, when the besiegers received certain intelligence, that a reinforcement of six hundred fresh men, under

a under the chevalier *de Soto*, had entered the place; upon which they abandoned their enterprize, in a manner by no means to their honour; for leaving all their sick and wounded to the mercy of their enemies, they retired to *Demont*, the fortifications of which they dismantled. The *French* then marched into *Dauphiny*, as the infant duke of *Parma* did into *Savoy*, where he still kept his footing, and where his army was extremely oppressive to the inhabitants.

Siege of Conl
raised.

NOTWITHSTANDING this retreat, the king of *Sardinia* was under great apprehensions from the *Genoese*. The treaty of *Worms* had not met with the approbation of the public. The *British* minister, by whom it had been concluded, was himself but on a precarious footing at his own court. He knew the queen of *Hungary* had been forced into it; and b which was worst of all, the principles on which it was concluded, were justifiable only in point of expediency. Though the terror of the *British* marine had, during the preceding campaign, made an impression upon the *Genoese*; yet, by the preparations they were making, he had reason to believe that they would speedily declare themselves in favour of his enemies; and he knew the dreadful consequences to himself and the house of *Austria*, if they were permitted to march through that territory. All those, and many other considerations, determined him, if possible, to make the *Genoese* his friends, by offering to renounce all his pretensions upon *Final*. But though the *Genoese* seemed to give some ear to this proposal, they had in their councils come to a final determination to accept of the offers of *France* and *Spain*. They had secretly dispatched *Grimaldi* to *Spain*; and a c treaty was concluded between *France*, *Spain*, and *Genoa*, which is known by the name of that of *Aranjuez*, and which in fact made *Don Carlos* master of *Parma* and *Placentia*. The principal articles relating to that prince are as follow: "That the republic of *Genoa* shall assist the armies and fleets belonging to the princes of the house of *Bourbon*, with all manner of necessaries, both by sea and land: that the *Genoese* shall join their armies in *Italy* with ten thousand men, all well armed and accoutred, and followed by a train of thirty-six cannon; but this they shall not be obliged to do till after the *French* and *Spanish* armies are united, and have passed the mountains and narrow passes lying between their republic and the *Milanese*, and called the straits of *Lombardy*: that the princes of the house of *Bourbon* shall guaranty the towns, territories, and all the present possessions of d the *Genoese*: that all the allies, with united forces, shall endeavour to obtain a settlement in *Italy* for *Don Philip*, the king of *Spain's* third son: that the king of *Spain* shall pay the *Genoese* a subsidy of twelve thousand pounds monthly, so long as the war continues in *Italy*." The remaining part of this treaty contains strong guarantees of the *Genoese* rights and possessions on the part of the two crowns.

Uneasiness of
the king of
Sardinia.

Treaty of
Aranjuez.

THIS treaty being concluded, count *de Gages* on the one side of the *Appennines*, and the infant *Don Philip* on the other, made incredible efforts to effect their junction. *De Gages* passed the *Appennines*, entered the *Lucquese*, and marched by the eastern *Riviera* of *Genoa*; and on the 14th of *June*, 1745, his army joined that of the infant duke near *Genoa*. The two armies amounted to sixty-eight thousand men, and were soon after joined e by the ten thousand *Genoese*, stipulated by the treaty of *Aranjuez*. All this while his *Sardinian* Majesty had been in a manner treating with the *Genoese*, at whom he was exasperated to the highest pitch, when he understood that they had not only joined his enemies, but that they had published a declaration of war against himself, though they had preserved an appearance of regard towards his *Britannick* majesty and the queen of *Hungary*. They were answered by a counter-declaration, in which he accused them of breach of faith, by having long favoured his enemies, and in other respects treated him with very little ceremony. The queen of *Hungary's* resentment was so high, that she threatened the extinction of the commonwealth, and gave her troops orders to proceed against them in all respects, and on all occasions, as enemies; but those threatnings would f have made very little impression upon the *Genoese*, had not the two powers made the most vigorous remonstrances at the court of *Great Britain*, where his *Britannick* majesty gave orders for the commanders of his ships in the *Mediterranean*, to begin hostilities against *Genoa*, for breaking her neutrality. The force of the *British* fleet in the *Mediterranean*, at that time, was twenty-four ships of the line; but it must have been far inferior to those of the *French* and *Spaniards*, if the *Brest* squadron could have joined the *Spanish* fleet, which was blocked up in the harbour of *Carthage*; but that not happening, the *French* returned to the coast of *France*, to the amazement of all *Europe*, without attempting any thing against even a *British* squadron of no more than twelve ships, which was sent out to observe their motions. Upon their return admiral *Rowley*, who commanded the Eng- g lish fleet in the *Mediterranean*, ordered commodore *Cropper* with a squadron to begin hostilities against the *Genoese*; and he bombarded *Savona*, *Genoa*, *Final*, *St. Remo*, and *Bastia* in *Corfica*. The damage done on this occasion was not so considerable as might have

Progress of the
war in Italy.

Genoa de-
clares for the
French and
Spaniards.

have happened, had the *Genoese* been immediately the enemies of *Great Britain*; and this the queen of *Hungary* complained of.

Great success
of Don Philip.

COUNT *Schulenberg* was now the *Austrian* general in *Italy*, where his army, joined with that of his *Sardinian* majesty, amounted to no more than forty-five thousand men. The great object of *Don Philip* was to get possession of *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Modena*; and his *Sardinian* majesty found himself under the necessity to act on the defensive, and accordingly made the proper dispositions for defending those duchies, as well as the *Milanese*. *Schulenberg* was assigned to the defence of *Parma*, with twenty-four thousand men; but he was obliged by count *Gages* to retire under the cannon of *Tortona*, to preserve his communication with his *Sardinian* majesty. Upon his retreat *de Gages*, with thirty thousand men, took possession of *Saravalle*. On the side of the *Milanese*, the king of *Sardinia* was posted in the neighbourhood of *Alessandria*, with no more than twenty thousand men, and therefore was obliged to give way to the entrance of the infant duke, and the *French* general *Maillebois*, who commanded under him, into the *Modenese*, at the head of forty thousand *French* and *Spaniards*. The infant duke's first exploits were to take *Aquindia* and *Seva*; and a passage being thereby open for him to *Alessandria* itself, the king of *Sardinia* and count *Schulenberg* were obliged to retire beyond the *Tanaro*. On the 24th of *July* count *de Gages*, after an inconsiderable resistance, took the strong citadel of *Tortona*. This acquisition was followed by the surrender of *Parma* and *Placentia* to the duke of *Modena*; and thus the great object of *Don Philip*'s ambition was accomplished. Nothing now could resist the fortune of the infant duke. The city of *Pavia* was taken by a scalade; and the *Austrian* garrison, consisting of two thousand five hundred men, shut themselves up in the citadel of *Milan*, while the city fell into the hands of *de Gages*, who soon after joined his army with that of *Don Philip*; and attacking the *Piedmontese* posts upon the *Tanaro*, they forced his *Sardinian* majesty, whose troops suffered greatly upon this occasion, to retire towards the *Po*, for the security of his own capital. By the 30th of *September*, *Don Philip* took the city of *Alessandria*, but not the citadel; and after that he became master of *Galenza*, *Casal*, *Asti*, *Gabrano*, and *Vienne*, which lies but twenty miles distant from *Turin*, then almost the only possession that was left to his *Sardinian* majesty.

Policy of the
French.

NOTHING but the secret policy of the court of *France* could have prevented *Don Philip* from becoming master of that capital likewise; but *d'Argenson*, the *French* minister hated the *Spaniards*; and there was a personal friendship between his *Sardinian* majesty and *Maillebois*. *Maillebois* persuaded his master, that it was not his interest to ruin the king of *Sardinia*, or to aggrandize the *Spaniards* too much in *Italy*; and that *France* had already obtained her ends, by obliging the queen of *Hungary* to weaken herself on the side of *Germany*, in defending her *Italian* dominions. Tho' his most Christian majesty had made choice of the infant duke to be his son-in-law, yet reasons of state prevailed over all other considerations, and he even obtained an order from the court of *Madrid*, that all military operations without the dominions of the infant duke should be under the direction of *Maillebois*. *De Gages*, on the other hand, warmly pressed for the continuance of the operations against his *Sardinian* majesty, and even for laying siege to *Turin*; and he was seconded by the infant duke himself; but at last receiving intimation of his father-in-law's pleasure, he was obliged to submit to *Maillebois*. Thus *Turin* remained in the possession of his *Sardinian* majesty; and *Don Philip*, attended by the duke of *Modena* and *de Gages*, made a triumphal entry into *Milan*, from whence he went to *Parma*, of which and *Placentia* he took possession.

Don Philip
takes possession
of Parma
and Placentia.

AFTER this event the aspect of the war in *Italy* was unfavourable for the three crowns. His *Sardinian* majesty, to his immortal honour, continued faithful to his engagements; and the death of the emperor of *Germany*, with the accommodation which the queen of *Hungary* had made with his son, the election of her husband the great duke to the imperial dignity, and several other favourable incidents, enabled her to send new supplies to his *Sardinian* majesty, who, on his side, being still vigorously assisted by money from *England*, made a great augmentation of his army, which now amounted to thirty-six thousand men; and he was joined by the prince of *Lichtenstein*, the *Austrian* general, with a much greater number. At the opening of the campaign, in the year 1746, *Maillebois*, with about thirty thousand men, was in possession of the greatest part of *Piedmont*. A still greater army, under the infant duke, covered the *Milanese*, the *Parmesan*, and the *Placentine*; while the duke of *Modena*, with eight thousand men, protected his own dominions. The operations of his *Sardinian* majesty, and the *Austrian* army, were so vigorous, that the armies of the three crowns, instead of acting offensively, retired towards the *Mantuan*; while *Leutrum*, the *Piedmontese* general, made himself master of *Asti*, reduced *Casal*, and raised the blockade of the citadel of *Alessandria*, which had continued during all the preceding winter; so that *Maillebois* was obliged to retire to the *Genoese* territory. *Don Philip* and count *de Gages* had no better fortune on the side of *Milan*, which the *Austrians* obliged them to abandon;

but is reversed.

a don; as they did *Pavia*, and at last *Parma* itself, where the *Austrians* found a large magazine of provisions, a fine train of artillery, and a great quantity of baggage. On this occasion, the advice of *de Gages* to the infant duke was to march to *Placentia*, where they could occupy a strong camp, against all the efforts of their enemies, till they could be joined by the marquis *de Castellar*, with a fresh reinforcement of *Spaniards*, and the *French* troops under *Maillebois*; and in the mean time he affirmed, that the army under *Lichtenstein* must be ruined by its fatigues, and the diseases already raging in it. This advice was so far followed, that the infant duke retired to the camp near *Placentia*; and *de Gages*, by the excellent dispositions he made, kept the *Austrians* at bay. In the mean while *Pignatelli*, a *Spanish* general, passed the *Po*, in the night time, to *Cedogno*, where he beat up the quarters
b of seven thousand *Austrians*.

ALL this while, the queen of *Spain* was so bent upon her *Italian* expedition, that she had employed *Grimaldi* to negotiate a separate peace with the queen of *Hungary*, who rejected all proposals of that kind, by the persuasion of the *British* ministry. She attributed the necessity she was under of taking this disagreeable step to the conduct of *Maillebois* and the *French*, who, as she alledged, had sacrificed the interests of the infant duke. The *French* were not strangers to the justice of her complaints on that head; and being in great want of money, with which they knew it was in her power to furnish them, *Maillebois* was ordered to rejoin the infant duke's army as soon as possible, which he did in the beginning of *June*, before the king of *Sardinia*, who was making forced marches for that purpose,
c could join the prince of *Lichtenstein*. This junction being effected between the infant prince and *Maillebois*, the former found himself at the head of fifty-two thousand men. Her Catholic majesty, before this, had obtained from her husband a provisional order, commanding *de Gages*, as soon as that junction was formed, to attack the *Austrian* army, whatever his situation was, and under whatever disadvantages he might lie. This peremptory order overthrew all the prudent schemes of *de Gages*; and having, for form-sake, summoned a council of war, it was, without a contradictory vote, resolved to attack the *Austrian* camp at *St. Lazaro*, which lay about twenty-two miles distant from *Placentia*.

THE *Austrians* had suspected or foreseen such an attempt as this, and had fortified their
d camp, tho' naturally strong, with many additional works. *De Gages* had for some days left his strong camp at *Placentia*, and was advanced within a very short distance of that of the *Austrians*. On the 14th of *June*, the dispositions having been concerted in a council of war, *de Gages* began his march early in the evening, and by eleven he reached the *Austrian* trenches, which he vigorously attacked. Notwithstanding the *Austrians* were prepared to receive him, he must have beat them, had the *Bourbonite* officers done their duty; but the attack, though brave and intrepid, was irregular and injudicious. The cavalry was disposed in such a manner, that they could not support the infantry; and though the *French* and *Spaniards*, notwithstanding this disadvantage, mounted the trenches of their enemies, whom they forced to retire towards their camp, yet they made no use of the enemy's artillery they found within their lines, and had neglected to bring fascines for passing a broad
e wet ditch, which lay before the *Austrian* camp. Such, however, was the incredible ardour of the combined army, that they passed even this ditch; but with vast loss, and unsupported by their cavalry. It was now day-break; and the *Austrians*, who were upon the point of being totally routed, perceiving the disadvantages under which their enemies lay, charged them, in their turn, with their cavalry, with a horrible carnage; upon which *de Gages* ordered a retreat. His loss, in this battle, was about six thousand killed, and about eight thousand wounded, or taken prisoners; and that of the *Austrians* was about four thousand. *De Gages* made an admirable retreat to his camp at *Placentia*; but so critically, that, had he delayed it for a few minutes, his whole army must have been destroyed, as
f the *Piedmontese*, who were to join the *Austrians*, were so near the place of action as to hear the firing.

THE junction of the *Austrians* and the *Piedmontese* being thus affected, the command of both devolved upon his *Sardinian* majesty, according to the stipulation in the treaty of *Worms*, and he thereby saw himself at the head of sixty-four thousand men: but the prince of *Lichtenstein*, who had acquired so much honour by the late battle, being indisposed, he was succeeded in his command by general *Botta*. On the other hand, the marquis *de Castellar*, who had some time before joined Don *Philip's* army, was left with a strong garrison in *Placentia*; while *Maillebois* and count *de Gages* entrenched themselves between the *Lambra* and the *Adda*; and the infant duke, having passed the *Po*, occupied the open country of the *Milanese*. His *Sardinian* majesty was perfectly sensible, that no time must be lost in driving his enemies out of *Lombardy*. He appointed general *Botta* to march up the *Tydone*, and to block up *Placentia* on the one side, so as to cut off all communication between it
g

Battle of Placentia,

fatal to the French and Spaniards.

King of Sardinia commands the Austrians.

and the combined army; while he himself, on the other, passed the *Po*, to dislodge *Maillebois* and *de Gages*, not without hopes of taking the infant duke prisoner, whose headquarters were at *Codogno*. This was reckoned a masterly disposition. His *Sardinian* majesty took *Lodi*, which lay in the rear of his enemies; and *Botta* lying between *Codogno* and *Placentia*, the situation of *Don Philip*, and his two generals, became very dangerous on all sides.

Death of the
king of Spain.

Battle of Rot-
to Freddo.

THE death of *Philip V.* king of *Spain*, gave a new complexion to the war. *Maillebois* was ignorant of the dispositions of *Ferdinand*, his son and successor, towards the *French* court, and towards the war in general, and therefore he proposed retreating to *Tortona*. This was opposed by *de Gages*; but the *French* interest being now as prevalent at the court of *Madrid*, as it had been in the late reign, king *Ferdinand* sent an order, under his own hand, to make the retreat proposed by *Maillebois*. It was begun accordingly; but the *Austrians*, who still continued their pursuit, overtook their enemies at *Rotto Freddo*, and attacked them early on the 9th of *August*. The *Austrians* were commanded by general *Serbelloni*, who fought till *Botta* came up, and the battle continued till four in the afternoon. But though *de Gages* and *Maillebois* did all that could be expected from brave men and able generals, victory declared itself for the *Austrians*. In this battle the *French* and *Spaniards* lost eight thousand men, eighteen pieces of cannon, with many standards and colours. The loss of the *Austrians* was four thousand men killed on the spot; amongst whom was general *Bernclau*. After the battle was over, *Placentia* was summoned to surrender, which it did; and its garrison, said to have consisted of nine thousand men, was made prisoners of war.

Genoa con-
quered by the
Austrians.

DE GAGES and the infant duke of *Parma* continued their march to *Gavi* and *Tortona*, where *de Gages* began to intrench his army, till he could receive reinforcements; but his new master had now altered his sentiments; and as want of success in the court of *Spain* had been generally considered as want of merit, his Catholic Majesty sent an order for *de Gages* to resign his command to the marquis *de las Minas*, which he immediately did. The conduct of the *Spaniards* towards the *Genoese*, on this occasion, was very insincere. It was known that *Genoa* was the great object of the vengeance of the *Austrians*, who, after taking possession of *Placentia*, had made an irruption into the western *Riviera*, towards *Albenga*, where their behaviour was such as might have been expected from the most inflamed resentment. The army of the two crowns was at this time in the *Genoese* territories; but it was computed, that, since the opening of the campaign, forty thousand of them had been killed or taken prisoners. The consideration of this vast loss, with the prospect of some differences arising between her *Hungarian* majesty and the king of *Sardinia*, and of the *British* subsidy being withdrawn from that monarch, had prevailed on his Catholic Majesty to give private instructions to *las Minas* by all means to save his troops; and, if practicable, to proceed in the way of negotiation. The *Austrian* progress in the *Genoese* territory was rapid, and the *Genoese* applied to *las Minas* for protection. At first he dissembled the instructions he had received, and declared he would defend their city to the last; but the *Austrians* still advancing, he most ungratefully picked a quarrel with the *Genoese*; and leaving them to their own fate, *Don Philip* and he continued their retreat towards *France*.

Count Brown
enters Pro-
vence;

IT is foreign to this part of our history to enter upon the particulars of the surrender of *Genoa* to the Imperialists, *Botta's* insolent and inhuman conduct towards them, and the desperate efforts they made when they threw off the *Austrian* yoke. The queen of *Hungary* was now in possession of *Parma* and *Placentia*, and had recovered all her dominions in *Lombardy*; and the king of *Sardinia* began to think her somewhat too powerful in *Italy*. After her acquisition of *Genoa*, nothing less would satisfy her than the re-conquest of *Naples*; and *Botta* proposed, that the *Genoese* should furnish her with transports for that purpose; but this was a measure as little agreeable to the court of *Great Britain* as it was to his *Sardinian* majesty, and therefore it was laid aside. In the mean while, that monarch had passed the *Var* at the head of his army, in pursuit of the infant duke; but falling sick at *Nice*, the command of his army, which consisted of forty-five thousand men, devolved upon general *Brown*, who was assisted by the *British* admiral *Medley*, and a draught of one thousand men from the garrisons of *Port Mahon* and *Gibraltar*. *Maillebois*, in passing the *Var*, had left some posts well fortified to stop the *Austrians* in their pursuit; but *Brown*, by the help of the *British* ships and auxiliaries, surmounted all difficulties, and at last laid siege to *Antibes*. The courts of *France* and *Spain* were equally struck with the rapid success of the *Austrians*. His Catholic Majesty and the queen-dowager of *Spain* had little expected so many disastrous events; and they well knew, that while *Genoa* and its territory were in the hands of the *Austrians*, the infant duke could have no prospect of regaining *Parma* and *Placentia*. They threw the blame of all upon *d'Argenson*, who at their request was disgraced; and *Maillebois's* command was taken from him, and given to marshal *Belleisle*.
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- a He was reckoned the ablest general, as well as statesman, then in *France*; but his army did not exceed twenty thousand regular troops, exclusive of the militia. He was, however, sensible, that the *Austrian* plan of penetrating into *France* was impracticable, and had been formed upon wrong principles. At first, he made no opposition to *Brown*, that he might entice him farther into the country, and cut off his retreat; but *Antibes* making a vigorous defence, notwithstanding the severe bombardment it suffered from the *British* squadron, and *Belleisle's* army amounting now to fifty thousand regulars, while that of *Brown* was wasting by sickness and desertion, the latter was obliged to raise the siege of *Antibes*, and repass the *Var*, not without suffering great loss in his retreat. *but is forced to retire.*
- b This irruption into *Provence*, though greatly applauded at the time it was made, threatened destruction to the *Austrian* interest in *Italy*, and gave the queen-mother of *Spain* fresh hopes of being able to replace *Don Philip* in the duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*. Upon *Brown's* repassing the *Var*, *Belleisle* and his brother took *Nice*, *Montalbin*, *Villa Franca*, and *Ventimiglia*; while the *Austrians* retired towards *Final* and *Savona*. Their retreat encouraged *Belleisle* to form a plan of operations, which he knew would be extremely agreeable to the court of *Spain*, which was no less than making an irruption into *Piedmont*. This spirited measure gave a sudden turn to the affairs of *Italy*. After the expulsion of the *Austrians* out of *Genoa*, the *French* court had made extraordinary efforts for supporting the *Genoese*; while that of *Vienna* was as absolutely bent upon retaking it. *Schuylenburg* had succeeded *Botta* in the command of the *Austrian* army there; and, though he was ill provided for such an undertaking, he received peremptory orders from his court, at all events, to attempt the reconquest of *Genoa*. This scheme did not coincide with his *Sardinian* majesty's views; and *Schuylenburg* represented to his mistress, that it was impossible for him to succeed, without a reinforcement from that monarch, who, at last, by the mediation of the *British* court, and upon being promised a large share of the *Genoese* spoils, when conquered, agreed to assist *Schuylenburg* with twelve battalions and a train of artillery. After this agreement, the *Austrians* for some time were in a fair way of success; but the resentment of the *Genoese*, at the horrid barbarities of the *Austrians*, prevented *Schuylenburg* becoming master of that city. At last, his *Sardinian* majesty became so uneasy at the progress of *Belleisle*, that *Schuylenburg* was obliged to give over the siege, at the very time when he thought himself sure of succeeding. Nothing memorable is related, concerning the history of *Parma*, from the time of this event to the conclusion of the peace of *Aix la Chapelle*. Mr. *Wall* was secretly employed by the court of *Spain* to dispose the *British* ministry towards a peace, which was the more readily agreed to, as the obstinacy and ambition of the court of *Vienna*, grew daily more and more outrageous; and the putting *Parma* and *Placentia* into the possession of a prince of the house of *Bourbon*, was by no means incompatible with the system of power that had been adopted by *Great Britain*. In 1747-8, though the war was still raging on the continent of *Europe*, the preliminaries of a peace were settled; and in *April*, proclamation was made for a cessation of arms. This was followed by the meeting of plenipotentiaries at *Aix la Chapelle*, where the marquis *de Soto Mayor* was plenipotentiary on the part of *Spain*, and took care of the interests of the infant duke of *Parma*. The seventh article of that treaty runs as follows: "In consideration of the restitutions their most christian and catholic majesties make, by the present treaty, either to her majesty the queen of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, or to his majesty the king of *Sardinia*, the duchies of *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Guaftalla*, shall, for the future, belong to the serene infant *Don Philip*, and be possessed by him and his male descendants, born in legitimate marriage, in the same manner and extent as they have been enjoyed by the present possessors; and the said serene infant, and his male descendants, shall enjoy the said three duchies, agreeable to, and on the conditions expressed in the acts of cession of the empress-queen of *Hungary* and the king of *Sardinia*, to be remitted, together with their ratifications of the present treaty, to the ambassadors extraordinary and plenipotentiaries of the catholic king, in the same manner as the ambassadors extraordinary and plenipotentiaries of their most christian and catholic majesties shall remit, with the ratifications of their majesties, to that of the king of *Sardinia*, the orders to the generals of the *French* and *Spanish* troops, for restoring *Savoy* and the county of *Nice* to persons commissioned to receive them; so that the restitution of the said states, and the taking possession of the said duchies of *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Guaftalla*, by or in the name of the serene infant *Don Philip*, may be effected at the same time, agreeable to the articles of cession, the tenor whereof is as follows: that the empress-queen of *Hungary*, whose cession was wrote in the *Latin* language, in order to discharge herself of what she was bound to by the present articles, in a well-grounded hope, that their most christian and catholic majesties, as well as the party who shall hereafter be possessed of the three duchies, and his male descendants, will actually, and *bona fide*, fulfil the purport of the articles abovementioned, doth renounce and quit all manner of claims, rights, and pretensions to her belonging, under what
- French invade Piedmont.
- Peace of Aix la Chapelle.
- Article concerning Parma and Placentia.

what title or cause soever, to the said three duchies of *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Guastalla*, of which she was formerly possessed; which said claims, rights, and pretensions, she doth hereby, in the best and most solemn form she possibly can, transfer to the said serene infant Don *Philip*, and to his male descendants lawfully begotten. She absolves likewise all the inhabitants of the said duchies, in general, from that oath of allegiance which they have taken to her; but as to that they shall hereafter take to those to whom she transfers her rights, it is to be of force no farther than while the said serene infant Don *Philip*, or any of his descendants, have not ascended the throne of the *Two Sicilies*, or that of *Spain*; for she doth expressly reserve, as well for herself as for her successors, all the claims, rights, and pretensions to those duchies, which formerly did belong to her; as also the right of reversion, provided the said infant Don *Philip* should die without issue male. The cession of his *Sardinian* majesty, which was wrote in the *Italian* language, imported, that he, by virtue of the present act, did renounce, transfer, and set over, as well for himself as for his successors, to the said serene infant Don *Philip*, and to his male descendants lawfully begotten, the town of *Placentia*, and the *Plaisantin*, whereof his majesty was before possessed, for him to enjoy it as duke of *Parma*; renouncing, on this account, all claims, rights, and pretensions to him belonging; but expressly reserving, nevertheless, as well for himself as for his successors, the right of reversion in the cases abovementioned."

*Difficulty on
the same.*

In consequence of this article, Don *Philip* was put into immediate possession of the duchies of *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Guastalla*. His *Neapolitan* majesty, however, thought that the stipulation concerning the succession of his brother to the kingdoms of the *Two Sicilies* were injurious to his rights; and not only refused to accede to the preliminaries, but to send a plenipotentiary to assist at the treaty. Means, however, were found to compromise matters between the two brothers; so that, when *Ferdinand* king of *Spain* died, in 1759, his *Neapolitan* majesty, upon the report made him by his physicians that his second son was unfit for government, passed an act of abdication and settlement, dated October 6, in favour of his third son, Don *Ferdinand*, by which he received the cession of the *Italian* kingdoms, his eldest son being to succeed to the crown of *Spain*. It does not appear, that either the duke of *Parma*, or the imperial court, whose interests are immediately concerned in this great event, have made any remonstrances against so arbitrary a disposition of a rich and powerful territory. It is pretty plain, that considerations of convenience and interested politics have prevailed with her imperial majesty and her husband to be silent on this occasion. On the other hand, by the famous family-compact amongst all the branches of the house of *Bourbon*, in which the duke of *Parma* is a party, there is little room to doubt that there are certain secret stipulations in his favour, to indemnify him for the sacrifice he has made.

END of the THIRTEENTH VOLUME.